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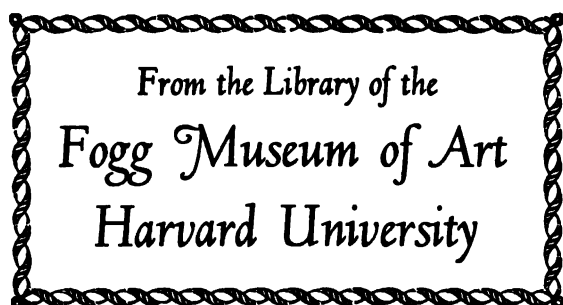
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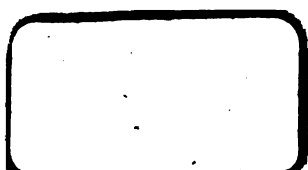
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Harvard University



VOLUME III.

NUMBER 1.

JOURNAL
OF THE
BRITISH AND AMERICAN
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF ROME
WITH LIST OF MEMBERS

LIBRARY OF THE
PEABODY MUSEUM

Session 1898-1899

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THE BRITISH AND AMERICAN

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(Vacant).

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The following serials are received by the Society.

Bollettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma.
Notizie degli Scavi dell'Accademia dei Lincei.
Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects.
Bulletin of American Geographical Society.

BRITISH AND AMERICAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF ROME

ANNUAL REPORT - SESSION 1898-99.

Without being too sanguine as to the future prospects of the Society, the Council is glad to be able to state that the Society finds itself at the close of the 34th year of its useful existence in a decidedly satisfactory position.

The Library has been open for the use of the subscribers from the beginning of December to the end of April, and the number of books in circulation, if not very great, has been in advance of last year.

The Inaugural Address of the Session was delivered by Professor Comm. R. Lanciani D. C. L., on the 17th January, in the lecture room of the Society, before a large and influential audience which greatly appreciated the learned lecturer's discourse on the « New discoveries concerning the tomb of St Paul on the Via Ostiensis. » H. E. Lord Currie, H. B. M's Ambassador at Rome, occupied the Chair and presented Professor Lanciani. At the close of the lecture H. E. General Draper, Ambassador of the United States, proposed a vote of thanks which was enthusiastically received.

The audited accounts of the year ending April 24th show a balance in favour of the Society of 1542 lire, out of which the Council has decided to invest 800 lire nominal in Italian 5 per cents, thus increasing the capital invested to 5000 lire.

Three new members have been elected and two have sent in their resignation owing to removal from Rome, so that the number of actual members remains almost the same as last year; the annual associates number 48 as in the preceding Session, the gaps left by those who did not or could not join being filled up by newcomers in like proportion.

The sale of 5 lire tickets for attending single lectures has been quite unprecedented, the proceeds amounting to 220 lire, which bears out the assumption that the number of the subscribers would have been far greater

but for the comparatively shorter stays Englishspeaking visitors make now-a-days in the Eternal City.

This review of the Session would be incomplete if we closed it without a word of thanks to Professor Lanciani to whom the Council is particularly indebted for the special lectures and demonstrations given by him in aid of the Society's funds, and to all those gentlemen and ladies who have so disinterestedly promoted the work of the Society by their interesting lectures (1).

We would specially mention Professor Peck, the Director of the American School of Classical studies, by whom the Society is not likely to be favoured again as, we hear it with regret, he is on the point of returning to America.

Signed on behalf of the Council.

R. H. B O R G E
Hon. Secretary.

April 24th 1899.
16, Via Ripresa dei Barberi.

(1) A list of these lectures and demonstrations is appended herewith.

Additions to the Library.

Books and photographs presented :

W. St. Clair Baddeley: Robert the Wise.

O. Marucchi: Biografia d'un personaggio politico dell'antico Egitto.

G. Dosanctis: Saggi Storico-Critici — Eschine e la Guerra contro Anfissa — Agatocle.

Father Mackey: Photographs of ancient Monuments in Sardinia.

Maes: Colonna onoraria di Claudio il Gotico.

Books purchased.

Harrison: Introductory studies to Greek Art.

Gardner: History of Greek Sculpture.

Gregorovius: History of Rome in the Middle Ages, vols V and VI Eng. trans.

List of Lectures and Demonstrations of Session 1898-1899.

1. Comm. Prof^r R. Lanciani, D. C. L. — New Discoveries concerning the tomb of St Paul on the Via Ostiensis.
2. T. Edmondston Charles M. D, LL. D. — Demonstration at the Etruscan Museum of Villa Giulia.
3. M^r W. St Clair Baddeley. — The sacred trees of Rome.
4. Professor O. Marucchi. — The latest discoveries in the Roman Forum.
5. M^{rs} Burton-Brown. — Demonstration at the University Museum of Casts.
6. Professor Tracy Peck, M. A. — Gleanings from Roman Epitaphs.
7. M^r F. A. Searle. — Hadrian, his times and his Villa.
8. Father P. P. Mackey, O. P. — A recent journey in Sardinia.
9. M^r F. A. Searle. — Demonstration at Hadrian's Villa near Tivoli.
10. Prof. O. Marucchi. — Demonstration at the Catacomb of SS. Pietro e Marcellino.
11. The Chev. D. Tesoroni, LL. D. — John Evelyn's visit to Rome in 1644-45.
12. Madame Gautier. — Excursion to Albano.
13. Professor G. Tomassetti. — Excursion to Bovillae.
14. Prof^r Borge. — Excursion to Horace's Farm at Licenza.

Special Lectures and Demonstrations.

Comm. Prof^r Lanciani: 1. The Building of St Peter's and the destruction of the Forum Romanum — 2. Treasure trove in the bed of the Tiber — 3. Demonstration in the Gardens of Villa Colonna — 4. New discoveries in the Comitium — 5. Demonstration in the Grounds of the Villa Mattei.

SESSION 1898-1899

January 17th. — The session was brilliantly inaugurated by Professor Comm. R. Lanciani, D. C. L. who gave an interesting *conference* on St. Paul's outside the walls, and on the discoveries made in that neighborhood through the works for the great sewer now in construction for the drainage of the city, these discoveries having settled various contested points on the question of the sepulchre of the Apostle of the Gentiles. The Professor briefly alluded to the well-known facts and dates of St. Paul's sojourn in Rome. He spoke of his arrival in the year 56 A. D.; he traced his journey up through Italy, and mentioned his detention under the guard of Afranius Burrus Prefect of the Praetorium, for the two years during which no accuser appeared against him; he referred to his trial in december 57 A. D. when he was acquitted and restored to liberty and the rights of citizenship. After this he remained on in Rome where his preaching appears to have created a sensation, and where he evidently became intimate with personages of the Imperial Court, as is shown by his friendship with Seneca and with Annius Gallio. That the names of the leaders of the new religion were adopted even by Pagans is proved by inscriptions, as for example that one found at Ostia in 1862 which speaks of a Marcus Anitius Paulus Petrus, and the apocryphal gospel of St. Paul records his friendship with the brother of Seneca. It is necessary however to distinguish between Archaeology and Legend, and to the latter belongs the tradition that the church of S^a Maria in Via Lata is built over the « hired house » inhabited by the Apostle when in reality the ancient substructures below it belong to the « Septa Julia » constructed by Agrippa and which extend from the Via Caravita to the Piazza Venezia. The same criticism may be applied to the remains of ancient structures under the church of St. Paolino in Regola, which are those of the theatre of Balbus and the adjoining portico. In A. D. 62 St. Paul, who had been for some time absent from Rome, again returned to the city; this time he was again imprisoned, and kept in confinement till he was beheaded at the Aquas Salvias at the 3rd milestone of the via Laurentina. The day of his death was the 29th June, the date is un-

certain, it was between 65 and 69 A. D. The foundations of the chapel originally erected on the spot were discovered underneath the present church. It is related that the noble Christian Matron Lucina obtained possession of the Saint's body, and interred it in her private cemetery on the via Ostiense. This cemetery or catacomb was supposed to have been situated within the rocky cliff which slopes down on one side of the road, and it was currently related that when the Emperor Constantine built his basilica over the tomb of the Apostle he cut away the spur of this hill, so as to enclose the sepulchre, as it was strictly forbidden to displace or move the tombs of Martyrs. It was also said that Constantine enclosed the actual resting place of the body in a sort of chest made of solid sheets of bronze. During the persecution of the Christians in the reign of Valerian it is said that the bodies of St. Peter and St. Paul were transferred for safety to a hiding place (rediscovered lately) in the church of Saint Sebastian « ad Catacumbas » and that they were restored to their respective tombs when the worship of the Christians was again permitted.

The late excavations along the via Ostiensis have completely set at rest the question as to whether the Cemetery of Lucina was subterranean or not. A doubt as to its being so was first raised during the reign of Pius IX, when the neighbouring Vigna Salviucci was purchased by Monsignor De Merode, and he and the late lamented De Rossi made excavations there to no purpose as far as Lucina's Catacomb was concerned, though the crypts of Felix and of Commodilla are in the immediate neighborhood. But by these excavations of 1898-99 it is distinctly proved that the Cemetery of Lucina was above ground; that it was indeed a plot of ground on the right hand of the via Ostiensis, between that road and another side road running down to the Tiber. The theory of the hill side having been cut away to make room for the Basilica was also shown to be utterly untenable, for the whole side of the rock bordering the road was found to be literally honey-combed with tombs and columbaria, all pagan and of the 1st and 2nd centuries. The level of the ancient road was three metres below the present one, and the ancient pavement of basaltic lava was discovered in 1850, four metres below the actual level of the church. Fea says that the Apostle's tomb was constantly covered by the overflowing of the Tiber, and though the sheets of bronze would have preserved it from injury, still there must always be the question whether it is really intact. The Barbarians indeed respected the church during the sack of the city in 410 A. D, but in 846 A. D. when the Saracens ascended the Tiber in their fleet, we know that they ravaged and destroyed all this suburb of the city, then thickly built over and populated.

Pope Sergius III was indeed warned of their approach, but he took no

defensive measures against them, and we know not how much the church may have suffered at their hands. We do however know how terrible was the destruction and desecration which prevailed after the sack of Rome in 1527. The recent publication of the « *tagbuch* » of a German landsknecht, written five weeks after the capture of the city by the army of the Constable de Bourbon, shows us vividly the drunken and brawling soldiery pillaging and ravaging the city and suburbs, profaning the sacred places and carrying off revered relics. The Liber Pontificalis states that the grave of St Paul having been destroyed, it was restored by Pope Benedict III who constructed the « fenestrelle » above the « Confession ».

The grave of the Apostle was seen in July 1838 when a new altar was substituted for the one destroyed in the great fire of 1829, and in 1891 Professor Lanciani himself saw the slab of marble with the inscription PAULO APOSTOLO, MARTYRI in letters of the time of Constantine. The eminent author Father Grisar found that this inscription has been broken, as also have been the marble slabs of the tomb itself, which are slanting and not in their original place, and the question which will never be solved, as in the case of the tomb of St Peter, — is — did the destroyers reach the coffer of bronze itself?

Professor Lanciani regretted that no copies or drawings had been taken of a columbarium discovered in 1857 within a few feet of the grave, and which might have thrown light on the Cemetery of Lucina.

H. E. the Right Hon. Lord Currie, British Ambassador at Rome, was in the Chair, and at the close of the meeting, H. E. General Draper, United States Ambassador, passed a vote of thanks on Professor Lanciani for his able and interesting discourse.

January 24th. — Dr. T. EDMONDSTON CHARLES met the Members and Associates at the Etruscan Museum in the Villa Papa Giulio, and gave a detailed description of its most interesting contents. A special room not open to the public, containing a beautiful Etruscan sarcophagus and other objects not generally shown, was also visited.

January 31st. — Mr. W. St CLAIR BADDELEY delivered a lecture on « The Sacred trees of Rome. » He said :

Even as there were a number of sacred groves in Rome during the early days of the Republic and in the Kingdom before it, so, in the day of the Republic and the Empire which succeeded it, there remained a great many individual trees which were sacred. Many of these may well have been survivals of the ancient groves, but probably some were the result of deliberate planting: while others may have sprung up in sacred areas from acci-

dentally dropt seeds, which were permitted to grow, owing to divine favour thus manifested! — the Augurs would have decided.

Inquiry into the story of the Sacred trees, naturally leads one to draw the deductions that the cult of the *Sylvani*, — Divinities of Forest and Field, of glade and woodland, — must have enjoyed full sway in the very earliest times of Latian History — to be more preciso, at that period concerning which our information is nebulous, where it is not absolutely defective: I mean, a period of course, when temples were not known: ere yet (at least for the Latin tribes), the casual tree-trunks of the forest, had been metamorphosed into a stony phalanx of ordered columns by the craft of some hired, or enslaved, Etruscan. One reason which helps to this conclusion, lies in the fact that as the story of Rome developes, we find that the groves were not exclusively sacred to *Diana*, *Sylvanus*, *Vesta* and the Forest-Divinities, — but, after the Greek fashion, they might be rendered sacred to any god or goddess.

But, although Archeological memorials of those remote times have reached us so sparingly, we are made aware (through literature), that the tree itself, by means of its descendants, often clung faithfully to the consecrated spot through all the changes and chances of several hundred years. It remained to Romans of the Empire as a voice though perhaps unheeded, from the dim past, — an evergreen abstract and brief chronicle of their ancestral cult, and whose leaves (for those who had ears to hear) still uttered the same mysterious music, « *Sive Deus, Sive Dea* » — heard whenever the leaves sang together in the forest, by Latian shepherd or Sabine maiden.

That tree-worship is one of the most primitive forms of worship, is a matter of ordinary knowledge. That fact may be deduced from the very universality of its practice. Evidence regarding it has been forthcoming from lands as far removed from one another as Finland from Madagascar, Mexico from India, or Dahomey from Japan. Before Rome was founded, we have it described in the Homeric poems. Before Homer's age, the Canaanites had their « *Aschera* » or grove-worship, and their holy oaks, (*Elim* and *Tophet*) and it became necessary for the rulers of Israel to utter as a Divine command: « Ye shall not plant unto yourselves a grove. » (*Deut.* 16. 22) The *Astarte*-worship of the Phoenicians was of precisely the same nature; and before the days of Canaanitish, or Phoenician, history, — Egypt had her sacred trees and plants, her palms, her larkspurs, and her lotus. At some period or another it has therefore obtained in every country: nor is it yet extinct in some countries wick might be named.

But we are not under any necessity to infer that the Alban agriculturists who guided by their Augurs, founded « *Roma Quadrata* », instituted

tree-or-grove-worship, as a thing at all new to them. They had no contact in those days with Hellas, nor need we suppose, even, that they required to learn or borrow tree-worship like architecture and ceramic art, from their Etruscan neighbours. Rather it would be safe to believe that tree-worship had been an inheritance common to all the Indo-Germanic races; an inheritance which developed and elaborated, and finally decayed, with each of them alternately, though not coetaneously.

That tree-worship originally consisted in the deliberate selection of some particular tree, remarkable for size, or age, is extremely probable. To it were made offerings or propitiations, even as certain Indian and other tribes, still do. Then followed the institution of guardians or ministers, otherwise priests, whose duties were to observe the growth, to prevent profanation, to interpret the responses, and perhaps to mark out, preserve the sacred or consecrated « *Area* », and to determine the feast-days of the Divinity.

From this, it will be perceived, it is but a step to the veneration of an entire grove: — the extension of the Divinity to the cluster; — and possibly later on from a particular tree to a whole species: and so we arrive at the definition of a sacred tree, as (1) either a tree which is individually worshipped as the abode of the god: (2) or a tree which grows in a sacred « *area* »: (3) or a tree which is sacred because of its species wherever it happens to be met with. It is evident, that the conceptions « a sacred tree » and a « sacred grove » blend indistinguishably. The tree often represented the Grove: the Grove was the collective Tree. Both equally became places of spiritual resort.

But although the selection of the Tree or Grove, might largely be influenced by those appearances which created wonder, by the whisper of the leaves, and their shade which inspired awe; — it is not to be gainsaid that these salient features often accompanied extremely material recommendations. Nor is it unnatural, that Primitive man (especially Roman Primitive man), should have found it irresistible to venerate those forms of force which ministered to his natural appetite and necessities. He accordingly propitiated the sources whence he derived his food, his shelter and above all his firesupply. So that one may even say, that the ascription by him of spiritual tutelary qualities to trees and groves, may have been ultimately determined by distinctly utilitarian considerations. For, man is practical before he is poetical. There must be a stalk before there can be a flower. The Roman remained practical to the end: the Greek alone attained to the poetical; while the Etruscan failed in both kinds, and fluttered out in a degenerate mysticism.

At any rate, it is undeniable that the environment of the site which Romulus selected for his settlement among the hills beside the Tiber, was rich

in native oak, or ilex. As professor Lanciani has said of the site: « it resembled that of Veii, and consisted of a group of narrow vales overshadowed by craggy cliffs, covered with evergreens. » I do not go so far as to declare that the first sacred tree or grove, worshipped in and about this site, *was* of oak: It *may* possibly have been a cluster of Fig-trees: but it is not incorrect to aver that most of the groves attached to the earliest « *Sacraria* » on the Esquiline, Coelian, and Capitol, were composed of oaks, and most probably with them also, may be included the « *Nemus Vestae*. »

The connection between the Vestal worship brought from Alba, and tree-worship, or that of the *Sylvani*, is, of course an intimate one. For, was not the sacred hearth-fire kindled by the friction of two sticks, or « *igniaria* », composed respectively of the oak and the laurel, — a hard and a soft wood? Was not the resulting precious spark caught in the dry leaves, or tinder? Was it not continually fed with the logs and twigs of the same material for which it needed a consecrated supply? — And then the fire-hut itself, and finally, the earliest statues were they not necessarily made of the same material? Little wonder, then, that this peculiarly sacred Fire-hut (or primitive shrine) possessed for itself a sanctified « *nemus* » — on the boughs which the first votive-offerings to Vesta will have been suspended. The original hearth is said to have been shaded by a laurel. All woods, it follows, which were employed by preference in the sacred uses, became considered « *Lucky* » or « *felices* » while others, especially evil-fruited ones, were considered « *unlucky* » or « *infelices* ».

But we are referring to those early days when the Romans adored their Gods without images, — that is to say, when they worshipped tutelary abstractions, to whom they consecrated rude altars, — such as the much discussed « *sacraria Argeorum* or Argean Chapels, in clearings among the woodlands: — just as do the Khonds of Orissa to day. For we read that when these latter people, who depend chiefly upon the produce of the cotton-tree, settle a new village, they first of all plant a cotton-tree, with solemn rites.

Now, precisely what the cotton-tree is to the Khond, the « *Ilex* » or acorn bearer was to the Latine and Sabine. The animal upon which they depended most was the Pig. Hence, the tree whose acorns fattened his hogs, and whose boughs supplied his hearth with fire, had a double claim upon a Roman's veneration. We find, therefore, that the most acceptable offering to the Gods among the animals was the Pig: practically the « *gluck-schwein*. » From this we understand what is shown by Cato's instructions to the woodman as to how he is to proceed before thinning the trees of a sacred grove: « Be thou God or Goddess, to whom this grove is sacred, permit me by the expiation of this pig, to restrain the overgrowth of this grove, by cutting these trees! » (*De Rustica*).

Livy tells us that Romulus vowed a shrine to Jupiter Feretrius, on the Capitolium after hanging upon a sacred oak which flourished there, the spoils taken from Acron King of the Cæninenses. Now, whether we credit the story or not, it is quite certain that no less than two distinct sacred groves were long venerated on the Capitol; for Dionysius states that the temple of « Ve-Jovis » (the evil counterpart of Jove) stood on the central or depressed portion of the hill (called the Asylum) « inter duos lucos »: — that is, between two groves. And a remnant of these was still surviving there in the year A. D. 69. at the time of the famous assault and burning of the Capitol by the Vitellian party.

It is practically certain, likewise, that the « Ilex » was sacred among the Etruscans, for Pliny mentions (H. N. XVI. 87) that an oak stood in the Vatican region, which had been worshipped from time immemorial; and that it was inscribed in bronze letters in the language of Etruria. But before I leave the subject of the « Ilex », or oak, I must not omit to refer to other extremely interesting groves of the same kind which surrounded the twenty-four Argean chapels. At any rate, in the very earliest periods of Palatine Rome, these consecrated centres were scientifically dotted about the woodlands; and clearings were probably made between them. From one « sacrarium » to another processional paths were naturally formed, and at the intersection of these paths « Aræ » were presently established in honour of the deities of « Cross-ways, » called the « Lares Compitales. » We know at least that when Servius Tullius girdled the four Regions of the then expanded city, with the walls named after him, — the two portions of the Esquiline, — the Oppius and Cispius, each of these contained six of these « sacraria Argeorum! and to each pertained its own « Lucus, » or grove; although for all of them there was but one festival. Varro calls one of them « Fagutalis »; which reveals that it was composed of beeches, a tree sacred to Jove. Had the rest been composed of trees other than « Ilex, » we may believe he would have mentioned the fact. It may even be said that one holy grove of oak actually survived, by means of its descendants, every sort of Vandalism: this one is situated outside the city walls, at S. Urbano delle Caffarelle. Under the shady ancestors of these trees are believed to have been held King Numa's consultations with the Nymph Egeria. (For details, see *Anc. Rome*: LANCIANI).

From all its noble qualities of toughness, endurance, nutritive-power, and mystery, therefore, it is easy to perceive reasons why the reward for saving the life of a Roman citizen, the *Corona Civica*, was woven of oak-leaves in preference to those of any other tree; and why the confederation of the Latin tribes should have elected to hold their meetings in the sacred Ilex-grove, near Marino.

Before I pass on to consider other sacred trees, however, I should repeat that the vanishing of all these holy groves to some extent connotes the survival of many an individual sacred tree in Rome of the later Republic. That is to say, that the elaboration of town-life, the value of ground, the enclosing of the city by the Servian walls, will account for the gradual thinning down of sacred groves into mere clusters. These, in turn will for similar reasons, have dwindled, until individual trees alone remained to represent the original grove or *Lucus*. Finally, these individual trees will have depended for their own survival upon the merciful respect of the rulers, or upon popular veneration.

Through the discovery in 1887, near the « *Sette Sale* » on the Esquiline, of an inscribed slab of Travertine, we were made aware of a vain attempt at a revival of these sacred centres on the Oppius and Cispius. Upon it was laconically described how the Magistrates and Flamines, during the late Republic, had re-inclosed them and replanted them with trees. But no doubt Rome had by then become, too irreligious, or too Hellenised, deeply to care. Trees had to make way for builders and traffic, and occasionally no doubt, vandal officialdom proved disastrous to the Historic relic: and certain people here and there probably experienced such a sensation as we should feel if we awoke some morning and found the *line* on *Monte Mario* gone, — or if that beautiful solitary palm, which (like an exquisite *Venus*), reigns over the « gardens of Adonis » on the Palatine, — had vanished for ever!

FIGUS :

The reputed oldest sacred tree in Rome, of which we have any record was of course, the « *Ficus Ruminalis*, » which, according to the legend, kindly detained the floating cradle which had become entangled by its roots, and in which were Romulus and Remus. The shady foliage already gave shelter to a she-wolf, which thenceforward performed the over-natural duty of suckling the motherless twins. Hence *Ruminalis*, from « *rumes* » — the breast.

But whatever originally may have given rise to this pious and picturesque legend, it bears on its face something which may give us a little speculative pause. It has been pointed out how the Roman honoured little but what was conjoined to the strictly practical; and his ideal attributions were usually based upon material considerations. I, therefore, venture to consider that in view of the obvious and exceptional qualities possessed by the Fig-tree, over and above that merely of shade-giving, there may have been more than accident in the historical association of the Fig-tree with

the legendary wolf, and that the fortuitous shelter thus accorded to the twins does not fully enough discover for us that reason for the peculiar veneration of the Ruminal Fig-tree. The Fig from *extremely ancient* times, has been regarded as a representative fruit-tree in a great many lands, especially inhabited by Indo-Germanic races; — of which the Greek and Italian are two first-rate off-shoots. But this view has not been confined to them only. The Fig was sacred in Egypt. It is sacred in Japan. The Ficus, called « Religiosa » (in India), has for ages been regarded as embodying the essence of the god Brahma. Geese anciently sacred birds in many lands, as also in Rome, were found specially to thrive upon figs. Horace and Mæcenas were only too well aware of the fact. The poet speaks with *gusto* of the precious delicacy of the liver of a goose fattened upon figs. It is quite possible the original sacred Geese of Juno, on the Capitol, were fed upon the same consecrated diet. The curative properties of the Fig are familiar to us through the narrative concerning Hezekiah, and the fashionable electuaries, to which our simpler ancestors had recourse. As fruit-bearing, as shade-giving, as long-living, and as medicinal, therefore, the Fig-tree puts-forward universal claims.

If there be, peradventure, any virtue in this mode of reasoning, one would be inclined to reckon the Ficus Ruminalis among the survivals of ancient sacred clusters. In that case, it may have been a patriarchal representation of an extinct group of fig-trees planted by-, or at any rate, sacred to the deified founder of Rome. The necessity of rendering that Palatine town more and more impregnable, by means of scarp and wall, gradually interfered with the last remaining tree of an ancient sacred cluster, and it was permitted, very strangely, to disappear into the atmosphere of legend, from which it did not originally come!

This will help to account for the averred spontaneous transplantation of this Historic tree to the Comitium. For, although it is evident that quite dissimilar early legends had belonged to the Fig-tree of the Comitium, in the days of Pliny and of Tacitus (XIII, 58. Ann.) it had become absolutely identified by people with the Ficus Ruminalis of the Lupercal. The latter historian in fact writes of it that it showed its first signs of decay in the reign of Nero, 841 years after the twins had found shelter beneath it. While Pliny (H. N. XV C. 30) writes: « In the very midst of the Comitium of Rome, a fig-tree is carefully cultivated, in memory of the consecration of a spot whereon a thunderbolt once fell, as well as for a token of the « Ficus Ruminalis, » which, in former days, sheltered the Founders of our Empire at the Lupercal cave: The tree through the agency of Attus Navius, the augur, had passed spontaneously from its original position to the Forum. And not without some dreadful presage is it that the tree has withered away:

but, thanks to the care of the priest-hood, it has since been replaced. » Here then, we have thrée distinct legends fused together!

At any rate, it is assured that this fig-tree of the Comitium gathered around itself legends of its own, some of which closely connected it with Attus Navius, the augur, and the burial of the miraculous razor and whetstone by Tarquinius Priscus in the Comitium. The fig-tree sprang-up there, on a consecrated and later, very crowded spot, very close to where another legend states that Romulus prepared, or intended to prepare, a sepulchre for himself. The tree became oracular, like the Oak of Dodona, and was at one time called « Navia » *in eo loco complures ficus enatae essent* (Festus, 169. 10. Edit. Muller).

In any case, the Comitium must have been situated in a place associated with solemn assemblies of the people from the very earliest times: and this place, this spot, and all that it afterwards contained, formed a positive focus for national legend. It is quite certain that this fig-tree was deeply dear to the heart of national life: for Festus (169. 10) says that one « saying » concerning it was to the effect that « so long as the tree should last, so long should last the liberty of the Roman people. »

MYRTLE:

Varro (*De Ling. Latina*, lib. IV, C. 154) writes that some declare that the valley, called Murcia, between the Palatine and Aventine Hills, derived its name from a myrtle grove situated there which was sacred to Venus. This, he says, was still traceable in his day « *quod ibi sacellum etiam nunc Myrticæ Veneris.* » Whether we accept this etymology or not, we may remind ourselves that Venus was the ancient Roman Garden-Goddess, and at a later day apparently, was absorbed into the Greek divinity « Aphrodite » (291. B. C.). The myrtle was commonly sacred to them both; and perhaps rendered their ultimate amalgamation the more easy. But long previous to this amalgamation of Venus and Aphrodite, we find the myrtle also sacred to Quirinus, or the Sabine Mars, whose festivals were termed « Quirinalia » (MOMMSEN, 1. 207).

Hence Postumius was not crowned with oak or laurel, after his victory over the Sabines; but with myrtle. In like manner, the favourite Roman Hercules was usually represented crowned with it. Dio Cassius tells us of a temple of this ancient war-god Quirinus, which Augustus restored in B. C. 16; — in front of which stood two great myrtle-trees, which were called respectively « *Patricia* and *Plebeia* ». Pliny (XV, 29. 36) adds that it was believed that a mysterious sympathy subsisted between the two trees and the fortunes of the respective « Orders » they represented. How much

gender a significance became attached to the myrtle in later times is revealed by the fact that the « *Corona Oealis* » worn by the Emperors and Generals, at the « *Oeatio*, » or lesser triumph, was composed of myrtle, — typifying that the war or victory, had not been very sanguinary.

LAUREL:

Speaking of the achievements of Ancus Martius, who united the Aventine Hill to the City, Dionysius describes that hill as being covered with laurels wherefore one portion of it gained the name of « *Lauretum*. » In his own day, he declares that the hill was covered by buildings, mostly temples; chiefest among which, that dedicated by Servius to Diana, goddess of groves and forests. But laurels are found associated with the Aventine at a still earlier date: for we read that a cluster of them had grown round the grave of Tatius, the Sabine King.

« *In eo Lauretum ab eo quod ibi sepultus est Tatius rex qui ab Laurentibus interfectus est, vel ab Silva Laurena, quod ea ibi excisa est aedificatus vicus* » (VARRO, *Ling. Lat.*, 146).

It is safe to assume that at least some of the special virtues which, in Greece, had rendered the Laurel sacred to Artemis, to Apollo, and to Æsculapius, were known to the Latin and Sabellian tribes. With the Romans, who like their descendants of to-day, were inveterate believers in « *Luck* » and « *Ill-luck* », and who worshipped Fors-Fortuna, — trees and plants (as has already been stated) divided themselves into two categories: the « *Lucky* » or *Felices*, and the « *Unlucky* », — or *Infelices*, — out of which latter for instance, was made the gibbet (patibulum). — But the laurel was of the former category. The thin rods or wands, presented to priests on their « *induction* » were made of Laurel. The softer half of the firestick was of the same, and it may have been assumed as a particular token by the « *Arvales* »: for they consumed at their feast certain « *panes Laureatos* », or laurelled loaves. Again it formed a flattering comparison for the « *Republic* »; which considered itself « *evergreen* » like the Laurel (Festus, 117) and a laurel crown was bestowed on those who required « *pro-consular* » Dignity.

With the advent, or invasion of Hellenism, far more elaborate and lovely ideas swelled the Roman literature of the « *laurel* ». It was adopted as the symbol of health and therefore as being sacred to Apollo and his physicians. Boughs of it were suspended before the doors of the sick. Laurel-water was the fashionable anti-toxin. But it was above all anti-lightning.

Branches of laurel were borne before the Flamens, and the tree was

planted before the doors of the « Curis Vetera », just as late it flourished beside these of the Regia and when the Regia was a second time burned in 48.B.C. we read that the laurel-trees were saved.

Julius Caesar, possibly impatient of his baldness (says Dion Cassius) received no honour more eagerly than that of the laurel-crown. He wore it constantly, and everywhere. « His reasons may have been very different however, » for who could despise so great a gift as a preservative against the wrath of Jove! Augustus, after his relative's example loved the laurel : and by unanimous consent he might always go crowned with it. It was even decreed by the Senate that Laurels should be planted in front of his palace on the Palatine, and that oaken crowns should be suspended on them, — mark the reasoning — « as though he were the perpetual conqueror of his enemies and saviour of citizens of the Republic ».

After the death of Drusus, Augustus is said to have carried the Laurel into the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, and laid it in the lap of the statue. (DION CASS. L. LIV.). A humbler use to which the Laurel was put was as a fumigator. Festus tells us that the soldiers who followed the chariot of the triumphant general into the city were censured with laurel-fumes to purge them from taint of slaughter.

SPINA-ALBA :

The Spina-Alba or white thorn was considered especially « Lucky » : for the « Fax Nuptialis », or bridal-torch, was made of it, and had to be borne before the bride by a lad, both whose parents must be living. (PLAUT.; CAS. 1.30) (OVID. *Fasti*, 11. 558.) It was sacred to Minerva Carna, goddess of enclosures.

Hedges were formed of it to protect the fields of corn. Specially a cure for wounds in children by claws of owls, sacred to Minerva.

CORNUS :

From this let us pass tho the « Cornus », or Cornelian cherry-tree, whose wood was valued for spear-shafts, or perhaps for axe-handles. Connected with it we have the pretty legend of the Cornus Sacra, which grew on the Palatine (Germalus) near the Scalæ Caci. Romulus, desirous one day of proving his strength, hurled his javelin from the Aventine thitherwards : striking the ground, it so fixed itself that none could remove it, though many tried to do so. Soon appreciating the excellency of the soil, the shaft put forth sprouts and presently became a tree, which its owner surrounded with protective stone. Its boughs, we are told likewise became oracular, like

the willow of Samos, and the oak of Dodona; and foretold to passers-by what should ensue. (PLUT. *Rom.*, 20). This tree was preserved with great reverence, and flourished even until the Empire. But in the reign of Caius Caligula, whose operations for rendering access easier from the Palatine town to the Circus Maximus, interfered with its roots, it withered down and died.

LOTUS-TREES:

Among the most conspicuous trees which were both sacred and ornamental in ancient Rome, were the Lotus-Trees: otherwise, « Diospyros Lotus (Ebenacea) ». It may have been imported from Africa in early days of Roman maritime power; but very possibly was indigenous. The name « Lotus » having been applied too profusely to a number of very different plants, has led to much confusion: and this confusion is of old standing: for Pliny himself fails to make the necessary distinctions between one and another. Suffice it for me to state that it « had no connection with other plants of the same name », belonging to water-lily genus, — symbols of Isis in Egypt and of Divine Beauty in India. It possesses a myrtle-like foliage, a whitish blossom and small round berries like prunes, which are accounted good to eat. The bark is very astringent. It is still cultivated at Naples and is there known, curiously enough, as *Legno Santo*, or Holy-Wood. (Tenore e Pasquale, p. 405).

In his *Metamorphosis* (IX. 34) Ovid relates how a beautiful nymph escaping from the attentions of Priapus, became changed into a tree which bore her name. It would be interesting could we ascertain which was the first example of this plant raised as a precious and sacred one in ancient Rome. But that we shall in all likelihood never learn. One fact is noticeable, however, regarding the few specimens recorded by Historians as having flourished in this City: namely, that they all occur within a very limited area, of a few hundred yards. This suggests to me that birds may have carried the seeds from temple to temple, but that very few took root. One of these examples, however, to which I shall presently come, will prove more interesting than any of its remarkable relatives.

One of these Lotus-trees, we are told, grew in the Volcanal beside the (Pliny says planted by Romulus: *ex victoria Decumis, aequaeva Urbis, intelligitur*) temple of « Concordia »: and in this protected position, it so flourished as to ultimately thrust its roots into the « Forum Julium: (« *per stationes municipiorum* ». PLIN. XVI. 86.) an archeological record of no little importance. There likewise, seem to have been some beautiful examples of the same plant on the Palatine, hard-by where the « Casino » of the Far-

nese now stands, — namely in the gardens of Lucius Crassus, the orator; the same whom Cicero twittingly nicknamed the « Palatine Venus ». Cicero, however, purchased the house himself in the year B.C. 62, in order to enjoy the utmost splendour. One of its peculiar attractions consisted in a « Peristylum », containing six great Lotus-trees. These outlived their various masters, until we hear of Caecina Largus consul in A.D. 42, being their proud possessor, and showing them to his friends. They may have perished (according to Prof. Lanciani) in Nero's fire.

But I am now coming to the most interesting example of all, a Lotus-tree whose appearance must have seemed truly portentous, and that not merely from its great age, which is given as 500 years! For it was hung with tresses of hair, and was therefore termed « Capillata ». This tree grew in the garden-Court of the Vestal-virgins, and the tresses belonged to these ladies themselves, or rather had belonged to them.

I believe that the novice of to day on entering an order of nuns, loses her hair ruthlessly, and as far as I know, once and for ever. On the other hand the Vestal, upon initiation, lost her tresses; but only once, and for a time. The statues clearly reveal that they were permitted to grow again.

Whether they were removed again and again in accordance with any as yet unknown votive ordinance it is not possible to determine. They may have been: but there is no evidence to show. At any rate, these severed tresses were taken and attached, very possibly ticketed with the owner's name and date, as votive-tokens, to the Lotus-tree. *PLINY, XVI. 235 H. N.* What was ultimately done with them, who shall say? We don't yet know where the vestals were buried, though their burial place was certainly within the walls of the City.

Now, why this custom was observed it would be difficult to explain except as a survival of Tree-worship, that is to say the trees had, originally at least, been a substitute for its owner, dedicated to a tree-Deity: and in later days it would have been regarded as a symbol of purification, typifying rebaptism. It would be interesting to know how this particular tree got there: for we cannot suppose that the « *Nemus Vestae* » was composed of Lotus-trees.

Hair is, and always must be looked upon as a peculiarly personal substitute. New Zealanders still offer locks of hair to sacred trees at landing-places. The Malabarese exorcise Demons from possessed folk by cutting off their hair, and hanging it on a tree as a propitiation to the wood-fiend. Taylor says there is ground for interpreting the consecration of a boy's hair in Slavonic countries as a representative sacrifice. After all do we not still have our Christmas-trees and decorate them with yellow tinsel still called « Angels-hair »?

In passing to another sacred plant, I will merely notice what is apparently, a coincidence connected with this same Lotus-tree. Dioscorides states plainly that a decoction of its juice is exceedingly beneficial both for dying the hair yellow and for preventing its falling out. « *Rubrificat capillos, et stringit eorum radices, ne cadant!* » and Galen confirms this finding. Whether or not it may have been « *de rigueur* » for any state-reason, for the vestals to adopt a particular colour or tint for their hair, evidence is not at hand to prove. But yellow or golden hair was a Roman fashion, and probably a Hellenism, which lasted throughout the middle ages.

VERBENA :

And now lastly I must refer to the « *Sagmina* » — or Verbena.

It was a tradition in ancient Rome that when Tatius the Sabine King, sometime, the Coadjutor with Romulus, lived, the Augurs called for him at every new year, and as a new-year's gift they presented him with branches of Verbena. This originated the institution, sometimes tiresome apparently, known as « *Augurium Salutis*. » The custom somehow came to be too obviously associated with begging of one kind or another; and we find the Emperor Tiberius or others adroitly removing from town on its approaching return. The gifts themselves on these occasions, were called « *Strenoe* », in honour of a certain Divine nymph Strenia, who was believed to preside over that festival: Her *Sacellum*, Varro says, *De Rust.* 1. 2, was on the *Via Sacra*.

The « *Verbenæ* » were grown in a sacred enclosure on the *Carinæ* under the custody of an official called « *Verbenarius*. » The leaf was considered to resemble that of the oak (H. N. XXV. 105).

It was used for lustrations, and for brushing the table of the gods at the « *Epulum Jovis* », or banquet of Jove. It is still employed in medicine, and especially in « *wizardry* » and magic. The most impressive use of the plant, however, was the following; — when the twelve heralds, or *Fetiales* were despatched to a foreign people to demand reparation, or to make a treaty, some of these « *Verbenæ* », (probably three, six, or twelve) were torn up by their roots by the Praetor, or the Consul, and given to them to take with them as a token of their mission. Their procession would doubtless have started from the « *Sacellum* » of the goddess (Strenia) (Festus, p. 318, ed. Muller.) (Cu : *de legibus*. 11. 8).

It is then, no very difficult matter for us to recognize that for the Roman citizen of old, these venerable trees and shrubs possessed the charm of patriarchal sanctity, — however hazy had become the historical atmosphere upon which they seemed to thrive. To orators and critics, during the

decline of the Republic, the presence of these trees in their midst may have served as pathetic reminders of the sane and simple ideals of less corrupt times. If they found sermons in the sacred stones which glittered from temple and column around them, surely the green leaves of these national trees may have constituted wise commentaries!

But alas! the Roman populace of that last century of Republican Freedom had attained a condition of luxurious decadence accompanied by hysterical restlessness, requiring, it seems, the strait-waistcoat of a Prætorian guard: — so, that, albeit, wrought up even to tears by the fiery eloquence of such orators as Cicero and Crassus in the Forum, — as soon as they reached home the hearers probably forgot most of the subject-matter, and only discussed the manner. The triumphant finish of the utterance had formed their entertainment. They had listened for sensations hungered for thrilling dialectical technique, — and these had not been denied them.

The fact is that these wondrous literary pleadings were themselves a natural offspring of an over-excitabile age: their colours were hectic with decay. They were fascinating, artificialities married to the most exquisite style of rhetorical deliverance. But if the sacred trees were ever utilized as subject-matter in this way, the probability is that it was not thus utilized by the great statesmen or orators, but by the bitterer satirical-poets, who detected in their appearances chances for a flippant jest or a cynical paradox.

I venture in conclusion to submit it was by no means an insignificant fact that, while Rome was fast losing her liberty, while her inhabitants were fatally advancing in Asiatic taste and splendour, — the long-preserved sacred-trees one after another withered, that the green and glossy laurels turned into yellow gold, even like autumn itself, around the brows of degenerate and epileptic Caesars: and while the laurel was sacred to Diana, to Apollo, and Augustus, who put a flight of stairs from the Forum to the Palatine, — the Cornelian sacred to Romulus, withered away when the insane Caligula put a flight of stairs down from the same hill toward the « Carceres » of the Circus Maximus !!

Mr T. Ashby occupied the Chair and thanked Mr Baddeley on behalf of all present for his extremely interesting lecture.

February 7th. — Professor O. MARUCCHI, Director of the Egyptian Museum at the Vatican, delivered a lecture on the recent discoveries in the Roman Forum of which the following is an abstract.

•The lecturer began by giving a brief outline of the history and topography of the Roman Forum.

He then pointed out the principal monuments which stood on the four

sides of the famous place and fixed the position of the Comitium at the northern end of the Forum, and of the Curia which is at present identified with the church of St. Adrian.

In front of the Curia stood the ancient « rostra » of tribune, which was later on removed by Julius Caesar to that part of the Forum which is below the Capitol and of which some remains exist to this day.

He then went on to speak of the two recent discoveries, viz, the monument supposed to be the tomb of Romulus, and the altar in front of the temple of Julius Caesar.

The former of these relics was discovered in the Comitium which was situated in front of St. Adrian's. In fact the ancient Romans held in superstitious veneration several very old monuments supposed to be connected with the foundation of their city. There, according to Pliny, stood the « Ficus Ruminalis » which protected the infancy of the twins Romulus and Remus(1), — there was set the statue of Marsyas, — the Volcanal, and other historical monuments. Among these, according to Varro and Festus, was the tomb of Romulus. Varro, speaking of the Comitium, says that the tomb of Romulus was situated there « post rostra » (2).

Festus, in his Dictionary at the words: *niger lapis*, writes:

« Niger lapis in Comitio locum funestum significat, ut alii, Romuli mortui destinatum; sed non usu obvenit ut ibi sepeliretur, sed Faustulum nutricium ejus ibi sepultum fuisse... » (3).

From which we gather that according to Festus the stone did not mark the site of the tomb of Romulus, but only the sepulchre destined for him, and in which Faustulus was buried.

From both the passages we have quoted, it is evident that these writers repeated a story founded on a tradition both vague and uncertain. This uncertainty is moreover confirmed by the silence kept as to this otherwise famous monument, by all the other ancient writers who speak of the Forum.

In that part of the Comitium which borders the piazza near the triumphal arch of Septimius Severus, was discovered a small area paved with black stone and formerly enclosed by a screen of white marble, the remains of which are still to be seen.

It occurred to many archaeologists that this was the « lapis niger » of Festus and the tomb of Romulus mentioned by Varro.

At present, however, this can neither be affirmed nor contradicted, and

(1) PLIN., *Hist. nat.*, XV, 20.

(2) The words of Varro are quoted by Porphyrius, a scholiast of Horace. *Epod.* XVI, 13.

(3) FESTUS, « sub verbo *niger lapis*. »

prudence advises us to wait the issue of the excavations which are being carried on around and underneath this undoubtedly famous spot.

We will now deal with the discovery made in front of the temple of Julius Caesar.

It is well known that the temple of Julius Caesar rose on the eastern side of the Forum between the shrine of Vesta, and the temple of Antoninus and Faustina as indicated by Appian and Ovid.

When Caesar was slain on the 15th March 710 A. U. C., his body was carried to the Forum near the « Regia » and there his partisans burnt it. On this very spot a marble column was raised bearing the inscription: PARENTI PATRIÆ and near the column an altar was erected, at which the people used to make vows and decide controversies, in which they swore by Caesar (1).

But shortly afterwards, owing to political revolutions, both the altar and the column were removed from that place in spite of the loud protests of the people. Nor did the clamours against this act cease until Augustus had a temple erected there, and adorned it with the « rostra » belonging to the ships captured at Actium.

In the excavations made in 1872 the basement of the temple of Julius Caesar was found. There can be no doubt, therefore, but the temple occupied the site where the cremation of Caesar's body took place, as it is borne witness to by Dion Cassius himself (2).

The recent excavations laid bare a hemicycle in front of the temple, paved with travertine in the midst of which rises the base of an altar.

It is therefore certain that the hemicycle marks the spot where the funeral pile of Caesar was raised and which was advisedly embodied in the temple itself. The base belongs to the altar erected together with the temple in remembrance of the event. It is worthy of note that in a coin of Augustus where the Templum Divi Julii is represented, an altar is seen in front of it which corresponds exactly with the one now discovered.

We are thus enabled, through this important discovery, to behold the exact place where the funeral of the great dictator took place and are drawn nearer, as it were, to those stirring times of Roman history.

Mr Connellan presided.

February, 21st — Mrs BURTON-BROWN, with her usual kindness, met a large number of the subscribers at the University Museum of Casts, and delivered a most interesting lecture on « Greek Sculpture ».

(1) SUTONIUS — *Life of Caesar* — Chapter 85.

(2) DION CASSIUS, XL, VII, 18.

February 28th. — Professor TRACY PECK, Director of the American School of Classical Studies, gave a lecture entitled « Gleanings from Roman epitaphs. »

After alluding to the permanent influence of ancient Rome upon civilization and to the consequent importance of every source of knowledge as to how the Romans lived and what were their ideas and ideals, the speaker called attention to the very rich but somewhat neglected field of epitaphs. Many thousands of pagan grave-inscriptions have been found in all parts of Rome's vast dominions, and the additions which they make to our knowledge of ancient history and life are very considerable.

A sketch was given, with many illustrative examples of the development of the epitaph from the simple name of the dead to its record of family connections in several generations, its eulogy of character, its list of offices held or works accomplished or benefits conferred, and its recital of the age and profession or occupation of the deceased. Information is not unfrequently given as to the rise of the burial lot, the cost of the monument and the heirs or friends who erected the memorial.

The age of the dead is usually told with much minuteness — even the hours of life being sometimes stated — and, as if from a dread of inaccuracy, the qualifying phrase « more or less » (*plus minusve*) is now and then added to the age. On the other hand, the year of birth or death — as by reckoning from the foundation of the city (A. V. C.) or by allusions to the existing consuls or emperor — is seldom given, so that, unless the individual is otherwise known to us, we are left to palaeographical, artistic, and other somewhat vague methods of dating the epitaph.

The street or quarter of the city where the life-work had been carried on is sometimes given, and we thus learn that particular trades tended to concentrate in certain localities, *e. g.* the jewelry business on the Sacred Way. Pictorial representations sometimes accompany the statement of occupation, as a money bag for a treasury messenger, a shoe and last for a cobbler, a kit of instruments for a surveyor, a fine comb and a hair-pin for a lady's maid. We learn also that professions and trades were greatly specialized, *e. g.* that there were aurists, oculists, and mule-doctors, as well as that physicians were generally Greeks or from the lower classes, and that both sexes practiced medicine.

Even from the time of the earliest Scipionic monuments, epitaphs were often written in verse-forms, and thus these venerable stone-documents are of very great service in such studies as the character of the puzzling Saturnian verse, and they show persons of all classes dealt with prosody, meter, rhythm, grammar and style.

Among the biographical details in the epitaphs we sometimes learn at

what age the deceased was married. From such records it appears that the average age of the bride was 18 years, and that the largest number of girls married at 14 or 15. But as the whole number of such statements thus far found is less than 300 we must be careful about making sweeping generalisations.

The epithets applied to the dead (*carissimus, dulcissimus, optimus, piissimus, lanifica, sine ulla querella, nil unquam peccavit nisi quod mortua est*, etc.), show something of the relations between husbands and wives, parents and children, masters and slaves, and friends and friends. Undoubtedly such phrases sometimes had a more or less conventional quality, but they are certainly valuable as giving us the Roman ideal of character and conduct, and they also serve to correct the exaggerations of satirists and epigrammatists.

A characteristic and interesting feature of Roman epitaphs is the personal address. Sometimes the dead addresses the chance passer-by (*hospes, viator*) or surviving relatives and friends. An appeal is thus made for sympathy or for tender treatment of the remains and of the monument; comforting remarks or affectionate farewells or moral common-places are addressed to the living; prayers are uttered that the earth may rest lightly on the grave (*sit mihi terra levis*); thanks and good wishes are spoken because the traveller lingers by the stone, as in the inscription on the Appian Way — *Bene rem geras et valeas. Dormias sine cura*; curses are pronounced against whoever shall injure or defile the monument. More frequently the dead is addressed in terms of endearment or grief. In cases of early death there are many protests that nature's holy order in regard to the succession of the generations has been broken. At times the epitaph has a dramatic or colloquial character, as when *e. g.* the dead and the living exchange greeting and farewells (*Salve, vale. Et tibi et tu*). At other times the stone is addressed, or is itself made the speaker, or is used as a vehicle for conveying moral reflections upon *e. g.* fate, character, the inevitableness of death, the possibility of a future life and of the reunion of friends in that state. This illustrates Varro's etymological statement (*L. L. VI, 49*), *monumenta sunt ideo secundum viam quo praetercuntes admoneant et se fuisse et illos esse mortales*. The epitaphs of the pagan masters of the ancient world amply show that the human heart was then essentially what it is in modern christian society — tender and anxious and hopeful amid the joys and the tragedies, the mysteries and the solemnities of existence.

Naturally the personality of the great majority of those commemorated in Roman epitaphs is lost to us, but the study of Roman history enables us to enter into a kind of communion with many of them. Several inscri-

ptions of those whom we may thus know somewhat intimately were read, as of Appias Claudius — the builder of the « Queen of Roads », several members of the Scipio family, and Cornelia — perhaps the noblest of Roman matrons. The lecture closed with an account of the finding of the epitaph of Minicia Marcella on Monte Mario in 1885 (now in the Museo delle Terme) and a traslation of the younger Pliny's beautiful obituary sketch of the same sweet maiden (V, 16).

Major General F. Seymour thanked Prof. Tracy Peck for his highly interesting lecture.

March 7th. — Mr F. A. SEARLE gave a lecture on Hadrian, his times and his Villa. He began with the family of this wonderful man originally from Adria in Samnium but domiciled for many years in Spain.

His natural talents, trained in Athens and disciplined by Trajan, soon brought him into notice; but to Trajan's wife Plautina it is said that he owed not only his beautiful and youthful Sabina but his nomination to the Empire.

The first aim of the new Emperor was to give security to the Empire. And with this view he gave up the recent conquests of Trajan, and fortified the boundaries that were exposed. He also improved the discipline of the army. He visited every corner of the Empire and so reformed the administration, and so controlled the governors of the Provinces that no single act of extortion was ever brought forward. He ameliorated the condition of the slaves, he codified the decisions of former prefects and so was the founder of Roman law. He inaugurated a civil service of knights to control the finance. He did not persecute the Christians or any other sect, and his political career was a steady cosmopolitan policy, tending to the welfare of the Provinces and to the consolidation of the Empire.

His epoch was one not only of great national prosperity but of unusual spiritual awakening resulting in a wide extension of Christianity.

Though he did not declare himself a Christian, he did not seem averse to it, for he made himself acquainted with the tenets of the new faith and allowed two Christian apologists to plead before him. He added to the stipend of the Christian professors at the school of Alexandria, and he punished with severity any who brought false accusations against the Christians.

Adored by the army as well as by the Provinces, he was unpopular at Rome, both with the Aristocracy who despised his birth, and with the rabble in that he had no sympathy with their brutal sports.

In Alexandria his favorite Antinous drowned himself to avert the doom of the Emperor.

In 134 A. D. after an absence of five years he returned to Rome and

Originally the floor of the central part was on the same level as the floor of the Colonnade which surrounded it and the columns of the central part, which encircled the place of honor, corresponded to the colonnade.

The cryptoportici have only lately been cleared of the well rammed earth with which they were filled in mediæval times to prevent the harbouring of brigands.

Close by on the North East is a square building of several floors. It is called the quarters of the Vigili or watchmen. It may have been the kitchen and cooks' quarters.

To the West lies the open space encompassed by the so called hippodrome with the Poecile on the north side. The former was most likely where the invalid Emperor took his horse and chariot exercise, and the latter was where he walked on the sunny or shady side according to the weather.

Underneath is a long series of commodious rooms devoted perhaps to the guards, grooms, litter bearers and horses of the establishment, the officers' quarters being on the southern side, toward the Canopus.

Thus these buildings clustering round the private apartments of the Emperor and each shewing some specific purpose, presents us with such an establishment as an Emperor like Adrian would require.

The needs of the invalid are met with in the beauty of its situation, its sheltered position, its healthiness in the dry soil, the pure water, the privacy and the facility for bodily, horse or carriage exercise, change of occupation or cultured leisure.

So instead of regarding Adrian's Villa as a miscellaneous collection of copies of ancient buildings made at the caprice of a whimsical architect, they are really nothing more than the residence of a highly cultured man who after twenty years of unremitting toil settled down to enjoy the rest he had so well earned.

And now having considered the first group of buildings which we call the private residence of the Emperor, we will turn to the second part generally spoken of as the Palazzo d'Oro or, as we regard it, the Museum or the part of the Emperor's residence usually open to the Public.

Unlike the private apartments which ran from North to South, these ran from North-West to South-East generally following the direction of the valley called the « vale of Tempe » which for more than a mile they overlooked.

A paved road coming from Ponte Lucano and passing the Greek theatre conducted the visitor to the three reception rooms, adjoining which is the Belvedere which in spite of its ruinous condition still affords a lovely view of Tivoli and the mountains behind it.

From these reception rooms a flight of steps leads on to the « hospitium » or strangers' quarters, a series of about a dozen rooms opening into a common court. The bed rooms are remarkable for their beautiful mosaic pavements in excellent preservation; the interesting arrangements behind, at a higher level, would indicate an upper floor...

Ascending from this « hospitium » and through a wilderness of rooms we arrive at the vestibule of the Palazzo d'Oro, — a dome shaped building with two fountains and an apse with stages for plants. Remains of a brilliant pavement are to be seen near the entrance.

To the right can be seen two large courts which give admission to the triclinium spoken of before as forming part of Adrian's private apartment, and belonging to group n. 1. Leaving these and continuing our journey in a south easterly direction we come to a large piazza or garden once bordered with a colonnade on three sides. A little chapel or « *Ædicula* » on the right has a brilliant mosaic pavement in good preservation.

At the far end of the piazza are some lofty rooms which appear to have been lighted from the top and which probably served to exhibit the sculptures for which the Villa was celebrated. Here were marble copies by the first sculptors of the time of the masterpieces of Polyklitus, Pheidias, Praxiteles and Myron, not crowded together but each one in exactly the proper place and under an appropriate light. Large doors opened into delicious gardens and cool porticoes, nor wanted there commodious retiring rooms and covered avenues, for solitude or company; while from the terraces, the eye roamed over the luxuriant valley beneath, to groves of dense olive trees and the distant mountains beyond.

It is worthy of note that there is nothing like an Amphitheatre or any place for gladiatorial combats.

We cannot doubt that by a large class of the Roman people, these elevating objects were highly appreciated, but how to get at the mob, whose cry was for gifts and gladiators was the problem for the Emperor to solve.

He had stopped the gladiatorial shows for 20 years but the degraded mob hated him all the more.

Perhaps it was for an experiment on this class that the « Canopus » with its music and dancing and fortune telling and thoughtless merriment found a place at this abode of the muses. Only thus can we explain the introduction of the worship of Serapis and its loose accompaniments at Adrian's Villa.

How the torments of the lost and the blessings of the righteous were illustrated in the underground caves of the « *Inferi* » and in the « *Elysean fields* » we do not know, but doubtless the lessons were the most striking that could be conceived and are well worth an investigation.

The utter destruction that has overtaken these « solemn temples and gorgeous palaces » is written in Hodgkin's History of Italy and her invaders. From 543 A. D. when Totila's army of 25,000 Goths encamped here to the medioeval times when the neighbouring townfolk drove out the outlaws and brigands and destroyed their shelters, the hand of the spoiler has been ceaselessly at work.

The Church has done her part in appropriating the marbles, the peasants have taken the bricks and nature's gentler hand has spread over all, her carpet of vineyards and her gardens.

For us little is left, hardly a shelter in a shower of rain, but the great masses of imperishable concrete as they bewilder us with their vastness, call to our minds the great ideas the Emperor held when he contemplated the unification of the Empire and the elevation of the rabble, ideas doomed to a wreck as complete as that before us.

One impression however we cannot throw off, — that there were giants in those days and that among them towers the colossal form of the Emperor Adrian.

March 14th. — The Rev. FATHER MACKEY favored the Society with an extremely interesting lecture on Sardinia, which country he visited in the course of the last summer. This island, comparatively little known, is replete with interest, in its natural characteristics, its inhabitants, its fauna and flora, and the various forms of monuments. The earliest accounts of the island are given by the Greeks who speak of the inhabitants as living in caves, and in underground habitations: they also mention the so-called Tombs of the Giants, who were represented as merely sleeping in these singular constructions. We find Sardinia frequently mentioned in history as the seat of the wars between the Romans and the Carthaginians, and the island was made the place of exile for political offenders under the Roman domination.

Father Mackey spoke of the political revolts and feudal sway which characterised its history in later times; he spoke of its inhabitants so picturesque, and so different in their customs and costumes to the dwellers on the mainland; of the wild scenery, of the peculiar animals and birds found in the island, among which he particularised the flamingoes which are found in flocks, and the Mouflon, the wild mountain sheep which are found among the loftiest hills, and afford excellent sport to the hunter. He mentioned the obstacles which were opposed to his journey, the threats of malaria in August, of brigandage, and of the difficulties and delays of the journey.

On first landing at Golfo degli Aranci, the Roman Arachnea, he was

struck by the barren and rocky aspect of the country: the station buildings stood lonely about half a mile from the Port, and during the first part of the journey, the houses might be counted on the fingers, and there was little or no cultivation near the coast. He began his exploration to the North, at Porto Torres, the ancient *Turrus Libysonis*, and mentioned a ruin called by the people *Palazzo del Re Barbaro*. He also spoke of a Roman bridge of seven or eight arches, constructed in a singular manner on account of the rising of the ground. He was also struck by the beauty of the magnificent cathedral of San Gavino. He spoke of an interesting excursion he made from Sassari to the west coast of the island, to Alghero.

The town is still surrounded by walls built by Charles V, and part of it is still known as Barcelona, and the people retain many Spanish characteristics.

There are four sorts of remarkable antiquities in Sardinia: that is to say, the Nuraghs, the Witches' Houses, the Giants' Tombs, and the Monoliths or Druidic Stones. It is a disputed question what the Nuraghs were: whether sepulchres, towers of defence, or places of abode. There are many thousands of them in Sardinia, sometimes 20 or 30 within a square mile, and they are usually situated on points of vantage.

One visited by him, the Black Nuragh, stands on a hill between two brooks, with another on a promontory above it. It is 40 feet in height and in diameter, at the base, tapering towards the summit, and is built in blocks of stone; those in the interior are not shaped, they are poised with wonderful art, and are of surprising thickness. The Nuragh di S. Barbara is near Macomer, the ancient *Macopsisa*.

The Nuragh Loysa at Abbasanta near Paulilatino has been recently excavated, and thus it is found that the centre tower was connected with smaller ones surrounding it by an outer wall, and in this were slits, probably for shooting.

The « Giants Tombs » must be of uncalculable antiquity, as their existence gave rise to the classical Greek proverbial expression « to sleep as the Heroes sleep in Sardinia ». They consist of sepulchral chambers usually 4 or 5 feet wide by 8 long. The one Father Mackey particularly described is situated in the neighborhood of Macomer, the town most in the centre of Sardinia. He had great difficulty in reaching the spot, even on a sure footed and strong Sardinian poney, but at last found it in a valley surrounded with hills covered with Nuraghs. The tomb stood at the foot of one of these hills, and an avenue of Monoliths, what we should call Druidical stones, led to it. Many of these have fallen down, or have been used to mend the stone fences, but some still stand in their places, and the singularity of these stones is that they were evidently emblematic of the male and

female sexes, and were placed alternately: those representing males are from 10 to 12 feet high, the females about 5 feet; they are generally conical in form.

The so-called Witches' Houses, the *Domus Dianæ* or *Domos de Gianas* — are found in various places. Father Mackey visited some near the city of Nuoro, which is situated in a lofty position, and in the valley below are to be found some of these caverns, in which are carefully and beautifully hewn chambers capable of containing 5 or 6 persons either sitting or in a recumbent posture. It may be that it was in reference to these cave dwellings that it was reported among the ancients that the inhabitants of Sardinia lived in holes underground. There are also very interesting remains and traces of the Phœnician and Carthaginian occupation of the island.

At San Giovanni di Sinis, on the gulf of Oristano, traces are to be found of a great trading emporium which runs out into the sea. It was the ancient Tharros, and there are tombs carved in the rock in regular streets. In the flutes used by the shepherds, and the instruments for striking fire the ancient forms are still used. The lower part of the island, and especially the west coast is marshy and malarious, and the cities situated there have disappeared in consequence. Cagliari itself the capital is an interesting and picturesque town. In its neighborhood there is a Phœnician necropolis, a Roman amphitheatre and Roman tombs with carved portals. One is remarkable as having snakes carved above it, and the inscription shows that this was the tomb of a husband and wife, Attilia and Philippus, Roman exiles. Very interesting medieval remains are also to be met with, and Father Mackey particularised one church of the 12th or 13th century, Santa Maria di Saccargia of « *architettura Pisana* » of exquisite work and details, which stands in solitary beauty, the town which once surrounded it having disappeared.

The highest peak of Sardinia, Monte Genargentu, or Janua Argenti, is 8000 feet high, and on its rocky peaks the Mouflon is found, springing from one rock to another, as do also the hunters who seek them out. The highest village on this mountain bears an unenviable reputation, and its inhabitants are accused of being always implicated in whatever crimes are committed in the island. Father Mackey however had no cause to complain of them — save perhaps of a little curiosity, and indeed wherever he went he found the people civil, kind and honest, despite the reports of assassination and brigandage.

A vote of thanks was passed by Mr. Connellan.

March 28th. — Professor O. MARUCCHI led a large party of the members and associates through the Catacomb of SS. Pietro e Marcellino at Tor

Pignattara where he recently discovered the crypt of the martyrs. There he delivered a discourse dealing chiefly with the new and important discovery.

April 4th. — The Chev. D. TESORONI L. L. D. delivered a lecture on John Evelyn's visit to Rome in 1644-45. He said:

In the first half of the sixteenth century and at a short space of time from each other, Rome was visited by two Englishmen of distinction. Of these one was nearly middle aged and already attained to celebrity in the literary world: the other was a young man of 21, of an old and respectable family, and well known subsequently through the services which he rendered to his country, to science and to the arts. The former was the poet John Milton; the latter John Evelyn of Wotton. As to his travels in Italy and his stay in the Eternal City, Milton has left us a short and for the most part a vague account in his works, chiefly in his « Defensiones. » Evelyn, on the other hand, in his Diary (1), which he condensed regularly for the long span of his life of 85 years has bequeathed to us the daily history of his stay in Rome, precise and lively enough to enable us to accompany him in his excursions through the City and the Campagna and at the same time to guess the various impressions arising in his youthful and cultured mind at the sight of so many splendid monuments of ancient and modern art. Evelyn was a draftsman, and a student of classical literature and natural science. When he came to Italy, he had already a familiar knowledge of Italian, which he perfected during his stay in Rome. In Latin also he was sufficiently skilled to be able to consult ancient writers and interpret ancient inscriptions. He left London the 9th Nov. 1643, and after travelling through France and Italy for nearly a year, he came on from Florence towards Rome. When he arrived near the lake of Bracciano and inspected the plains of Rome, his thoughts, as he writes, « were strangely elevated but soon allayed by so violent a shower, which fell just as we were contemplating that proud mistress of the world, and descending by the Vatican (for at that gate we entered) that before we got into the city, I was wet to the skin. » He arrived at Rome on the 4th November 1644, towards five o'clock, in the evening, and as he writes « being perplexed for a convenient lodging, wandered up and down on horse-back, till at last I was conducted with my companions to the « locanda » of one Monsieur Petit, a Frenchman, near the « Piazza di Spagna ». Amongst the first class hotels around the Piazza di Spagna the chief was the one known as « The Three Keys » in the Babuino

(1) *The Diary of John Evelyn, Esq., F. R. S. from 1641 to 1705-6*, edited by William Bray in 1818.

in which lived a French ambassador of the seventeenth century. — It is possible that this was the hotel kept by M. Petit and at which Evelyn put up.

However this may be, he was satisfied with his choice, because, from the terrace of his room, he could see the Pincio and the Villa Medici. — « Here, » he says (that is on the esplanade before the villa Medici) « they usually rode the *great-horse* every morning, which gave me such divertissement from the terrace of my own chamber, where I could see all their motions ». — Innocent X Pamphily was elected pope the 13th of September 1644 and crowned on the 4th October the same year. — As this Pope was a Roman of noble family, his election aroused great enthusiasm amongst the citizens and the event was greeted with extraordinary manifestations of joy.

Evelyn hastened to reach Rome in time to enjoy the noisy festivals which accompanied the solemn procession in which the Pontiff had to go and take possession of the Lateran Basilica. — The 23^d of November, the day fixed for the event, the population poured out through the streets to admire the richness of the varied preparations. — The balconies and windows of the houses, the façades of the palaces and churches were sumptuously adorned with silks, velvets, damasks, gold and silver brocades, statues, pictures and flowers, especially along the route through which the procession had to pass, that is to say, from the Vatican by the Borgo Nuovo, Ponte Sant'Angelo, Banchi, Parione, Pasquino, the Gesù, the Campidoglio, the Roman Forum, the Arch of Titus, the Coliseum, and the street of San Giovanni in Laterano all profusely decorated, to the great Square in front of the Basilica.

Evelyn looked on from the steps of the Ara Coeli at the passage of the procession, of which he has left us a brief, but faithful description, as can be seen from what has come down to us from contemporary chroniclers and the pontifical masters of the ceremonies themselves. — From the Ara Coeli Evelyn went on to the Lateran, but, as he tells us, he could not see what was going on « by reason of the prodigious crowd. » In fact we know, according to calculation, that more than 30 thousand strangers from the countries adjoining must have come to Rome. — Evelyn adds « the night ended with fireworks, which I saw. The streets were, this night, bright as day, full of beauties, roaring, music playing. There were also fountains running wine. » — To take an example, there were the two lions standing at the foot of the Campidoglio, from the mouth of which poured wine, one red and the other white, to the great satisfaction of the crowd.

At that time, the city no longer preserved its mediaeval aspect, as it had been in great part embellished and renewed by the last Popes — Gregorius XIII of the Boncompagni family, Sixtus V of the Peretti stock, Cle-

ment VIII of the Aldobrandini, Paolo V Borghese, and Urban VIII of the Barberini. —

Gregory XIII continued the ornamental works in Saint Peter's and the Vatican Palace adjoining, and laid the foundations of the new University, the Sapienza, so much admired by Evelyn.

On the Quirinal he began a new abode for the Popes. During his pontificate the Lateran Church, with its Baptistery adjoining, was finished. — For the improvement of the City, the street, leading from Santa Maria Maggiore to San Giovanni Laterano was straightened out, as well as that from San Giovanni to San Sisto. To him is due the construction of various buildings for foreign Colleges which he founded and endowed with revenues — The works ordered by Gregory XIII, but not completed during his pontificate, were carried to completion under Sixtus V who, during his short reign, did much for the architectural and sanitary renewal of Rome. — Not to mention certain grand works carried out by him whilst he was Cardinal, it suffices to record that it was he who founded the Library of the Vatican, adorning and enriching it with pictures and precious books; he who raised up the cupola of Saint Peter's; he who restored the columns of Marcus Aurelius and Trajan; he who erected various obelisks, those in the Piazzas of the Vatican, Santa Maria Maggiore, del Popolo, etc. He arranged the two colossal groups on the Piazza of Monte Cavallo, constructed various fountains and the Felice aqueduct, and opened out regularly many streets and Piazzas of the City.

To Pope Clement VIII we owe new works in the Vatican Palace, such as the Sala Clementina and that of the Consistory, and the embellishment of many churches.

Paul V built the magnificent Borghese Chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore and in the piazza in front of the façade of the Basilica raised up the monolith fluted column taken from the ruins of the Basilica of Constantine. He continued the construction of the Quirinal Palace and of the new Vatican Basilica.

For the benefit of the Trastevere, he brought into Rome the Acqua Paola; he widened bridges and adorned certain spots with fountains, amongst which are to be reckoned the monumental ones of San Pietro in Montorio and that of Ponte Sisto. — Various important public works are due to Pope Urban VIII, the immediate predecessor of Innocent X. It was he who ordered the collection of arms in the Vatican and fortified Castel Sant'Angelo, freeing the passage called Corridore di Borgo, connecting it and the Papal palace, by the destruction of the mean houses lying against it. He also erected in Saint Peter's the high altar with its colossal baldaquin supported by four winding columns in bronze and placed in their respective

niches the four colossal statues in the four pilasters which support the cupola. — Of all the other works undertaken by this Pope, the most remarkable are the Palazzo Barberini at the Quattro Fontane and that of the Propaganda Fide near the Piazza di Spagna.

In spite of the aforesaid improvements the City was still different from what it became afterwards.

It would take up too much time were I to enumerate the differences between the Rome of those days and the Rome of later days. I shall therefore confine myself to giving a few examples. The Piazza del Popolo was surrounded with rough walls, enclosing orchards, gardens, and building sites. The Porta Flaminia was somewhat in a state of decadence; but, some years after this time, it was restored and embellished under Alexander VII for the solemn entry of Queen Christina of Sweden.

The Corso, although the principal street of the city, was lined with very second rate houses; and its principal palaces had not yet been improved in their architecture and decorations, with the exception of the palace of the Caetani Family, now the Ruspoli palace, near San Lorenzo in Lucina, which Evelyn called « the grace of the whole Corso. » Close by, there was still standing the Arch of M. Aurelius.

In Piazza Colonna, between the monumental column and the house of the Aldobrandini (afterwards the Chigi Palace) there stood a group of houses and shops; where now stands the Portico of Veii there used to be a little church dedicated to Saint Paul and close to the other church of the Pietà, there was a Lunatic Asylum, established nearly a century before.

In the Corso, opposite Piazza Colonna, and on the site of the Piombino Palace, recently demolished, there was to be seen a Palace, the façade of which by Giacomo della Porta was still incomplete. The gate-way was to be flanked by two Caryatids, of which, however one, only was in its place, the other lying along the street.

The ascent from the Piazza di Spagna to the Pincio was not then made by means of the magnificent flights of steps which we now see there, but by a tortuous path traced out on the side of the hill.

Of some streets and piazzas then recently constructed Evelyn makes special mention, praising them sometimes in high terms and comparing them with what was most to be admired in other great cities of Europe.

The street of the Chiesa Nuova, where he himself used to go and listen to the music of the sacred *Oratorios*, is described by him with enthusiasm as « one of the most stately streets in Rome. »

The Via Felice « a straight and noble street, but very precipitous led to the Quattro Fontane, called the Fountains of Lepidus, facing four of the most stately streets for building and beauty to be seen in any city of Europe. »

From there by the *Via Pia* leading to Sant'Agnese is the street as to which we find in the Diary: « Looking back I had the entire view of the same street down to the Monte Cavallo, one of the most glorious sights for state and magnificence that any city can show a traveller. »

The public fountains, of which at the time of Evelyn there were several, are all enumerated with complacency by him. Speaking of the two vast and rare fountains of granite in the Piazza Farnese, he tells us that « here the gentlemen of Rome in summer take the *fresco* in their coaches and on foot. »

In the Diary we find a special and detailed description of the monumental fountain in the Piazza di Termini, called the *Fons Felix*, then adorned with two authentic Egyptian lions « two lions of strange black stone, very rare and antique », and now to be found in the Vatican. It is a matter of wonder that an artist like Evelyn was unable to perceive the ugliness of the *Moses* which the sculptor Prospero Bresciano had to atone for with his death.

Evelyn devoted special attention to the sumptuous villas and gardens, nearly all then of recent formation. These called for, in particular, his admiration, because they corresponded perfectly to his darling plan of the « *Elysium Britannicum* », which was to unite in itself both nature and art. And of some of these delightful spots he has left us detailed accounts penned *con amore*, and which permit us to a certain extent, to get an idea of the places described and the original splendor now in great part departed.

He used to visit on the Quirinal hill the garden attached to the summer palace of the Pontiff and he found it to be one of « the most magnificent and pleasant in Rome. » Or he would go after dinner with his friends to take the air in Cardinal Bentivoglio's gardens, now belonging to the Rospigliosi Family.

On the Pincio he could visit the magnificent *Villa Medici*, then the property of the Grand Duke of Florence, and admire in the stately palace the splendid *chefs d'œuvre* which afterwards passed into the Pitti palace.

Above all there was the famous Venus called dei Medici of which he thus writes: « The Venus is without parallel, being the master piece of one whose name you see graven under it in old Greek characters; nothing in sculpture ever approached this miracle in art ». On the Viminal he visited the Villa Montalto, erected by Sixtus the fifth, but which has now nearly altogether disappeared and he saw « the innumerable collections which were kept in the palace adjoining the beautiful park and gardens ».

He has left us a detailed account of the state of the Villa Ludovisi, and he shows a great admiration for the rich collections of antiquities and precious objects, preserved in the *Casino*, adding: « I must never forget the famous statue of the Gladiator spoken of by Pliny, so much followed by all the rare

artists, as the many copies testify, dispersed through almost all Europe, both in stone and metal. »

None of these gardens and villas, however, awoke the enthusiasm of Evelyn to the same extent as the Villa Borghese, then styled the *Villa Pinciana*, because its principal entrance was opposite the Pincian Gate. He calls it « a real Blysiurn of delight, a Paradise ».

The most notable man amongst the literary men and artists of that time was commendatore Cassiano del Pozzo, a rich and noble gentleman from Turin, chamberlain of Cardinal Francesco Barberini. He was a generous protector to men of talent in sciences, arts and letters, and they received from him work to do and every kind of help and encouragement. Cassiano was the chief promotor of the Academy of the Lincei, and he did much towards archaeological research, specially in designing the then existing Roman antiquities, in 24 folio volumes, at the hands of two famous artists Poussin and Pietro Testa. These volumes passed into the library of Pope Clement XI and are preserved up to the present. In his letters and memoirs, in part published some years ago, there are to be found important notices on the archaeological discoveries of the time as well as the literary and artistic life of Rome.

Evelyn, a few days after his arrival in Rome, came to know this gentleman of whom he writes in his diary :

« I was carried to see a great virtuoso Cavaliero Del Pozzo, who showed us a rare collection of all kind of antiquities, and a choice library, over which are the effigies of most of our late men of polite literature. He had a great collection of the antique bassi-rilievos about Rome, many fine medals, some pretty things painted on crimson velvet: also a number of choice designs and drawings ».

Nor is the jesuit father Kircher, whose name is embodied in the interesting archaeological museum of the Collegio Romano, forgotten by Evelyn.

In speaking of his visit to the Church of the Jesuits or the Collegio Romano, he writes: « Father Kircher, professor of Mathematics and Oriental tongues, showed us many singular courtesies, leading us into their refectory, dispensatory, laboratory, gardens, and finally into his own study, where with Dutch patience he showed us his perpetual motions, catoptrics, magnetical experiments, models and a thousand other crotchets and devices, most of them since published by himself or his industrious scholar Schotti ».

At that time Father Kircher was composing his great work on Egyptian hieroglyphics. From this work Evelyn and his contemporaries as well, expected « the revelation of all the recondite and abstruse learning of that ancient people ». As is known, however, this hope was completely frustrated, as the theories put forward by Kircher turned out to be utterly

illusory. Of Kircher Evelyn records also the Babylonish dials of his invention, which were already to be seen on the front of the church at the Trinità dei Monti.

After leaving Rome, Evelyn remembered Father Kircher to whom he communicated through Mr. Henshaw, his travelling companion, the plan of a stone full of hieroglyphics and presented to him by an English sea captain, coming from Cairo. Father Kircher published the plan in his work illustrating the obelisk in the Piazza Navona and entitled « Obeliscus Pamphilius ». The stone is there described, but no mention is made of the name of Evelyn who further on writes in a note dated May the 6th 1656:

« I was shown the three last volumes of Fater Kircher's *Obeliscus Pamphilius et Aegyptiacus* and in the second volume I found the hieroglyphic I first communicated and sent to him at Rome by the hands of Mr. Henshaw, whom he mentions. » The stone itself had been brought from Venice to England and landed at Wapping, but before Evelyn could hear of it, it was broken into several fragments and utterly defaced, to his no small disappointment.

Another learned man, whose acquaintance Evelyn soon made, was Francesco Angeloni, apostolic prothonotary and secretary to cardinal Ippolito Aldobrandini, the author of various works, literary and erudite, amongst which is reckoned a treatise on numismatics.

More than once Evelyn visited the Museum of Angeloni or the Studio as it was then called. We read in the diary, November 10th: « We went to see Signor Angeloni's study, who very courteously showed us such a collection of rare medals, as is hardly to be paralleled, divers good pictures and many outlandish and Indian Curiosities and things of nature ».

Evelyn makes mention of other museums dispersed afterwards, amongst which he speaks of the collection of statues belonging to Ippolito Vitelleschi, who afterwards became librarian at the Vatican. « We went to the house of Ippolito Vitelleschi who showed us one of the best collections of statues in Rome, to which he frequently talks as if they were living, pronouncing now and then orations, sentences, and verses, sometimes kissing and embracing them ».

The most precious collection of antiquities in those times was certainly the Capitoline museum, then in course of formation and the only public museum, properly speaking, in the city.

Of this Evelyn supplies us with a very lengthy description and most important as it gives us the thread requisite in hunting up the story of that noble collection.

The most miserable and abject part of the Roman population was made up of the Jews who had under Paul IV fallen into the greatest possible con-

tempt. As to them Evelyn writes: « The Jews in Rome live only on brokerage and usury, very poor and despicable beyond what they are in other territories of Princes, where they are permitted ».

Paul IV had forced the Jews without any distinction to live in their Ghetto, close to the Portico of Octavia and the Tiber.

This quarter provided with railings, shut at night, and which remained so till the beginning of the reign of Pius IX, was called the *Serraglio*. The same Pope Paul IV ordered that the Jews should wear a red cap to distinguish them from the Christians. They were forbidden to own property or to exercise any profession or art, the most abject trades together with a moderate practice of usury, being reserved for them. So profound was the contempt inspired by this unhappy race that no kind of scorn of them was held to be inhuman or unchristian. It would suffice to relate the excesses practised on them at the Carnival on which they were forced to take part and treated as if they were worse than slaves. Evelyn recounts his visit to the *Serraglio* in the Ghetto: « I went to the Ghetto where the Jews dwell as in a suburb by themselves. I passed by the Piazza Giudea, where the *Serraglio* begins, for being environed by walls they were locked up every night ».

He listened to the sermon which used to be delivered every week exclusively for the Jews in the Oratory of the Trinità near Ponte Sisto. This custom had been instituted by means of a learned rabbi, converted to Christianity under Pope Julius III, of the Monte family, who baptised him by the name of Andrea del Monte. The Jews were forced by the police to attend the sermon which they heard very unwillingly. A policeman, with a wand, woke up the sleepers and suppressed the noisy. The sight was certainly not an edifying one and Evelyn, after giving a vivid description of it, adds with a touch of humour: « A conversion is very rare ».

However at the time when he lived at Rome there were two conversions: one of a Jew, the other of a Turk and Evelyn himself was chosen as godfather of both.

The Turk was a reality, but the Jew turned out to be an impostor.

In Evelyn's *Memoirs* we find some remarks as to the English Society of Rome at the time when he was brought into contact with it. This Society had two centres, so to speak, two poles of attraction: one was the English College near Piazza Farnese, then directed by English Jesuits; the other was Cardinal Francesco Barberini, who, as Evelyn puts it, styled himself « the Protector of the English, to whom he was indeed very courteous ».

The English Jesuits were very hospitable to Evelyn, although he was a protestant, and on various occasions entertained him and his fellow-countryman Mr Henshaw; in particular the rector Father Stafford was very kind

to him. Evelyn, and Milton too, went to dine more than once at the College, and on the occasion of the feast of Saint Thomas of Canterbury, he was present at the performance of an Italian Comedy « acted by the pupils before the Cardinals ». Of the English visitors at Rome, he mentions particularly Lord John Somerset, brother of the Marquis of Worcester, who had an apartment in the classical palace of the Cancelleria; Mr Patrick Carey, a witty person, brother of Lord Falkland; two physicians, Dr. Bacon and Dr. Gibbs, followers of Cardinal Capponi. Dr. Gibbs, who was a Scotchman, bred at Oxford, practised at the Santo Spirito Hospital and served Evelyn as a guide. « He was an elegant writer of Latin poetry, a small collection of which was published at Rome, where he died in 1677 and was buried in the Pantheon ». As one of the curiosities he saw in the city, Evelyn notes one Mrs Ward, an English devotee, who very much solicited for an order of Jesuitesses.

At that time, as is known, there was not at Rome any official representative of the English Court and it was not till the 13th april 1686 that there came to Rome the special envoy of James II, Lord Castlemaine, who took up his abode at the Palazzo Pamphili in the Piazza Navona, after having been for some days entertained by Card. Howard. His coming was celebrated in a remarkable manner by the Papal Court, the Nobles and the people in general. Whoever desires to become acquainted with the particulars of the feasts, junkettings and illuminations, having taken place during the period of Lord Castlemaine's stay in our city, may consult the account which John Writ, majordomo of the Ambassador himself, has printed. In this work there is a special description given of the solemn appearance made by the Ambassador for the public audience granted to him by Innocent XI and we learn from it, amongst other things, that the gorgeous carriage drawn by six superb horses, in which was the Ambassador with four Archbishops and three bishops, was followed by more than three hundred and thirty other sumptuous equipages of the Cardinals, prelates and nobility of Rome. This Cortege accompanied by men on horseback, grooms, pages, valets, and trumpeters took up so many streets that the Ambassador's carriage had already arrived at the Quirinal before all the others had started from the Palazzo Pamphili.

In the month of May 1645, tired of seeing sights and fearing the summer heat, Evelyn decided to leave Rome. He took advantage of the last period of his stay to visit Frascati and there go over the delightful villas Aldobrandini, Borghese and Mondragone. He visited also Tivoli with the magnificent villa d'Este, with its antiquities and natural curiosities. On returning, he was shown at some distance the city of Praeneste and Hadrian's Villa, « now only a heap of ruins, » as he says.

One day by favor of Cardinal Francesco Barberini he was allowed to be present at the Consistory, at which the new Ambassador of Lucca was received in state and after the ceremony he was presented to his Holiness Pope Innocent X.

Finally on the 18th of May, and much against his will, he left the Eternal City which he was never again fated to see during the course of his long life. « When on my way » he says « turning about to behold this glorious city, from an eminence, I did not without some regret give it my last farewell. » As a final remark I will add that, as was the case with Milton, traces of Evelyn's stay should be found in the registers of the English College and the curious visitor might yet read his name, which he wrote on the brazen globe of Saint Peter's Dome.

April 13th. — Madame GAUTIER kindly accompanied a party of the subscribers to Albano where she delivered the following lecture:

It is almost impossible for us actually to realise the aspect presented by Rome and its surrounding Campagna in classic times in spite of the quantity of books which have been written on the subject, or the numberless pictures which have been drawn of it alike by pen and pencil.

The dimensions and the levels of the city itself have varied so much at different epochs as to make its topography most puzzling, and the change in the appearance of the surrounding country is perhaps even more remarkable. The dumb Campagna sea which for the short spring season blossoms in every colour of the rainbow, and then turns yellow under the scorching summer sun till revived by the autumnal rains, — that Campagna where some attempts at cultivation are now being made, but where human habitations are sparsely scattered, and where shapeless ruins excite our curiosity and speculation, was once covered with splendid villas and their adjacent farms: it was intersected by carefully paved roads, and by great highways lined with magnificent tombs, and it was traversed by the colossal arches of aqueducts which conveyed water not only to the city, but to the farms and parks of private individuals. But all these gorgeous palaces, these solemn temples have fallen so utterly under « stern Ruins' ploughshare » that we cannot really picture to ourselves how the City and the Campagna looked in those far off times. But what has not changed, what we can still see as those old Romans saw it, is the outline of « the eternal hills » which is the most familiar and beautiful feature in the Roman landscape. It is probable that both the Sabine and the Alban range were more wooded in former days than now, though the summits of Monte Gennaro, and Monte Cavo were most likely always bare.

The Alban district included not only the range of hills but also the land

at their feet lying between the two extinct craters of volcanoes, known as the lakes of Albano and Nemi. It is the fashion to say that the Romans were so eminently practical that they did not appreciate, or that they despised the beauties of nature, but as a matter of fact we find they always chose the most beautiful and striking positions for their villas and temples, and their poets, if more concise, in their descriptions were as appreciative of beautiful scenery as their descendants are. We know that the slopes of Tivoli and Tusculum were covered with villas as thick as leaves in Vallombrosa, and if there were not so many in this neighbourhood it was because they were more important, and covered a larger surface of ground, thus making up in quality for lack of quantity.

The first villa of which we find any historical notice is that of Publius Clodius the Tribune, the famous or rather infamous hero of the adventure with Pompeia, Cæsar's wife. Cicero speaks of the enormous substructures of the villa which he qualifies as « *insanae* » and says they were capable of affording refuge for a thousand men; he also accuses Clodius of having profaned the hills, woods and lake sacred to the Latian Jove by his monstrous and presumptuous buildings. Nibby is of opinion that the immense substructures over which passes the beautiful avenue of ilexes now known as the « *Galleria di Sotto* », may have been those of the Villa of Clodius. After his death it was inherited by the family of Claudius Nero, and thus finally by the Emperor Tiberius Nero who also frequently visited it, and when he returned from Greece, and enjoyed his pretended « *triumph* », he entered the Villa of « *Albanum Cæsaris* » drawn by white horses, and through a breach in the walls, after the manner of Conquerors!

The other important villa here in those days was the one belonging to Pompey the Great; and some walls of it in fine « *opus reticulatum* » may still be seen in the grounds of the Villa Doria. It may well be that the ruined sepulchre which still stands without the Porta Romana is the tomb of Pompey. It may have stood within the precincts of his villa, and one can still perceive traces of its size and magnificence.

The next proprietor of this villa was the son-in-law of Cicero, Dolabella, and after he committed suicide at Laodicea when that city was taken by Cassius in 43 B. C., the villa passed into the hands of Mark Antony, and there seems to have been enough appreciation of honour still left in the Romans since we hear that the dissolute and abandoned manners of Antony became more obnoxious to the people from his inhabiting the houses of Pompey the Great; and before the catastrophe at Actium when the air seemed big with portents against the lover of Cleopatra, the one most known commented on by the Romans was that his statue in his Alban villa was continually found bathed in perspiration, even after it had been carefully wiped dry.

On the death of Antony in open rebellion, his estates became forfeit, and thus his villa fell into the hands of Octavius, afterwards the emperor Augustus. In this way it became, like the Villa of Clodius, imperial property, and when at last Domitian inherited the whole he increased its circuit considerably, and raised within it buildings of singular size and magnificence. The Villa of Domitian indeed covered an area of about six miles, including the sites of Albano and Castel Gandolfo, and extending from Palazzuolo to Ariccia. It is difficult quite to realise what a « Villa » represented in those Roman times.

Besides the vast dwelling house with its impluvium, and triclinium, its reception halls and library, its shrine of the Lares and Penates, its bed rooms, guest chambers, quarters for the women and the servants, there would be found often within its extensive grounds a private theatre, a stadium, a gymnasium, and without doubt also a flower garden such as we see depicted on the walls of the dining room of Livia's Villa at Prima Porta.

These villas contained also either large reservoirs for water, or private aqueducts conveying a supply from the public ones, as is the case at the Villa of the Quintilii on the Via Appia, and also that interesting but nameless Villa on the same road which belongs to, and has been so well excavated by the signori Lugari. The immense extent of « Albanum Caesarum » necessitated equally immense reservoirs for water supply, and for baths — we are expressly told that Domitian bathed every day — and the « Conserve d'acqua » of Albano are amongst the finest existing anywhere, as large as those within Rome known as the *Sette Sale*, though smaller than those at Constantinople. They are familiar to us through the designs of Piranesi.

The water which now fills their deep and picturesque recesses comes from the lake of Nemi, but when they were constructed they were supplied from a spring on the slopes of Monte Cavo above Palazzuolo, and the pipes and conduits which brought the water underground have been discovered at different times.

It was characteristic of the cruel and suspicious Domitian that he should have established in his Villa a camp for the Praetorian Guard constructed on the model of the one at Rome. It was a long square with rounded corners, the longest sides extended almost down to the Via Appia from the present church of San Paolo, the shorter sides from San Paolo and the Capuccini convent, and also parallel to the Via Appia; thus we see that nearly all the modern town of Albano lies within the circuit of the Praetorian camp which was constructed of stone quarried from the mountains, some blocks of the walls being nearly 12 feet in length.

The population of the Castro, and subsequently of the town of Albano was the result of the union of the Praetorian Guards with the women of the

country who were called the Cabannate from having at first inhabited *capanne* or huts of mud and rushes outside the walls, until they were admitted within them on their marriage with the soldiers.

The only gate that can be traced is on the eastern side, but it is closed. When the Camp was broken up, and the Guard abolished by Constantine in 312 A. D., these families continued to reside as peaceful citizens within the ancient warlike precincts.

The church of Santa Maria Rotonda here is so called from being constructed over a circular building which some archeologists believe to have been a temple to Minerva known to have existed near this spot, and here were celebrated the solemn festivals called « *Quinquatriæ* »; they were the same which at Athens were called *Panatheæ*, when musicians and poets, vied in celebrating the virtues of the goddess, and gymnastic contests, and horse and foot races took place in her honour. Suetonius expressly tells us that the Emperor Domitian never failed in celebrating these festivals: he had a peculiar devotion to and veneration for Minerva, and among the portents which seemed to predict the violent end which his coldblooded cruelty drew upon him, the one which seemed the most to affect him was a dream in which Minerva appeared to him, and taking leave of him, announced that she must depart from his temple, as she could no longer defend him, Jove himself having taken away her armour and weapons. The whole of Albano seems pervaded with memories of Domitian, that most unworthy son and brother of Vespasian and Titus.

Between the church of S. Paolo and the Cappuccini convent are remains of the amphitheatre where the Emperor delighted in killing hundreds of wild animals with bow and arrows. It was the only weapon which he used with dexterity, and he was very vain of his skill. In this very amphitheatre in A. D. 91 he obliged the famous consul Acilius Glabrio who was suspected of being a Christian, to fight unarmed with what Juvenal calls — in his 4th Satire — the bears of Numidia; Dion Cassius corrects this statement saying he must mean lions, as there are no bears in Numidia. The Alban amphitheatre which was excavated in 1887, is partly hewn out of the rock, partly constructed in *opus quadratum* and in small stones and bricks. On the slopes above it where now stands the Convent of the Capuchins may have been that shrine sacred to Venus to which Horace alludes in the 1st Ode of the 4th book, and it was only fitting that Venus should have a temple in the neighbourhood of that Alba Longa which tradition says had been founded by her grandson Ascanius.

It was to this Alban Villa that was brought the monstrous turbot caught at Ancona of which Juvenal speaks in the 4th Satire. A peculiar feature of the Imperial Villas was the *cryptoporticus* which intersected and undermined them in all directions.

The one we are familiar with on the Palatine probably served as a model for the others. They furnished private and secure passages by which the Emperors and members of the Imperial family could pass unobserved and unmolested from one part of their palace to another, though sometimes conspirators and assassins managed to conceal themselves within their vaults, as Caligula and Commodus found to their cost. The cryptoportici of Hadrian's Villa extend for many miles underground, and must have formed delightful walks sheltered alike from the summer heat and autumn rains, and adorned like the Palatine cryptoporticus with delicate frescoes and beautiful designs in stucco. The cryptoporticus of Domitian's Albanum Coesaris was singularly rich in such ornamentations as we may still faintly see by the ruins in the gardens of the Villa Barberini, and below the avenue called the Galleria di Sopra are remains of a portico with niches for statues and alcoves once no doubt fitted with luxurious seats and couches, all commanding the lovely view over the lake « navell'd in the woody hills ».

All around the lake are to be found vestiges of the imperial constructions, paved roads, quays for mooring boats, grottoes and nymphaeae, one of the time of Domitian, and all showing what was the level of the lake at that period.

Anterior by many centuries to these constructions is the famous Emissary, the great subterranean channel or drain which the Romans began to cut through the solid hillside in the year of Rome 354, that is abt. 400 B. C. not only with the object of giving an outlet to the waters of the Lake, which often rose, and sometimes burst their bounds in an alarming and portentous manner, but also to verify the answer of the Delphic Oracle, that the city of Veii (already in the 7th year of its siege) should fall when the waters of the Alban lake should escape from its basin, and as we know the two events did really take place at the same time. It is calculated that this wonderful engineering undertaking must have been completed in very little more than a year. Nibby, who calls it « Opera stupenda », gives a most graphic description of it.

Before concluding this brief notice of the antiquities of Albano I would call attention to the singular and still fairly preserved monument which stands on the eastern side of the town on the way to Ariccia, and which was known formerly, as the tomb of the Horatii and Curiatii. This sepulchre is more likely that of Aruns, the son of « Lars Porsenna of Clusium » who was killed, Livy tells us, in a skirmish under the walls of Ariccia.

Here I would also call attention to the fine « mura di sostegno » which supported the old via Appia where it traversed the gorge. Catacombs in which both pagan and christian inscriptions have been found exist below these slopes; they can be visited by the entrance of the church of La Stella.

The history of Albano can be followed without a break from the time when the Praetorian Camp was broken up by Constantine in 312. The author Anastasius Bibliotecarius writing in the 9th century says that Constantine erected a basilica in honour of St. John Baptist in Albano during the reign of the pope St. Silvester endowing it with lands and houses in the neighborhood.

The next important mention of Albano is in the 5th century by Procopius who says that Belisarius sent troops to occupy the little town of Albano, always important from its situation on the Via Appia. The first bishop of Albano of whom we have positive knowledge is a certain Romanus who was present at a council in Rome in 465, and in 468 an Athanasius is mentioned as bishop at another council. After this date the succession of bishops is unbroken.

In the 12th century it was the head quarters of the antipope Anacletus.

Albano is frequently mentioned in Platina's Life of Pascal II, and in 1217 the Popes must have acquired rights over the place for in that year we find Honorius III bestowing it on the Cardinal Bishop. During the reign of this same pope we find mention of the celebrated family of the Savelli who then inhabited the important fortress of Castel Savelli whose ruins still exist on the little hill to the S. W. of Albano. They enlarged their territory around the town till finally they were invested with it by Honorius IV the son of Luca di Sabello who is buried in the Savelli Chapel in the church of Aracoeli. The Savelli remained for almost four centuries the lords of Albano, and in consequence the unfortunate city was involved in all the feuds and fighting of those lawless times.

Already it had been levelled to the ground in 1243 by the Saracens of the Emperor Frederick II when he was fighting against Pope Innocent IV, and it was again destroyed in 1436 by Vitelleschi the Pope's legate when the Savelli and the Colonnese had joined forces against the Papal Chair. The town continued to follow the fluctuating fortunes of the Savelli till 1697 when Giulio the last survivor of the family which became extinct by his death in 1712, sold it to the Camera Apostolica. The palace of the Savelli was restored by Clement XI, and assigned as a residence to James III of England, the « Old Pretender » with his sons Charles Edward, and the Cardinal of York.

In the 14th century the Savelli became also lords of Castel Gandolfo, the town which arose amid the ruins of Domitian's Villa, just as Albano did from the Castro Praetorio. The castle from which it took its name was built by a Gandulphus, probably of Genoese origin who already possessed a tower at Genzano. In a legal act of 1178 *Turris Gandulphorum* is already mentioned, and *Castrum Gandulphi*, and after many vicissitudes and chan-

ging of owners it finally became the absolute property of the Papal Chair under Clement VIII in 1604. From that time up to 1870 it was, as we all know the favourite *villeggiatura* of the Popes, and Pius IX was often seen here riding or driving through the woods, and under the beautiful shady avenues attended by his Court and Cardinals.

The more important ruins mentioned in the lecture were afterwards visited.

April 20th — Prof. R. H. BORGE, Hon. Secretary, accompanied a party of the subscribers to the site of Horace's farm near Licenza, — the ancient Digentia of world-wide fame. The beautiful mosaic floors of the poet's house which are rapidly falling into decay, were shown together with the drawings made of them by the late lamented Chev. D. Berti, C. E.

The hermitage of S. Cosimato near Vicovaro was also visited.

April 27th — Prof. G. TOMASSETTI of the University of Rome conducted the members and associates to Bovillae on the Appian Way. He began by stating the object of his lecture, viz., to point out the site and limits of Bovillae, — to rectify the inaccuracies to be met with in Nibby's *Dintorni di Roma*, vol. 1, — to explain the few existing ruins — and, lastly, to examine the connection of Bovillae with another town or rather group of villages on the Appian Way, the name of which was given to Bovillae in the middle ages.

1. — With regard to the site and limits of Bovillae the lecturer said: Many ancient writers speak of Bovillae but they do not always agree as to its exact locality. Plutarch, in his *Life of Coriolanus*, places it at a hundred stadia from Rome; the scholiast of Persius at the eleventh mile on the Appian Way, and Propertius and Ovid call it a suburb of Rome. On the other hand we find it marked at the tenth mile in the *Peutingerian Map*. Nibby calls it a mistake: but he seems to have overlooked the existence of a group of Appian villages which started exactly from the 10th mile.

At this distance was the *Vicus Sulpicius* which along with other villages formed an important centre of population as is known from inscriptions found on the spot and more particularly from the altar of the *magister* of the *vicus* now in the Vatican Galleries (*Corpus*, vol. 1, 542). We shall afterwards see how the name of this *vicus* was in the middle ages given also to Bovillae.

Although the more ancient and important part of Bovillae lay to the right of the Appian Way, there are evidences of its having extended, in more recent times, also to the left of it. — This is why some topographers place it nearer the modern town of Marino.

The name of the city is derived from BOS which seems to indicate that it owed its origin to a primitive agricultural colony from Alba Longa. It is not from vanity, therefore, as Nibby presumes, if the inhabitants of Bovillae styled themselves Albani Longani Bovillaenses, for besides the supposition just alluded to, it is a fact that after the destruction of Alba Longa, many fugitives from the unfortunate city preferred to settle at Bovillae instead of going to Rome. This fresh influx of population contributed considerably, by the necessary building of new houses, to give the city all the characters of a big straggling village. Nor are Propertius and Ovid wrong in laying stress on the smallness of Bovillae, for they do not allude to the whole territory over which the suburbs of the city extended, but to the older city itself which, as we have said, was on the right of the Appian Way. This more ancient part of Bovillae was strongly fortified, for when Coriolanus marched on Rome, he did not deem it prudent nor safe to leave it behind him. He therefore stormed and captured it. Dionysius (VIII) says that the Bovillaenses from their point of vantage succeeded in beating the enemy back down the hill.

Prof. Tomassetti is of opinion that the hill in question could be no other but the one which was, in much later times, occupied by Castel Savello where records of the Bovillensi-Sulpiciani of the dark and middle ages are to be found.

The importance and wealth of Bovillae are moreover confirmed by the traditional account of Anna Perenna, a lady of Bovillae, who during a great famine relieved, through her generosity, the sufferings of the Roman people, which won for her the honour of having her name registered in the Roman Fasti.

We know from the Liber de Coloniis how in accordance with the law of L. Cornelius Sylla, Bovillae, though surrounded by walls, had to submit to the right of pass, which means that she was compelled to disencumber the Appian and Maritime Roads which she had encroached upon and commanded. Florus, it is true, ridicules the victory of Coriolanus, but he speaks of Bovillae as he saw it in his times: Plutarch describes its sack, and Dionysius records its fierce and dogged resistance.

It was the pride of Bovillae to have been the cradle of the *gens Julia*, a fact connected with the legend of Julius (Ascanius, the founder of Alba).

Bovillae is also famous in history for the sanguinary encounter between Milo and Clodius in which the latter was mortally wounded and carried to a « taberna » by the roadside which may be identified with the Osteria delle Frattocchie of our days.

During the dictatorship of Julius Caesar, Bovillae recovered her former grandeur which she kept up under the Caesars who inherited the Empire.

When Augustus died at Nola, his body was carried to Bovillae. Here it was left a whole night and on the following day it was taken to Rome, borne on the shoulders of knights.

Tiberius, we are informed by Tacitus (Ann., II, 41), dedicated the sacrum of the gens Julia, and Circensian games were held on the occasion (XV, 23).

This is the first mention we have of the Circus of which we see the remains.

The inscriptions found at Bovillae record a *Templum Novum*, a *Cajus Dissimius Curator Republicae*, an Alban *Vestalis Maxima* (Severina the sister of Dissimius) the gens *Sulfenati* and an actor from Bovillae, *Lucius Acilius Euthycha* styled *Archimimus* which confirms the existence of the theatre.

In all these inscriptions which belong to the II century, the Bovillaenses are, not without ostentation, called Albani Longani Bovillaenses; which is another proof of the vastness of the territory of Bovillae as it comprised a great part of the district which had formerly belonged to Alba Longa.

The numerous and precious discoveries made at Bovillae corroborate Prof.^r Tomassetti's assumption. It is sufficient to mention the altar of Ve-Jovis belonging to the gens Julia, and now in the Colonna gardens; the apotheosis of Homer, a beautiful alto relief now in the British Museum; the famous Iliac Table, a minute basrelief in Palombino marble on which are sculptured the principal events of the Trojan War and which was used for teaching purposes, now in the Capitoline Museum; the mosaic representing the birth of Rome found again by Prof.^r Tomassetti in the cellars of the Palazzo Colonna in Rome 50 years after its discovery (Mittheilungen Institut's 1885); two colossal statues sold to the Englishman Fagan; several marble columns which were removed to the monastery of S. Sisto in Rome, and many other objects which it would take too long to enumerate.

All the farm houses in the neighbourhood, the palace of the Frattocchie built by Cardinal Hieronymus Colonna, the monasteries, the churches of Castel Savello, the mediaeval Castle itself, the walls, — in short, everything for miles around was built at the expense of this ancient Municipality!

II. — There can be no better guide to the ruins of Bovillae than Tambroni's excellent paper inserted in Vol. III of the proceedings of the Roman Academy of Archaeology, to which is annexed a Map of Bovillae by the architect Luigi Poletti. Sixty years have passed since the date when the map was first published. Ten years afterwards the ruins were visited by Nibby who still found them in a tolerably good state of preservation. At present almost every ruin has crumbled away or has been otherwise destroyed. There are the remains of the Circus — which was oriented from north to

south, and the arches of the *Carceres* formed of square blocks of *lapis albanus* and supported by engaged columns of republican times. The lines of the *podium*, also in *opus quadratum*, the remains of a gate on the western side, and the relics of the main gate in the curve opposite the *Carceres* can be also traced. The other group of ruins, erroneously believed by Nibby to be the pulvinar, the lecturer considers, with Poletti, to have been the temple of the gens Julia. It is known that this edifice stood near the Circus from the fact that Tiberius instituted the Circensian games in honour of Julius Caesar.

The other existing ruins of Bovillae are: A *piscina* divided into two compartments and coated over with stucco, which must have formerly belonged to a noble house of which no traces are left. The theatre is sufficiently well preserved both as regards the *scena* and the *cavea*, but it may be better examined with the assistance of Poletti's plan. A beautiful city gate, in an almost perfect state of preservation, may be seen in the Travalusci vineyard.

The ancient road paved with polygonal stones, formerly so much admired by archaeologists for its breadth and convenience, is now a mere track.

III. — The straggling character of the city of Bovillae which extended from the Vicus Sulpicius to Castel Savello, was kept up till the decline of the Empire.

Alba Longa had been transformed into the splendid Villas of Clodius, of Pompey, and later on, in Imperial times, of Domitian. The latter built near it the extensive barracks for his Praetorian guard (1) and which Constantine presented to the Christian Church. From the ruins of these vast and once imposing buildings Alba rose again from its ashes in the modern Albano. On the slopes of the Alban range which are nearer Rome was established one of those large agricultural colonies called *domuscultae*, viz. a number of villages clustering round an ancient centre of habitation which from the V century onwards have gathered all the dwellers of the old Roman villas and suburban *pagi*. This fact is recorded by the biographer of Pope Adrian I who restored the church of S. Theodoro situated in *Sabellum iuxta domuscultam Sulpicianam*.

Sabello which had formerly belonged to Bovillae was included by Pompey into his Alban estate, but was afterwards given by him to his clients and officers the Minutii Sabelli from whom its modern name of Savello is derived.

In the middle ages the former boundaries were once more assigned to the district owing to the same economic conditions of ancient times; that is to say, owing to the necessity of uniting great number of small landed proprietors under one municipality.

(1) See Madame Gautier's paper on Albano, pag. 42.

The last record we have of the city is to be found in a Camaldolese parchment of the year 1024 in which it is called Buella. The inhabitants of Bovillae had come out of their old precincts assigned by Sulla and lost their ancient name and privileges. Henceforward we find them living in the Sulpician villages and chiefly engaged in agricultural pursuits. In time, however, also these villages were in part abandoned for the healthier and larger borough on the hill : Savello, — and there where once rose the Alban arx was built the medioeval Castle the ruins of which are so striking and picturesque a feature in the Alban landscape.

The Late Sir F. Clare Ford G. C. B.

It is with profound regret that we have to report the death of H. E. Sir F. Clare Ford, H. M's Ambassador to the Italian Court, Vice President of our Society. During the tenure of his exalted office, he generally presided our Opening meetings and exhibited, as far as his failing health permitted him, an appreciative interest in our Society.

The Late Mr. George Dennis C. M. G.

It is also our sad duty to record the death, in the 85th year of his age, of the distinguished archaeologist Mr. George Dennis, Vice President of our Society and author of the world-famous book « The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria. » After retiring from H. M's Consular service in 1888, he visited Rome regularly every year and took a most active interest in the work of the Society. It would suffice to mention the many papers on antiquarian research which he read at our meetings, to enable one to estimate the heavy loss our Society has sustained.

The Late Mr. Alex. Roesler Franz.

By the death of Mr. Alex. Roesler Franz, British Consul for Central Italy, the Society has lost one of its most distinguished members and valued friends. He seldom failed to attend our Council meetings and his advice as to the legal and financial matters of the Society was never asked in vain. The sad event occurred on the 4th May when the Session had already been closed. We therefore avail ourselves of this our earliest opportunity to offer our sincere condolences to his bereaved wife and brothers.

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Session 1899-1900

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(*Vacant*).

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The Society of Antiquaries of London.
Royal Institute of British Architects.
Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology U. S. A.
Cambridge Antiquarian Society.
Oxford Architectural and Historical Society.
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New-York State Library.
University of California, Berkeley.
Geographical Society of California.

The following serials are received by the Society.

Bollettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma.
Notizie degli Scavi dell'Accademia dei Lincei.
Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects.
Bulletin of American Geographical Society.

BRITISH AND AMERICAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF ROME

ANNUAL REPORT - SESSION 1899-1900.

The Council are glad to be able to announce that the Institution finds itself at the close of the 35th Session in a favourable situation, far more favourable than might be expected under circumstances which would have proved fatal to any other institution of the same nature and similarly constituted but not endowed with the same vitality. The war in South Africa, the Paris Exhibition, the apprehension of finding the hotels crowded on account of the Anno Santo, have all contributed to keep away many of the Society's friends who usually made a longer or shorter stay in Rome during the winter months. This fact is borne out by the comparatively small number of tickets issued for admission to the lectures, and the exceptionally small audiences that attended Prof. Lanciani's special lectures in aid of the Society's funds. With all that, the number of subscribers has continued to increase slowly but steadily; three new members were elected, against two who resigned; and 52 associates were admitted instead of 48 counted last Session.

The audited accounts show a balance of lire 167.55 to credit, besides lire 5,000 invested in Italian 5 %/. This satisfactory state of the finances will improve in future years owing to the generous offer made the Society by its American friends, of the use of a lecture room which will enable the Council to save 240 lire annually.

If we now turn our attention to the work done during the past Session, the Council have even a greater reason to congratulate the Society. The opening lecture was delivered before a large and distinguished audience, by Mr W. St. Clair Baddeley, on the subject of the recent excavations in the Basilica Æmilia, on which occasion the chair was occupied by H. E. General Draper, U. S. Ambassador; H. E. Lord Currie of Hawley, British Ambassador, and Lady Currie being also present. The proceedings were wound up by a short speech from Sir John Evans F. S. A. Vice President of the Society, who very aptly alluded to the happy fusion of the two great Anglo-Saxon races in the wide field of scientific investigation.

Besides the opening, eighteen lectures and demonstrations were given, of which 10 by professors of Archæology in the University of Rome, two by the Director of the Egyptian Museum of the Vatican, and six by english-speaking gentlemen who though not archæologists professionally, have devoted and are successfully devoting their time to the study of Roman antiquities.

Some useful additions have been made to the Library as may be seen from note appended. It is confidently hoped, moreover, that the number of exchanges of our publications for those of kindred Societies will keep on increasing as several advances have been made to the Society for this purpose, notably from America.

Thus far the Society which can boast to have had on its roll of actual members the names of such eminent archæologists as a John H. Parker, a George Dennis, the late Lord Savile of Rufford, and to have at present those of Sir John Evans and Mr F. M. Nichols, has been able to fulfil its modest but useful and far-reaching mission. Nor is it considered that the progress and work of this time-honoured Institution may be interfered with if other Institutions of a similar character but necessarily limited to technical training for students, should be established among us. Just as the American School, started here some years back, has in no way interfered with the Society, but has indirectly been of great advantage to it, so it is hoped, it will be, when the British School shall be established in Rome.

Signed on behalf of the Council.

R. H. BORGES
Hon. Secretary.

Rome, April 30th, 1900.

72. Via S. Nicola di Tolentino.

Additions to the Library.

A set of photographs of the monuments of Sardinia, presented by the Rev. Father Mackey.

Books purchased.

Christian Huelsen: *Bilder aus der Geschichte des Kapitols.*

G. F. Hill: *Greek and Roman Coins.*

I. Hodgkin: *Italy and her Invaders*, vols VII and VIII.

W. Warde Fowler: *Roman Festivals.*

Pompa: *Vita e viaggi di San Paolo.*

Lanciani: *Forma Urbis Romæ*, VII part.

SESSION 1899-1900

The proceedings of the Session began with a lecture on the Basilica Emilia and the recent excavations carried on there, delivered by Mr W. St. Clair Baddeley, at the Society's rooms, on Tuesday, January 16th, to an audience of over a hundred persons, when H. E. General Draper, United States Ambassador, Vice-President of the Society, was in the chair, supported by H. E. the Rt Hon. Lord Currie, British Ambassador.

The lecturer said :

Some years ago, while reading the preface to Dyer's well-known « History of the City of Rome », written in 1883, I noticed a passage to the effect that the appearance of the Forum, hitherto disappointing, had been considerably bettered by the recent excavations, it having regained its ancient level and almost its ancient limits. I am not going to say exactly the same thing à propos of the present excavations. The Forum cannot precisely be congratulated on its good looks ! As in Archaeology, so in the Forum, not a little must be taken upon trust. Its present appearance is decidedly against it. « But », (wrote Dyer) « the North side is not yet excavated, on account of the buildings standing upon it, and probably it never will be during the present generation, and we do not, therefore, gain a complete idea of its breadth ».

As these words appeared in print seventeen years ago, their prophecy was very nearly being realised, when Mr Lionel Philips stepped in, like a veritable « Deus ex Machina », and enabled the present Minister of public instruction, signor Guido Baccelli, to buy up without delay the houses and yards belonging to Antonio and Michele Fiori, pull them down, and so commence, not only uncovering the site of the Basilica Emilia, but to take the initial step toward penetrating to what are known as the Imperial « Fora » : namely, the Forum Transitorium and the Forum Julium, etc. The only condition stipulated by the donor, was that the operations should be carried on with all reasonable speed. And, when you are reminded that the above-men-

tioned houses were standing intact and inhabited in early May, and that by the end of July last, they were entirely gone, you will agree with me that the said Minister has faithfully kept his word, and that we are all much indebted to his zeal, and especially to that of his ablest of lieutenants, Comendatore G. Boni, in this matter.

At the same time, although a considerable portion of the site of the Basilica has now been laid bare, the height above the Forum-level of certain houses (which stand behind the site of those already pulled down), makes it imperative for their safety, that a certain terraced slope of soil and rubble, shall, for the present, remain above the middle eastern portion of the Basilica; else, there might occur disagreeable, and probably expensive, landslips: so that the whole of this ground so generously placed at the disposal of the Roman Archaeological world cannot yet be fully explored. We must be patient, therefore; all will, no doubt, come right, and the rough ways be made plain.

For this reason — when very kindly asked by the Secretary of this Society to give a lecture upon the subject of the Basilica Æmilia, I objected as courteously as I could command: for it seemed to me to be unscientific to attempt to lecture upon a building before it was wholly excavated! At the same time, I reflected that almost all the lectures I have been accustomed to hear in Rome, and a large percentage of the volumes printed about Roman remains have laboured under precisely the same disadvantages, their authors no doubt being aware of the fact.

But, on the other hand, I reflected that even as it now is, and far more, had this Basilica been entirely explored, it would occupy considerably more than one lecture to do its remains any sort of justice, moreover, your Secretary would not be refused; and so I yielded to a gentle pressure, and I sin in, at any rate, pleasant company.

That being so, I divide my subject into three parts. Firstly; a limited description of the actual remains uncovered. Secondly; the History of the site, and historical allusions to it; and, thirdly, I call to mind certain influential events and persons in Roman History, with which this Basilica and the illustrious family which both built and maintained it for many generations, must always be most intimately associated: — I mean the early Æmilii especially the great Æmilius Paullus, the conqueror of Macedon, whose picture once adorned it.

And perhaps, — in order to make myself clear, — I ought to preface the description by answering, in some small measure, a question which is very often and naturally asked: namely, what was a Basilica? For I should say that, after their actual *temples*, their *Basilicas* were the most important and beautiful buildings erected by the Romans in their Fora,

and in their palaces. For they had both public and private Basilicae. But it is only with their public Basilicae that we have to do to-day. In these buildings, the financial and legal professions, especially, came into contact with their respective clients. Public Basilicae then, architecturally, were spacious oblong buildings in one or two storeys, containing a large central area, or nave, sometimes open to the sky; sometimes roofed-over. This was surrounded by colonnades forming aisles and porticoes. These aisles in turn supported colonnaded upper galleries or *loggias*, running all round the central area and looking in upon it. The outer ground-floor colonnades, in some instances, were freely accessible to the public: in others they were filled in with perforated marble screens, or « *cancelli* ». While the inner nave, or peristylum, was usually separated from the adjacent aisles by not only its columns but by a substantial wall. The original purpose of these buildings in Rome, seems to have been to extend the business-capacity of the Forum, while giving men shelter from both sun and rain. Hence they were places of constant resort. Sometimes they certainly contained halls which were devoted to the service of Justice; sometimes, they had none. Sometimes their central nave had an apsidal termination: sometimes not. In Cato's time, we read (cf. Cato minor: Plutarch) that the Tribunes of the Plebs held their Court in the old Basilica Porcia. And certainly, the later Basilica Julia was utilized by the four Courts of the « *Centumviri* », -- in one of which, Pliny, (the younger), practised as an Advocate, and the Emperor Trajan presided. That writer, moreover, tells us that the Galleries above the court were often thronged with women and men, interested in the cases going on below. If however, as Pliny says, women and men listened to the trials taking place in the area below, great must have been the inconvenience to the judges. How often must they have desired to clear the Court. Further, their Courts must have been divided from one another by screens, or else, by curtains. It is well known that « *cancelli* » or marble screens, did partly close the external arches of that building. The Basilica, then, in these its Judicial uses, harks back to its probable Greek original, a *Regia*, or kingly hall, wherein the « *Archon* » administered justice.

Nevertheless, it would be quite incorrect to infer that all the Roman Basilicas were constructed or made use of as Tribunals. They differed, one considerably from another in purpose, and consequently in their interior arrangements: some were partly closed, and some were open. Whereas the Basilica Ulpia offers no evidences of having possessed interior intercolumnar walls, the remains of the « *Æmilia* » prove that, within its disclosed southern aisles, at least, it possessed a series of finely built *Tabernae* or shops, eighteen feet wide, apiece backed by a north wall of « *opus quadra-*

turn », which in a later day was backed by a brick one lined with marble. Behind this the peristylum or large court, is still for the most part awaiting the spade of the excavator. So that entering the southern aisle from either its western or eastern end, one passed along an arcade having these high-class offices on one side, and the *Sacra Via* on the other. The northern side, towards the *Forum Transitorium*, probably resembled it. Time will show.

There is no evidence to shew that the « *Basilica Æmilia* » was associated with tribunals: or contained an *Apsidal* termination; but there is abundant proof that it was a princely commercial edifice, or *Exchange*, a functional adjunct to the *Forum*.

That it was, in some sense, a closed building, then, is evident from the nature of these *tabernæ*. On the other hand, that it was an open building, is evidenced by *Plutarch's* well-known account of how the mounted *Pretorians*, determined upon the death of the too-parsimonious Emperor *Galba*, in the year 69, coming down from the *Viminal*, rushed through it (its portico) with drawn swords, to take him in his litter, he having just descended from the *Palatine* to the *Forum*, — and that having killed him in the midst thereof, they cut-off his head and placed it on a spear, etc. But it may be asked, why did they rush through the *Basilica*, when the street called *Argiletum* ran into the *Forum* between it and the « *Curia* »? We may, I think, account for this partly by the new-proven narrowness of that street, and because they would have desired to prevent his escape and that of his friends. In fact, two of his suite, we read, were killed; one at the temple of *Julius*, and the other at the temple of *Vesta*! His partisans, therefore, were running to the east of the *Forum*. The *Pretorians* then rushed forth, some of them no doubt from the Portico of the *Æmilia* in order to capture and slay the fugitives.

This open character of the *Basilica* is indeed what we should be led to expect of a building partly leased out in well-to do offices or large shops. It had arcaded colonnades or porticoes all round it, and through these the guards rushed, in order to complete their crime. These colonnades were easily accessible to the public; and within them, we may easily picture the grave white-toga'd merchants walking to-and-fro discussing their affairs.

Again, like the *Basilica Julia*, in structure, medals and coins of the *Æmilian* Gens, shew us that the *Basilica Æmilia* was likewise two-storeyed; the lower, or ground floor, observing the *Romano-Doric* Order; the upper one, probably, the *Ionic*. As its corner-stone reveals, it was partly built of or, at least, cased in *Pentelic* marble: but the inner area, or open court, was probably adorned all around with great columns not of *Phrygian* (or *pavonazzetto*) marble, of which *Pliny* speaks with such admiration, but with

Africano. Above these, succeeded an entablature, along which were fastened circular shield-like medallions of bronze; each bearing the portrait of one of the ancestral Æmilii. These were termed « clipeati. » The edifice also contained as its chief and oldest glory, a picture of the great Æmilius Paullus Macedonicus, the conqueror of King Perseus at Pydna. Hence, Statius, the Laureate of Domitian, called it the « Regia » or palace of the warrior Paullus.

These shield-portraits of the ancestors of the clan were the prototypes of those which once adorned the exterior of the Coliseum, of the medallion-portraits of the Popes and others, still to be seen in S. Apollinaris in Classe, at Ravenna, and in S. Paul's outside the walls, above the columns of the nave, on both sides. The coins of the Triumvir Æmilius Lepidus shew these shield-portraits in that position. It may well be that the idea, though actually a Greek one, was suggested by the gilded shields of the Samnites, which, Livy says, on *certain Festivals*, used to be exhibited above the ancient silversmiths' shops in front of the earlier Basilica Æmilia. On the other hand, we know that Æmilius Lepidus had a similar set of shields in his own mansion: and that long before his day, in B. C. 495, Appius Claudius dedicated in the temple of Bellona a set of « clypei » bearing portraits of his Claudian ancestors.

This edifice, then, one of great size and splendour, — was the monument, considerable remains of which, many of us have been so long hoping to greet. I may venture here to mention that I had lectured nearly ten times on the subject before the funds could be obtained.

Indeed already certain beautiful architectonic fragments belonging to its external cornice, had been lying about in the Forum these many years, though they were curiously pointed to by some of the professionally enlightened, as the Doric remains of a « tempietto » of Janus, as restored by Domitian, imaginatively figured by Labacco and Ligorio and others. In this attribution were committed two remarkable feats. Firstly, it was imagined that these splendid blocks could have belonged to quite a miniature temple, and secondly, the fine deep mouldings of the time of Tiberius were mistaken for the usually deteriorated mouldings of the latter end of the first century. It was obvious, indeed, from their size, as well as style, that they could not belong to the temples of Castor, of Julius Caesar, nor to the Regia, but only to some very large building which had observed the Doric style, and had been built of Pentelic marble. Workmanship, style and measurements, all pointed to but one conclusion — they must have belonged to the Basilica Æmilia, as restored by Tiberius; certainly to no work of Domitian's.

One of these fragments contains a grand metope bearing a « Bucranium », that is to say, an ox-skull betasselled with the vittae, or woollen sacrificial

fillets. There was, however, still missing the alternating metope bearing a shield-like rosette, and the triglyph which divided these. On the 25th of June, last, while looking on at the excavations and within a few yards of the temple of Faustina, a block of marble began to appear, on which, I noticed the beginning of a deeply-cut triglyph of large dimension. Having sent word to the upper Forum to Commendatore Boni, he came, and instantly recognised that we had the desired fragment. A rosette shield was soon displayed, and measurements put it beyond doubt that this fragment of the frieze belonged to the same building with the former ones. A few pailfuls of water cleaned, and so to speak, baptised it. We were, then, it seemed, to have more of this hitherto styled « tempietto » of Janus. At any rate, this find greatly raised our hopes.

But dismissing that controversy concerning the « Janus Quadrifrons » here, I will pass on to the next find, which took place three weeks later. On July 15th, the workmen came upon that attractive heap of inscribed fragments which is lying just as it was found, close behind the block containing the triglyph just mentioned, and presenting, verily the appearance — the advance-guard, as it were, of the terrible and chaotic ruin we were to uncover. There lay the grand Inscription just where it must have fallen from the Portico above, its pieces pretty clearly showing that it broke-up and perhaps, twisted, considerably, upon striking the ground. In fact, its inscription lies entirely face upwards, and can be read off without difficulty, by the spectator who stands west of it. As is now well-known, it bears, in beautiful Augustan characters, a dedication to Lucius Caesar, the second of the sons of Julia and Agrippa, who died at Marseilles, in A. D. 2. It is about fifteen feet in length, and was probably erected in his life-time.

Here, then, was a new Inscription revealing an important historical fact till now unknown. The Portico of the Basilica Æmilia which had been burned in the fire of B. C. 12 and restored by an Æmilius, who was Pontifex Maximus, with the aid of his friend the Emperor Augustus (Dio Cassius. L. IV. 24.) had been adorned with a dedicatory inscription in honour of the Emperor's second grandson. The latter's sister, be it remembered, the younger Julia, was presently to marry the son of Æmilius. We already knew that the Basilica Julia had been rebuilt and dedicated both to Caius and Lucius Caesar: but we had a portion of the Æmilia dedicated to Lucius alone, which so became a Porticus Lucii. But it is quite possible that a similar inscription to Caius may have adorned the other side of the Basilica. Time will show!

On examining the soil underneath these mighty fragments, interesting facts soon came to light. Five centimetres of it bore unmistakeable evidences of a conflagration, proving to be full carbonised material. The In-

scription, therefore, must have collapsed during a fire. But further, also under it, and all around it (except just behind it northward), there lay remains of debased granite, brick and stone structures, with equal certainty attributable to the 5th century A. D., down upon which the great inscription had finally crashed. This made manifest that when those usurping buildings had been already standing there some time, the noble first century porticus had (at least in its eastern portion) been likewise standing and almost overhanging them. This fact, however interesting, augured ill for our ardent hopes. It filled one with misgivings only too certain to be realised. For, the « Notitia » and the « Curiosum », two Regionary catalogues of the city, dating from the late 4th and early 5th centuries A. D., had practically told us that the Basilica Æmilia, whatever its condition, was still standing in those days, and we lacked any reliable information as to its actual destruction during the middle ages. Now, however, it became plainer and plainer that during the violent convulsions of the 5th century, the Basilica Æmilia had apparently been a vortex of destruction. But on clearing off the soil to the rear of the Inscription, Signor Boni was fortunate enough to come upon a huge carven block of Pentelic marble measuring nearly seven feet in its major axis, also standing « in situ » on a travertine cushion two-and-a-half yards square, and he recognised that he had found the south-eastern corner-stone of the Basilica itself. Our hopes rose once more. On cleaning it, it was found to contain the Torus mouldings of a large column, which must have been two-thirds engaged, at its south-west angle; while on its northern and eastern sides it contained two bases belonging to fluted pilasters, all conformable to the Doric Augustan edifice of which we were in search. From the proportion of that circular torus it became certain that the columns flanking the Basilica on the Forum-side, must have been on the scale of a ten-foot circumference apiece, and that they were of white marble. Multiplying the base-diameter of the column by seven, we may judge its height to have been practically twenty-four feet.

These columns were crowned by Doric capitals, which, in turn, supported a cornice extending six feet higher. I must, I fear, beg your patience with these actual details, for, since these days, in a line with this magnificent cornerstone, at a distance of fifteen feet apart from it and from each other, stretching on westward toward the church of S. Adriano, have been exposed eleven out of perhaps fourteen more travertine-base-cushions, or footings, which must have carried the rest of the engaged marble columns; shewing that the Basilica was at least three hundred feet in length; that is, only 10 yards shorter than the Basilica Julia. It had, therefore, a phalanx to the Sacra Via, of white Pentelic fluted columns bearing a rich Doric cornice of Bucranii and rosettes, as it stood up against the blue sky; and it looked

across the open Forum toward its great rival, the Basilica Julia; thus completing the symmetrical design intended by its founders. If we remember then, that the Æmilian Basilica resembled its rival, in having two storeys, it will not be difficult for us to understand the admiration it inspired in Statius, at the close of the first century, by reason of which he called it « *Sublimes Regia Paulli*, » (the lofty mansion of Paullus). Nor, again, will it be hard to guess at the « all-glorious within, » or open court, where great columns supported the *pluteus* or entablature dividing the lower line of columns from those of the gallery above.

I must not linger at this point to speculate upon its vanished beauties, nor as to what skilful Greek hands moulded these cornices, exquisite fragments of which we now possess; or, as to what stout Celt, Teuton, or Turanian slaves, with rope and pole, swung those huge travertine bases into line. For I have yet to mention such further original remains of the building as have been up till now explored and opened up for us by Signor Boni's unremitting exertions.

Having, together with those bases, discovered, more and more all along the line, the depredations, desecrations, and mutilations, which the Basilica had suffered at the hands of the people and their rulers, during the down-fall of the Empire as well as having found but too-abundant remains of the contemptible structures which they had then raised upon the site of all that magnificence, feelings akin to despair again succeeded our hopefulness as to the fate of the interior of the building. It became clear that the Basilica had been destroyed at a period not later than the fifth century when a fresh and inartistic building was raised on its site. But still other chapters of its history awaited us. For making way into the enormous bank of debris behind the travertine bases, the workmen laid bare several fragmentary late-empire walls, which are aggressively visible to-day: yet they were not without some better success than this. For immediately behind, and under some of these they also found extensive remains of five good-sized chambers before mentioned, belonging to the original Basilica and possessing walls built of neatly-laid blocks in « *opus quadratum*. » These run back to a continuous but rather thin north wall, built in the same style and material, and which runs W-E, or parallel with the travertine cushions. These chambers were boldly arched, and appear to have measured twenty feet by fourteen, and their well-dressed dividing walls are uniformly three feet thick. The presence of these walls first assures us that the Basilica Æmilia totally differed in its applications from the Julia in that, it incorporated a line of *tabernæ*, or first-class offices. In three of these have been uncovered fifth century geometric pavements of coloured marbles: the designs of

which were sufficiently preserved to enable them to be judiciously restored. I also picked up in one of them two brick stamps of Theodoric, who, we know, visited Rome in the year A. D. 500. What, then, may we recognise these chambers to have been? Can we specify with any likelihood, their nature? I think we can.

Livy and other writers have told us that a row of shops called the « Tabernæ Novæ » (to distinguish them from the « Tabernæ veteres » on the south side of the Forum) and originally occupied by butchers, stood in front of the first Basilica on this spot, which, begun in B. C. 179, had borne the joint names of Fulvia and Æmilia from its founders M. Fulvius Nobilior and Aemilius Lepidus. These Tabernæ were rented by Silversmiths and Bankers, and were therefore termed « Argentariæ novæ ». Livy (lib XXVI, c. XXVII) writes that they were seven in number, originally, but that after 211 B. C. they had been reduced to five, and such they perhaps continued in Livy's own day to be. At least, it is far from unlikely that the Financiers should have continued to occupy in the glorified Basilica, the position they had in ruder days occupied outside it: although there were then probably more than five in it; the term « quinque tabernæ » may perhaps be taken as a conventional one. If that presumption is admissible, then, subject of course to correction, we may infer that here in these handsomely-paved chambers, we have the back-rooms of the « Tabernæ novæ », albeit in their latest Imperial form, - that here sat and brooded the Torlonias and Attenboroughs of other days, and discussed loans and securities with their needy, or extravagant, clients. There is reason to believe these chambers were only the back rooms, because there is ample space for the front offices, into which alone the public, in passing, would have been permitted access.

A little to the south-west of these remains are to be noticed the sill and jambs of a fifth century door, which call for passing remark. For this sill of white marble proves by the names inscribed upon it (many of them fairly legible) to have formed part of the previous Triumphant Fasti which were affixed to the « Regia » for purposes of public reference. Nor are the names upon it less important than the object itself. Among them occur Quinctius Cincinnatus, Caius Sulpicius, and Licinius Menenius, and one of a « Dictator clavi figendi causa », that is to say, of a chief magistrate appointed for the special purpose of averting some public calamity by driving in a nail to the side of the cella of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. You may recollect how Pliny recommends as a remedy for epilepsy, the driving in of a nail on the spot struck by the epileptic in his fall (H. N. 28. 63). In fact, in early Republican days it had been an observance borrowed from the Etruscans to mark the years by driving in an annual nail to the Cella of Ju-

piler. But that custom being dropped, it was resorted to on rare occasions for the special purpose of warding-off the plague of famine. Livy mentions three of those Dictators. As the names on this stone relate to public men of the third century before Christ, this Dictator may perhaps have been Cneius Quinctilius. The remainder of these illustrious names have been worn out and trodden under foot by the barbarians of the fifth and sixth centuries.

With regard to the Phrygian, or pavonazzetto, columns, of which Pliny made mention, it has been a fashion to state that they were taken from the Basilica Æmilia when Theodosius and Valentinian amplified the church of S. Paolo f. le Mura, and utilised there. I have heard it stated and denied by the same authority over and over again. But of this fact there is no proof whatever. It is true that before the fire of 1823 consumed that church, it did contain 24 such columns, fluted, and over 40 feet (52 palms) high, with a 12 feet circumference. These had certainly belonged to some ancient imperial edifice. But that edifice was not the Basilica Æmilia: firstly because their height and circumference were far too large to have belonged to the Æmilia, measuring a larger scale than were even the exterior columns of its Porticus, and secondly because we have found sufficient evidence to prove that the Columns of the interior of the Basilica on both floors were of Africano and not Phrygian. Of the latter marble indeed not even one chip has been found on the site and even in the drains belonging to the building.

I am, however, bound to state that the progress of the excavation during the last few weeks has in some degree solved for me at least the problem of the disappearance of the Phrygian columns; supposing that they may have adorned the Basilica in Pliny's days, I believe them to have been destroyed in the fire of Carinus in 284 A.D. My reason is the following: The workmen have now uncovered or got beyond the inner wall of the Basilica, to its central pavement. On examining this inner wall, which is of brick marble lined, we find it to be a wall belonging to the third century and very similar to the walls of the Curia hard by. The marble mouldings also correspond in style to that period though perhaps somewhat too good for it. This renders it patent that the interior of the north end of the Basilica Æmilia in the third century suffered in such a way as to need drastic restoration. Much of it had to be rebuilt, perhaps when the adjacent buildings were likewise being rebuilt after the said fire of Carinus. In that catastrophe the Phrygian columns (if they existed), perished and were replaced by others of scarcely less precious, and more ostentatious material. But if any were saved they may still be found at the north-eastern end of the site under the brink toward the Temple of Faustina. On the marble pavement behind the wall

quantities on quantities of third and fourth century copper coins have been found, and their presence is easily discovered on it by the green stains of the bronze.

PART II

From Tacitus, Pliny, and Statius, then, we learn of the Basilica at the close of the first century. It is likewise mentioned in a passage in the Scholiast of Horace, where it is stated that two Jani stood before the Basilica Paulli, where was the meeting place of the Usurers (*Fœneratores*) and their clients. (Hor: *Acron.* 1. *Ep.* 2 lib. and *Sat.* 3. lib. 2). We have, besides, Plutarch's account already mentioned, of the Pretorians rushing through it to slay the Emperor Galba in the Forum. Then, we travel back to the year A. D. 22, when an Æmilius Lepidus restored the edifice, under Tiberius; to which restoration the marble fragments of the Doric cornice, probably, belong. This takes us back in a few years to the dedication of the Porticus to Lucius Caesar, which had been re-erected after a fire had damaged the Basilica in the year 14 B. C. The history of the building prior to this is fairly familiar to us, in that in 46 B. C. the Basilica was finished and dedicated by Paullus Æmilius Lepidus, at that time consul. He was the son of Lucius Æmilius Paullus, who in 54 B. C. had started the total reconstruction of the Basilica with 15,000 talents, a sum calculated to have been the equivalent of 8,000,000 lire. This money was presented to him by Julius Caesar out of his Gaulish spoils; it was said, as an inducement to overcome his political opposition. Jordan wisely remarks, « both the Basilica Julia and the Basilica Paulli were designed from the same point of view; and with the restoration of the Comitium, rostra, etc., were portions of one splendid plan of Caesar's for the improvement of the centre of the city. » They certainly formed a fine illustration of the utilitarian character of Caesar's genius, and show us how he aimed at relieving the pressure in the Forum, which the population had far outgrown and were still further to outgrow. Cicero, writing to Atticus in B. C. 54, tells him how Paullus was building with ancient columns a Basilica in a manner the most magnificent, « *ut laxaremus Forum* », « so that we may expand the Forum. » (*Ad Atticum* IV. 13). Perhaps no man could so fully appreciate the change as the great Orator. It was in the generation preceding this, and when Cicero was a younger man, that the father of this Lucius Æmilius Paullus, Consul, in 78 B. C. decorated the preceding Basilica Æmilia with the bronze-gilt portrait-shields, and especially with a picture of the great family

(1: *Magnificentissimam nil gratius illo monumento, nil gloriosius.*

ancestor, Lucius Æmilius Paullus, Macedonicus. It had likewise been adorned in the year 82 B. C. by Cornelius Sulla with a solar clock, or Horologium, in place of a water-clock, or Clepsydron.

And thus we feel our way back fact by fact to the first Basilica Fulvia et Æmilia begun in 179 B. C., which was undoubtedly in its day one of the most splendid results of that irresistible Hellenizing movement which had gained strength from the subjugation of Sicily by Marcellus, and the consequent diffusion of Greek culture, and Asiatic luxury among the Romans. But this movement was to be intensified an hundred-fold through the decisive vanquishing of the main Hellenic nation itself, by Aemilius Paullus Macedonicus at Pydna in B. C. 169. For, till that moment, the fashion for Greek studies had met with bitter opposition from Cato and from all the more conservative patriots, who prophetically saw in it, the sources of future degeneration of the Roman race, even though it should meanwhile enrich them in the Arts and Literature. But in spite of their denunciations, the love of homely terracotta began to give way more and more to admiration for costly marbles; and the Romans, among other changes, began to indulge in two hot meals « per diem » instead of one.

In fact, one of the first eventful processions in Rome which the colonnades of the earliest Æmilian Basilica may be said to have looked upon, was perhaps the most gorgeous and influential Triumph the city ever was to witness, - even the Triumph of the greatest of all the Æmilii, and with a brief reference to the nature and bearings of that event, I will close my lecture.

PART III.

Æmilius Paullus, having conquered Macedon and taken prisoner its King and his family, obtained the honour of a Triumph. The importance of the victory, the nature of the prisoners, and the splendour of the booty, rendered it necessary for the Senate to assign no less than three days for its duration. We are told that so great was the sum of money poured into the military treasury, that the citizens of Rome during the next century were not required to pay any military taxes.

On the appointed day then citizens, dressed in cleanest white, took up their positions along the main route, in street, circus, and piazza, or on steps of temple or porticoes of Basilica.

In the temples themselves incense smoked and the statues of the gods were crowned, while green garlands festooned the inter-columniations, or were twined round their columns. The lictors, vigiles, and other public guardians we may suppose, marched up and down keeping the crowd within due bounds.

Meanwhile, the Victor assumed the toga and mantle of purple, fastened to his shoulder with a golden brooch. A crown of laurels was placed upon his head, and an iron ring on his index finger of his left hand. Thus habited, he repaired to a selected spot in the Campus Martius in order to address and compliment his soldiers and distribute to them their well-won rewards, which consisted chiefly of golden crowns of various values and designs, together with a certain portion of the spoils taken. This meeting was called « *Ad Concionem* » (conventio).

That finished, he mounted his chariot, and proceeding to the gate of the Servian city called « *Triumphalis* », between the Capitol and the Tiber and near the present Piazza Montanara he offered sacrifice to the Lares of Rome.

Here the Senators in their purple robes received him and introduced him to the City. Presently, they headed the Procession, or « *Pompa* » guarded by the Lictors, and followed by a band, and slowly started on their journey to the Capitol by a certain set circuitous course, purposely including the most spacious thoroughfares. In fact, they passed by the Circus Maximus into the Via Triumphalis at the back of the Palatine, and so made for the « *Carinæ* » near where the Coliseum now stands, in order there to strike the « *Sacra Via* » at the Sacellum Streniæ, and so turn into and down through the Forum, and thence mount up to the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitol.

Following the Senate came a band of trumpeters and flutists, making the air resound with « *sonorous metal breathing martial sounds* » as Milton would say. These were followed by files of chariots, containing pictorial representations (made by the Greek painter Metrodorus) of the various cities captured, and fortresses subdued, together with paintings, statues, precious embroideries, vases, and arms, all disposed in the guise of trophies. And as these passed on in front of the astonished and delighted populace, they read the names of the places affixed to the chariots. On this first day of Æmilius' triumph, no less than 350 such chariots are said to have passed down *Sacra Via* under the Arch of Fabius along by the Basilica Fulvia et Emilia, before the people of delighted Rome.

On the second day, a similar procession passed before them, loaded, not with statues and pictures, but with silver and bronze coin heaped in vases; together with helmets, cuirasses, swords, and spears, — the spoil and tribute of seventy cities of Greece and Thrace; reins, bridles, bits, — all jingling and creaking with the jolting over the rough pavements, terrible to the ears of the prisoners, though pleasant, no doubt, to those of the victors. After these chariots marched numbers of slaves carrying cups of silver and cups of gold, and more vases brimming over with the coined money. And so passed the second day, — likewise coming to a close in feasting and merriment.

On the third and last day, bands of trumpeters roused the ear with strains of a bolder nature, and the procession commenced from the same *Porta Triumphalis*, with a battalion of porters bearing, four to each vase, nearly eighty vases of gold coins, of the computed value of seven millions of Italian lire. In their footsteps followed 100 white bulls having their horns gilded and begarlanded with woollen vittae, together with the « *victimarii* », who were to slay them for the priests up at the Capitol.

Æmilius having enriched a splendid golden cup with several remarkable pearls, reserved it to present personally to Jupiter Capitolinus, in his temple. All the other gold plate, some of the treasured objects being famous relics of the Kings of Macedon, were displayed to the populace as trophies in the chariot which had belonged to the captive King Perseus.

Presently followed the three children of that fallen monarch with their suite of officials, who had pitifully taught them to extend their hands to implore the cold clemency of the Roman People. There were two boys and a girl. After them was seen approaching the captive King Perseus himself suited in black, walking like one in a dream. Next to him, went the wretched Queen, his consort.

After them followed, borne by officials, 400 golden crowns offered by cities of the Empire itself to the Conqueror, in flattering token of his victory.

These ushered in the Victor himself, who stood clad in purple and crowned, on a magnificent triumphal chariot, followed by his son, Scipio Æmilianus, afterwards the destroyer of Carthage, and the adorer of the *Basilica Æmilia* by the addition of a Horologium.

After them came the victorious legions and cohorts, waving laurel-branches and singing military songs in praise, or banter, of their General.

Arrived near the « *Comitium* », the principal captives were at once conducted to prisons, while the victor pursued his even way up the *Clivus Capitolinus*, where the Senate waited to receive and banquet him.

King Perseus had entreated Æmilius to spare him the degrading ordeal of exposure to the Roman mob, and he is said to have received the chilling answer, « that he had it in his own power to preclude that painful necessity ». However, Æmilius seem to have felt a compassionate feeling for his captive; perhaps, on account of the fact that he himself had lost one of his own children but four days prior to the Triumph and another was lying fatally ill. In any case, he spoke in favour of Perseus to the Senate at the Capitol, and the death-sentence of strangulation was commuted to one of banishment to *Alba Fucense*, near *Avezzano*, among the *Marsian* mountains.

Perseus languished there for a few years and died. His Queen and his children were granted the severe liberty of earning their own livelihood.

One of the sons is said to have effected this by making « styli », or bone-pens.

Probably the most remarkable building which this wonderful procession skirted then, on its way down the « Sacra Via » was the Basilica Æmilia, then just fresh from the hands of its first builders, - an edifice which, no doubt, closely reflected the influence of that Greek Art which had been steadily increasing in Rome.

As may be imagined, nothing could have conduced more powerfully to Hellenise Rome than those victories of Æmilius Paullus. In fact, the Conqueror became himself the conquered. Greek tutors and philosophers presently arrived in Rome by shoals, where they found a lucrative market both for their wisdom and Art. Paullus had reserved to himself the library of Persæus, which he presently made over to his sons. Everyone who aspired to be considered cultured, thenceforth endeavoured to master the Greek language and write in it: and public readings of Greek classic works became the vogue. Moreover Paullus caused his children's education to be completed by Hellenic masters. This ferment of Hellenism soon revealed its effects in the genius of the Roman Poet Terence, who took for his model the great comic poet Menander. One of his best plays the « Adelphi » was performed for the first time at the funeral games given in honour of the deceased Æmilius Paullus himself.

It was, therefore, in the brilliant light of such happy and significant events in Roman History, that the first Basilica Æmilia arose upon the site where to-day we are exploring the remains of its latest representatives, - a sort of confused « variorum » Edition of it.

January 23rd. — Comm. Professor R. LANCIANI, D. C. L. gave the following lecture:

SPORT IN ANCIENT ROME.

The old saying « nothing new under the sun » cannot be repeated too often when we compare modern with ancient civilization.

Many inventions which form the pride of the present age, many details of our improved City government, are to be found alluded to by classic writers, at least in their principle or rudimentary form. We are pleased for instance, with our postal service and with the facility we can get across the seas, but the ancients had obtained in this department a wonderful degree of efficiency without the help of steam. There was at Ostia, the sea harbour of Rome, an imperial post office for maritime mails the director of which had at his command a fleet of fast cutters. These cutters could reach,

with a fair wind, and smooth sea, Alexandria and the mouth of the Nile in 11 days, the straits of Gibraltar in 7, the straits of Messina in 5, the coast of Barcelona in 4, the ports of the Riviera, and the coast of Africa in 3. This last feat of good and quick seamanship is authenticated by the remarkable case related by Plutarch in ch. XVI of the life of Cato, who, trying to impress the Senate with the necessity of destroying Carthage unfolded his mantle and showed the astonished assembly a batch of fresh figs, which had been gathered in the gardens of that african city only 50 hours before (1).

Telegraphic despatches were exchanged by means of signal stations or semaphores by day, and by flashes of light at dark.

The firemen or *Vigiles*, a body of men 7000 strong, instituted by the Emperor Augustus, six years before Christ, to protect Rome the Capital of the Empire from fires and burglaries, were duly provided with « Syphones », viz. with double-acted forcing pumps. It is true that these fire engines were worked by hand and not by steam, but it is only within memory of the living generation, that steam engines have been brought into use.

Lastly as regards the newspapers which they called *Acta diurna* « Events of the day » they were compiled and published by a staff of officers called « *Actarii* » or journalists, assisted by judicial, military, financial and general reporters who took down in shorthand the proceedings in the courts, the registry of births and deaths (the original of which was posted for public inspection at the temples of Venus and Libitine, respectively) Parliamentary reports, wills and bequests, shipping and trading news, military intelligence and curious or thrilling scraps of information about fires, races, meteorological phaenomena, and especially love tales and adventures with the names of the parties in full. News of private affairs seem to have been communicated to the editor in chief by way of advertisements. A large staff of amanuenses made it their business to copy the *Acta* by the hundreds, and sell them to clubs, or reading-rooms of which each public Bath was provided, or mail them to the provinces where they were eagerly sought after, and extensively read.

I do not expect, however, to institute a parallel study between ancient and modern life. I shall confine myself to one single question which has been asked over and over again, namely whether the ancients were fond of

(1) These rates of speed are surprising. I was just reading the other day that the *Henrietta Mary*, Captain Fesby, a King's vessel which left Greenwich on Feb. 15, 1696, with Count Castlemaine secret ambassador of James II to Rome on board, employed exactly 60 hours in reaching the harbour of Dieppe.

sport, in the truest and most genuine sense of the word. By sport we do not mean simple gymnastic or athletic competitions such as foot racing, swimming, wrestling, boxing, weight-throwing, high and long jumping, and the like, because, as you all know, such exercises formed part of the regular training of Roman youths. There were « greens » or « campi » set apart for these sports, bordering, as a rule on the Tiber, because it was customary to wind up the morning exercises with a cold plunge into the river. What I mean by sport is more especially horse training for racing and betting purposes, alpine climbing, boat racing, hunting big game, and other such noble pursuits which are generally believed to be the outcome of modern education, and to represent the essence of moderne life. The ancients loved these exploits, as much as we do : the only difference, perhaps, is that the sporting craze was not so universal as it has grown to be in the present age.

First, as to Alpine climbing. Considering the fact that the newspapers which alone may have related perilous and daring ascents accomplished by private individuals, have not come down to us, no wonder that the information we possess concerns only crowned heads, or generals famous in the annals of war. We must exclude also from the list, restricted to crowned heads and generals, those who were compelled to cross the mountain-passes for reasons of warfare, from Napoleon I to Barbarossa and Charlemagne, from Hannibal and Drusus to the Kings of Assyria, whose expeditions in the snow-capped ranges of Armenia and Cappadocia are so graphically represented in the bas-reliefs of Nimroud and Nineveh. Much would be said, for instance, about the alpine journeys of Alexander the Great, if they were not but accidental episodes of his military career. Strabo says that in crossing the northernmost range of Bactriana Alexander was so charmed with the magnificent scenery of those heights that he halted for some time on the top of the pass and offered a banquet to his generals. However instances are not wanting of Sovereigns who, out of sheer curiosity, or longing after unknown and new sensations, or to show their pluck or simply to do something different from the routine of others, made the ascent of difficult and perilous peaks.

Philip the third of Macedonia is the oldest known member of the Alpine brotherhood. His portrait ought to have the place of honour in all our alpine clubs. The account of his ascent of mount Hemus in the Rhodope range on the borders of Thracia (1) which took place in the year 181 B. C. is to be found in chapters 21 and 22 of the XL Book of Livy. Having been

(1) Hemina Dagh, Eastern Balkan.

told that from the summit of that mountain it was possible to behold at the same glance the Adriatic and the Black seas and to follow the course of the Danube as far as the Alps, he determined to try the experiment in company with his sons: however the hardships of ascent were described to him in such dark colours that at the last moment he left the young ones behind and started for the mountain followed only by a few porters and guides. It took the party three days to reach the summit and two to descend to the camp again. Livy says they were very much affected by the cold at sunrise and by mists. In fact I do not believe they were repaid at all for their troubles. At all events when questioned as to the extent of the view commanded by the mountain, they confirmed the popular report concerning the Adriatic, the Black sea and the Danube, which proves that either they had seen nothing on account of the mist, or that they were not speaking the truth. The Emperor Hadrian is the best known Roman mountaineer. In contrast with his predecessor Caligula, who fled from Messina at the first sight of the smoke issuing from the crater of mount *Ætna*, and at the first report of the « boati » or underground grumbings of the vulcan, he made the ascent in the year 126 A. D. in order to enjoy the sunrise over the Ionian sea. This marvellous sight which attracts now as it did in ancient times so many lovers of the wonders of nature and which is accompanied by such striking phenomena of light and shade of refraction and reflection of the first rays of dawn over sea and over plain from the coast of Calabria to the bay of Palermo, must have fascinated the Emperor, whom Gregorovius justly calls « the precursor of modern tourism. » He was so enchanted with his climb that he built a « Refuge » or shelter-house at the height of 8950 feet, the remains of which are now named the « torre del Filosofo. » In 132 A. D., the same Emperor made the ascent of mount *Casius*, the present *Gebel Akra* (5450 feet) the *Rigi* of northern *Siria*, of which *Pliny* says that it afforded the view of the rising sun about the second crow of the cock, while the whole country below was plunged into the darkness of night. On reaching the top of the mountain, Hadrian was preparing to offer a sacrifice as it was customary with the Romans to do on these occasions when a stroke of lightning killed at the same time the victim and the imperial chaplain.

The same ascent was made by *Julian the Apostate* more than once. *Am-mianus Marcellinus* says that one day, after performing his devotions on the highest peak, the emperor granted free pardon to a certain *Theophilus* who had conspired against his life, which act of clemency from such a man shows that mountain climbing makes us better and elevates our souls to a purer and healthier atmosphere, than that breathed by mankind below.

Let us now turn our attention to horse breeding and horse racing. The

best stables and the best trainers were to be found not in Italy but in Spain, Sicily, Epirus, Cappadocia, above all in the provinces of northern Africa now represented by Algeria and Tunis.

A mosaic discovered at Oued Atmenia in Algeria gives us a most vivid picture of the racing stables of a certain Pompeianus who was lieutenant governor of the Province under the Emperor Honorius. The colts and racers are seen in their respective boxes with their wollen covers on, and their names put up above the manger such as *Altus*, *Pullentianus*, *Delicatus*, *Polydorus*, etc. This great establishment was placed under the direction of a trainer in chief, named *Cresconius*. A fac-simile of this interesting mosaic was sent to the Paris exhibition of 1878. Racing stables were great centres of intrigues and the bribing and corruption of jockeys seems to have been practised in a large scale. In fact the craze of the Romans for races exceeded all bounds. Lists of horses with their name and colour and those of their riders or drivers were circulated before the race and heavy bets made on each colour, horse or jockey.

The training of colts was generally finished at the age of three, and good racing horses were removed from the turf and pensioned at five. Among the hundred of celebrated winners, the names of which have been transmitted to posterity, we find hardly ten mares which proves that mares were not usually trained for the turf or the Circus. The power of endurance of ancient racers is simply appalling. *Tusculus* one of the best horses of *Diocles* the charioteer ran and won not less than 429 races. We must pay the same homage for strength, nerve and endurance, to their drivers or riders. *Diocles* whom I have just named the prince of Roman Charioteers, the *William Archer* of the middle of the second century after Christ claims in his own epitaph, to have outdistanced in his successful career, all the racing men of the age such as *Scorpus*, who boasted of 2048 victories, and *Pompeius Miscalus* who claimed 3559. *Diocles* himself when pensioned at the age of 42 had won 3000 races with a chariot drawn by a pair, and 1452 with a larger number of horses, a grand total of 4462.

An inscription discovered in Rome, May 1878, gives interesting details about the career of a lad named *Crescens* a Mauritanian or Algerian by birth, and belonging therefore to the best horsey race in the world. He ran the first time an August 1st A. D. 115 when only thirteen of age, and kept on racing for ten years with four horses, named *Circius*, *Acceptor*, *Delicatus*, *Cotynus*. When he came to grief in 124 his record was 686 races and 47 victories. The 47 victories are specified in his tombstone as follows: 19 against 3 competitors: 23 against 7: 5 against 11. He had reached the goal a good second 130 times a good third 111 times.

These charioteers amassed prodigious fortunes, by getting the prizes, by

taking a share in betting, and, I dare say, by occasionally conspiring with book-makers. Juvenal the satyrist asserts that one of them could easily gain in a short time one hundred-fold the income of a celebrated lawyer. Crescens, whom I have just named, when only twenty two years old, had already put aside 13,000 pounds of your money; and Diocles left to his son a fortune of 250,000 pounds.

Horses were not less appreciated than their riders. Inscriptions, mosaics, pictures, bronzes, frescoes have not only immortalized their names and valiant deeds, but have transmitted to us their very portraits. I have lately put up in the new Municipal Museum of Antiquities here in Rome a bas relief representing a lifesize quadriga, with its highly spirited horses, named the Victor, the Avenger, the Ocean and Danaus. Names and portraits were cut upon domestic utensils objects of daily use, and children's toys. Once on the occasion of a famous victory gained by a jockey named Euprepes, and by a horse named Nereus, a cutler of speculative propensities produced a number of pocket knives with a rough outline of both engraved on the bone handle. I have already found two specimens of them, one in Rome in the via di porta S. Lorenzo, one 16 miles off at Ostia in the street of the Bankers or Bakers.

The question has been asked why the Romans were so fond of chariot races in the circus, in preference to simple flat or hurdle racing on the turf?

The answer is manifest. Flat or hurdle racing was not exciting enough for those crowds used to the bloody gladiatorial fights, and to the thrilling accidents of the venationes or wild-beast hunting. Their taste was spoilt: in plain racing they could only expect to see a collar bone or an ankle broken occasionally, while chariot-racing was almost always attended with bona-fide and generous loss of life.

The danger came from the fact that the charioteers were obliged to keep the reins tied and looped round their waist. Under such conditions very great skill, nerve, and presence of mind were required to turn successfully the sharp goals, among a jostling crowd of horses and chariots, especially as each driver tried to upset his rivals. Dreadful accidents must have happened, so that in every ancient picture of a circus we see one or more up-turned vehicles and one or more drivers lying on the sand. Their only chance of saving their lives consisted in their quickness in cutting themselves free from the reins by means of a curved knife which they wore stuck in the waist-band ready for use. No doubt the chief attraction of the circus for the Romans must have been the sight of the crushed limbs of the unfortunate driver amongst the struggling hoofs of his fallen horses, or under the wheels of a luckier rival.

But enough of horses and races.

As far as gambling is concerned, so intense was the love of the Romans for games of hazard that whenever I have excavated the pavement of public squares, or colonnades, or baths, or of any flat surface accessible to the public, including court-houses and halls of justice, I have always found gaming tables, engraved or scratched on the marble or stone slabs, for the amusement of idle men always ready to cheat each other out of their money. They are especially abundant in barracks, such as those of the seventh battalion of vigiles near S. Crisogono, and of the police at Ostia and Porto, and of the Roman encampment near Guise in the Department of the Aisne. Sometimes when the camp was moved from place to place, or else from Italy to the frontiers of the empire, the men would not hesitate to carry the heavy tables with their luggage.

Two, of pure Roman make, have been discovered at Rusicade in Numidia and at Ain-Kebira in Mauritania. Naturally enough they could not be wanting in the taverns patronized by soldiers where the time was spent in revelling and gambling and in riots ending in fights and blood-shed. To these scenes of violence often refer the wording of the tables such as:

Levate	Svdere
Nescis	Dalvso
Rilocv	Recede.

« Get up! You know nothing about the game; make room for better players! »

Two paintings were discovered in november 1876, in a tavern at Pompeii, in one of which are seen two players seated on stools opposite each other, and holding on their knees the gaming-table, upon which are arranged in various lines several *latrunculi* of various colors, yellow, black, green and white. The man on the left shakes a yellow dice box, and exclaims « Exsi » (I am out) !). The other one points to the dice, and answers « non tria, duas est » (Not three points, but two!). In the next picture the same individuals have sprung to their feet and show fight. The younger says « Not two, but three: I have the game! » whereupon the other man, after flinging at him the grossest insult, repeats his assertion « Ego fui ». The altercation ends with the appearance of the tavern-keeper, who pushes both men into the street and exclaims « itis foris rixatis » (Go out of my shop if you want to fight!). We may assume as a fact that taverns were frequented more for the facility they offered for heavy gambling, in spite of official prohibition, than for their specialties in wine and food. Mercury was worshipped in those dens more than Bacchus. Here is a sign of another « osteria » discovered at Lyons by Spon :

« Here Mercury promises you gain, Apollo health, and Septumanus (the hostler) good fare and a good bed ! »

The one hundred and more tables already found in Rome, mostly in my lifetime, belong to six different games of hazard; in some of them, however, the mere chance of dice-throwing was coupled with a certain amount of skill in moving the « men » or *tesseræ*. Their outline is always the same. There are three horizontal lines at an equal distance, each line containing twelve signs, thirty-six in all. The signs vary in almost every table, there are circles, squares, vertical bars, leaves, letters, monograms, crosses, crescents, and immodest symbols; the majority of these tables (sixty-five) contain words arranged so as to make a full sentence with the thirty-six letters. These sentences speak of the fortune, and good or bad luck of the game, of the skill and pluck of the players, of the favor or hostility of bystanders and betting men. Sometimes they invite you to try the seduction of gambling, sometimes they warn you of the risk you incur.

Here are a few examples: On a table found in the catacombs of Callixtus: « If you have a chance in your favor, I shall win by skill. » On a table found in the catacombs of Cyriaca: « The circus is full: the clamor is great: Eugene, do win. » In the pavement of the Basilica Julia: « If you lose, you cry; if you gain, you exult. »

The number of dice used was three, being marked with a minimum of one and a maximum of six spots. The most fortunate throw, called *Venerus* by Cicero (*de Doin.*, I., 13) and *Basilicus* by Plautus (*Curculio* II., 3, 79) was when the dice showed three *seniones* or 18 spots. The progress of the game was marked on the board by the movement of the men (*latrunculi*) backwards and forwards. The gravity of the losses depended naturally upon the amount of money at stake and the fines that were paid when the dice showed one or more aces. It is difficult to explain what skill had to do with such a game, still Isidorus describes how inveterate gamblers could succeed in throwing the six and to avoid the ace. I suspect that this skill was not always innocent, and that a particle of lead was probably concealed in the dice on the side of the unit. A « graffito » has been found at Pompeii in which the writer congratulates himself for having won a respectable sum without cheating. Several contrivances were invented from time to time to prevent dishonest gambling. The most effective one seems to have been a small wooden tower, with a spiral staircase inside and funnel on the top. The dice, shaken first in the horn (*fritillus*) were thrown into the funnel, and rolled down the spiral staircase until they landed on the table. Cheating in this case was rendered almost impossible.

Children were initiated into the seductions of gambling (*alea*) by playing « nuts » a pastime cherished also by elder people. So strong in fact was

the passion for nut gambling, and so heavy the losses it occasionally involved, that a law was passed, declaring it a punishable offence except in time of Carnival. Nut gambling is actually represented in works of art. I shall only mention the statuette of a gambling boy which I have myself discovered in the spring of 1878 in the public Cemetery by the church of S. Lorenzo fuori le mura.

The game could be played in many ways. One way still popular among the Italian boys was to make a pyramid or « castle » as they call it with four nuts, three at the base and one at the top, and then to try and knock it down with the fifth nut thrown from a certain distance. According to another system the players placed their stakes, namely the nuts which had a value like counters, in a vase with a rather large opening. The one who succeeded first in throwing his missile inside the jar would gain its contents. Gambling first contrived as a pastime soon became a wicked passion especially with the upper classes. Games of skill were put aside and chance the blind Goddess reigned alone. It is refreshing to read of the pleasant way in which Augustus used to play. He was not afraid to be called a gambler, and played simply, honestly, openly for the real pleasure of it, even in his old age, not only in the month of December in which it was lawful to do it, during the week of the Saturnalia, but also on other feast-days all through the year. We have the account of one of these festive sittings, given by Augustus himself, which I quote: « We have passed my dear Tiberius the *quinquatrus* (the anniversary feast of Minerva, beginning on the nineteenth of March and lasting five days) in great merriment, gambling every day and warming up to the occasion. Your brother distinguished himself by the great noise he made, and after all, he did not lose very much, for fortune turned in his favor just when he was approaching ruination. I have lost thirty thousand sesterces because, as usual, I was very liberal toward my guests and partners. Had I taken from them all that was due to me, and had I been more careful in offering money right and left, I would have cleared at least fifty thousand. »

The hospitality of Augustus was so considerate in every way that a sum of money he distributed daily among his guests to help them put up their stakes. So he writes to Julia: « I have sent you 250 sesterces which represent the amount offered to my guests in case they wished to try their chance at pair and impair » which game nearly outdistanced in stupidity our Bacarat. The moderation of Augustus was not imitated by his successors, who, practically transformed the palace of the Caesars into a gambling den.

According to Svetonius, Caligula not only accepted the profits from games of chance, but drew much more from fraud and perjury, cheating

freely his guests and friends (c. 41). Once having asked his neighbour to hold the dice for him, he spied two wealthy Roman knights promenading in the vestibule of the palace. He caused them to be immediately put in irons, confiscated their property, and rushed back to his seat at the dice table, boasting that he had never done a better stroke in his life. Claudius had a carriage built to such a way as to allow him and his party to gamble while travelling. Whoever wanted to make a rapid and brilliant career at court had only to flatter his passion for the dice. Seneca inflicts on him an imaginary, but telling, punishment. He represents the Emperor in hell playing with the dice-box, with a hole at the bottom, so that when he shakes the instrument both dice — *utraq̃ue tessera* — slip through the hole: a passage which proves that the Romans played sometimes with two, instead of three dice. Nero, whom naturally one expects to find in such company, was fond of a desperate game, and, according to his biographer (c. 30) usually put up the stake of four hundred thousand sesterces for each point, a sum corresponding to L. 2700, or thereabouts. Of Domitian we are told that he was always ready to resort to the dice, *quoties otium esset*, even in the morning hours. As regards Commodus, we know from Lampridius that he turned the imperial palace into a regular Monte Carlo, devoted to every excess of refined or brutal profligacy. Being once pressed for money, and unwilling perhaps to borrow from his subjects, he simulated the intention of visiting the African provinces of the empire; and having thus obtained a grant from parliament under false pretences, he spent it all in gambling and rioting.

I have found no evidence of golf or cricket in ancient times. The game of which they were particularly fond in those days, the *lusus pilæ*, can hardly be compared to our foot ball.

Exercise for the sake of bodily health and grace of movements was more commonly sought for in those days than exercise for the sake of amusement and competition: whereas the reverse is now the case. Greeks and Romans who indulged in the game of ball, were practising and exercising their muscles rather than « playing ». Still there were exceptions to the rule.

The earliest account of the game is to be found in Homer's *Odyssey* on Book VI. 100, where Nausicaa is playing with her attendant maidens, but the ball is merely tossed from one to the other, as a graceful and healthy exercise, while they danced in measured time. Among notable instances in Rome we may mention Augustus, who took exercise with the ball, until he became too old for anything but the sedan chair and a gentle walk. Pliny tells us of Spurinna who made this exercise the means for preserving a green old age. Galen says that those who play judiciously at ball escape

many maladies. This is the reason why each of the great bathing establishments of Rome was provided with a sphaeristerium or ball-court. Country houses were also provided with similar courts for the convenience of visitors and guests.

The most favourite or popular way of playnig was called *Trigon*. There were three players standing at the apexes of an equilateral triangle. Each player had one ball to start with, and counted his own score. His aim was that both his fellow-players should miss their strokes, and drop the ball as often as possible. He might send his ball to either player in two ways, by catching the ball which came to him and throwing it, or else by «*floing*» it. Fiving could be done either by striking the ball back to the sender, or striking it sideways to the third man. Obviously the most disastrous position would be receiving three balls nearly at the same time: obviously also the easiest was to receive only one ball at a time with a fair interval before the next. Good players must necessarily have had the command of a left handed stroke. Catches had no positive value, the winner being the one who least often allowed the ball to drop. The scores were kept by a marker, who acted also as an umpire in doubtful strokes. The umpire, called *pilicrepus*, was, as a rule a professional, and a coach of wonderful skill, who could often play a successful game with a ball of light glass instead of leather.

Polo became a fashionable sport only in more recent times, after the seat of the Roman Empire had been transferred to Constantinople. We have a description of a polo match played by the Emperor Manuel Comnenus (A. D. 1143-1180) in Book VI of the *History* of Cinnamus. He says that it had been customary for the imperial court and the nobility to play polo for a long time past: The mounted players were divided into two equal sides, and a leathern ball, about the size of an apple, was placed in the middle of a measured ground. On the signal being given the players started at full speed from their base-lines each holding in his right hand a long stick with a broad curved end: their object being to strike the ball over the opposite base-lines. The game is very dangerous, the historian says, as the rider has to stoop low from his pony, and turn quickly according to the wanderings of the ball. In fact, in the particular match, the pony of the Emperor Manuel fell and turned upon him, and though he tried to remount and continue the game, he was forced to take to his bed, and defer an intended military campaign.

We are very much mistaken, if we think that the Romans did not travel except in case of necessity: they travelled also, like ourselves, for the pleasure of it. A Roman citizen claims on his tombstone to have accomplished the journey from Egypt to Italy and viceversa not less than 72 times.

The state of universal peace and prosperity which Rome established and maintained for the lapse of four centuries all over the world known to the ancients, made it possible for travellers to circulate from Mesopotamia to Scotland, from the shores of the Black Sea to those of Spain and Marocco, without meeting with any serious obstacle, without being obliged to speak any other tongue but their own, without having to deal with foreign office functionaries or Custom-officers. The great trunk roads diverged from the capital of the Empire to the four corners of the earth, covering an aggregate length of some 77,000 miles, 6,000 of which in Great Britain alone. These roads were paved with large blocks of stone, resting on a triple layer of gravel and cement: and so great was their power of resistance, that many are still in use to the present day, and stand modern traffic equally well. There were excellent road-maps and itineraries published for general use, where the distances or mileage between the different post-stations and halting places were carefully marked, and even a description given of the curiosities and sights worthy of inspection along the road.

In the excavations made some years ago at certain famous mineral springs, which the ancients called *aguas apollinares* and which go now by the name of springs of Vicarello, about 26 miles north of Rome, three drinking silver goblets were found with the itinerary from Cadix to Rome engraved on the outside. With such trinkets as these travellers could combine and lay the plans for their journeys while drinking the generous Spanish wines.

Travelling however was not a sinecure, because the best accomodation in the great trunk roads were naturally reserved for public officials. Horses were kept ready for them at the post stations and the best lodging reserved in the « mansiones » or bungalows. In fact they enjoyed the privilege of billeting themselves and making themselves at home in any private house they chose, much to the annoyance of the lawful owner because official travellers had the reputation of being exacting, careless, and inclined to appropriate and carry away any object which happened to struck their fancy. And besides they were generally followed by a large retinue of servants. Cicero met once a government dignitary travelling in Asia Minor with two chariots, one carriage, one litter, horses and slaves, a monkey on a perambulator, and a large number of wild asses. Why he should travel in company with wild asses, is more than I can tell. The pages and attendants were, needless to say, more exacting and free of hands than their masters. The story has come down to us of a good citizen, who kept in his house a pet animal, a gazelle, of which he had grown to be particularly fond. On returning home from paying his respects to a travelling magistrate, he found the servants of this latter feasting on the poor pet gazelle, which they had roasted during his absence.

Wealthy people, including Jews who were always fond of making a loud display of their riches, travelled with their own furniture, beds, baths, dinner services, linen, escorted by flute players, and Numidian outriders in gay costumes. Milon the friend of Cicero, used to carry with him his own private chapel and the array of domestic gods. Julius Caesar went a step farther in matter of originality: he travelled with mosaic floors which could easily be set apiece and put together again, so as never to set his foot on a vulgar or less gorgeous pavements. Favourite servants and lady's maids were compelled to wear light masks so as to preserve their complexions from the effect of the ardent sun or of the northeren winds. Poppea the empress of Nero was followed in her wanderings by a regiment of she-asses, five hundred strong in whose milk she was wont to take her morning bath.

Roman travelling coaches were decidedly better than those used in the British Isles before the introduction of railways. One could write, while on the journey, and read, eat, or sleep with perfect ease. Books of a special size and type and appropriate writing desks were prepared for the use of studious travellers. Revolving chairs allowed them to turn their backs to the sun or to face the cooling breeze. The blinds were made of costly material, while the interior of the coach was lined and padded with silk. The luxury was such that the Emperor Claudius caused one of these extravagant vehicles, worthy the price of a house, to be destroyed. It is only just to say that it did not belong to him. The Emperor Commodus had one furnished with a clock, and with a pedometer. By means of levers and springs the wheels of the carriage transmitted their rotatory movements to a disk containing a certain quantity of small pebbles. At each mile a pebble dropped into a recipient below, and by counting them it was easy to calculate the ground that had been covered.

Cabs were kept ready at the post stations to convey travellers to their destination along the branch roads. These cabs called *cisia* may be compared to a modern gig, fit to carry two persons, with a box or case for light parcels under the seat. The *cisia* were drawn by one or two horses or mules, and they were called *flies*, *cisia volantia*, from their speed and lightness. Cicero, however, relates the case of a messenger who covered 56 miles in ten hours in such a vehicle, a proof that the ancient considered six miles per hour as almost reckless driving. It is true that Cicero's messenger travelled at night and probably over a difficult road.

A contrast to this luxury and comfort is to be found in the inns of the period. They were the terror of tourists: the account we have of some of them makes us shudder. Mattresses were stuffed with reeds instead of feathers. Sleep was hopeless on account of the revelling of the muleteers and

postillions in the hall below. The windows were panelled with thin linen instead of glass; the air vitiated with smoke, the supper scanty and the wine undrinkable. As regards horses and mules the inn keepers were in the habit of removing the food they had placed in the manger, as soon as the master had gone out of sight. They were none the less exacting in making up the bill.

On one point however the Romans held essentially different views from us, that is to say on the point of lectures, scientific, literary, or otherwise. If one of them could cast a glance at this lecture room, filled with an audience willing to listen to a modest lecturer, who talks of by-gone times, I am sure he would steal away in utter disgust. We are informed of this condition of feelings in Rome by no less an authority than Pliny the younger in a celebrated letter addressed to his friend Sosius Senecco (l. 13) he says that lectures were the delight of the Emperor Claudius (a grammarian, a « dominie » more than a ruler) and the abhorrence and horror of those who, by their connection with the imperial Court were obliged to listen for hours to silly and narcotic lecturers. Nothing more graphic than the description given by Pliny of one of these compulsory sittings. « We approach the hall » he says « as if we were compelled by main force; many of us sit outside the door and try to overcome the annoyance by whispering to each other bits of gossip and the latest scandals. Messengers are surreptitiously sent in to inquire whether the speaker has made his appearance, whether he has gone through his prologue, or how many sheets are still left to be read. Then when we hear that the moment of deliverance is approaching we come in slowly, sit on the edge of our chairs, and do not even wait for the final flourish of the discourse to steal quietly away. »

Well. Barring this point of divergence, the Romans were altogether, a sportive and manly race. In the address delivered by Robert Lewis Stevenson to the chiefs of Samoa congregated at Vailima for the opening of the « Road of Gratitude » Oct. 1894, I find the following passage: « Chiefs..... ... The Romans were the bravest and greatest of people! Mighty men of their hands, glorious fighters and conquerors. To this day in Europe you may go through parts of the country where all is marsh and bush, and perhaps after struggling through a thicket, yon shall come forth upon an ancient road, solid and useful as on the days it was made. You shall see men and women bearing their burdens along that even way, and you may tell yourself that it was built for them perhaps fifteen hundred years before — perhaps before the coming of Christ — by the Romans. And the people still remember and bless them for that convenience, and say to one another, that, as the Romans were the bravest men to fight, so they were the best at bringing and diffusing civilization and the comforts of life. »

I can pay no better praise to the Romans than by proclaiming them the British of Classic times.

The Rev. J. Wall presided.

Jan. 30th. — Prof. comm. O. MARUCCHI gave a demonstration in the Basilica of Santa Maria in Cosmedin lately restored. He touched on the topography of that locality where was in ancient times the *Forum Boarium*, and dealt specially with the Temple of Ceres and Proserpine to which the beautiful columns of the composite order now supporting the walls of the Basilica belonged. These columns are not in their original site for in the V century they adorned a secular building, viz. the *Statio Annonae*.

The learned lecturer then dealt with the earliest Christian Church of the VI century of which mention is made in the *Liber Pontificalis* in reference to the restorations carried out under Pope Adrian I towards the end of the VIII century, when the two aisles were built and the church received the name of Santa Maria in Cosmedin. This was followed by a description of the more important restorations executed in the XII century by order of Pope Calixtus II of which interesting traces still exist in the paintings and mosaic decorations of the high-altar and ambones, and which were discovered during the recent works, the object of which has been to give the sacred edifice the form it had at that epoch.

The demonstration which lasted a little over an hour was followed by a visit to the underground crypt which still preserves the arrangement given it in the VIII century when it was built to receive the bodies of martyrs removed from the catacombs.

The subscribers expressed their satisfaction at having been given the privilege of visiting under the guidance of the distinguished archaeologist this interesting monument, the history of which contains interesting records of ancient Rome, both pagan and christian.

February 6th. — Mr T. ASHBY jun. delivered a lecture on the Road system of Latium the manuscript of which, we regret to say, was not received sufficiently early for admission in this issue of the journal.

February 13th. — The Rt Rev. Monsignor CAMPBELL, D. D. gave a lecture entitled Dawn of Cloister life in Rome.

February 20th and March 13th. — Professor E. LOEWY of the University of Rome delivered two lectures the first anent the Laocoon Group, the second on the Amazons in Greek sculpture.

March 6th.—The Rev. Father P. P. MACKEY discoursed of his Second journey in Sardinia, being a sequel to the lecture he delivered in the foregoing session.

March 20th. — Mr F. A. SEARLE gave a demonstration at the Villa Gregoriana, Tivoli, upon the River Anio and its relation to Tibur.

He began with the river above Tivoli, by enumerating a few of the objects of interest that met the tourist on the way up the valley. The first part of the road was the ancient *Via Valeria* made by the consuls Scipio Barbatus and Valerius Maximus in 298 B. C. After passing various tombs and villas the little Village of Castle Madama appears on the left a record of the unfortunate-Margaret of Parma. The aqueducts of the Claudia, Marcia and Anio Nuovo and Vecchio are marked by picturesque ruins. Muro Sacco a dismantled castle, and the tomb of Caius Bassus the Carthaginian Engineer are worthy of notice, and the spot where the beautiful sarcophagus in the Campidoglio Museum which is said to be that of Syphax was found is close by. Vico Varo is full of interest — the bridge, the ancient wall, the pilgrimage chapel of S. Giacomo, the Temple and especially the Benedictine convent of S. Cosimato with its rock-cut chapels and oratories are worth a visit. Subiaco with its Monasteries and its gorge and its beautiful Associations we must pass over.

The water of the River is now and seems always to have been heavily charged with lime.

About seven thousand years ago, Geologists tell us, that the slopes of the Appennines were covered with glaciers or sheets of ice.

As the earth became warmer the ice melted and then followed a period of « Diluvial catastrophes ». Tremendous floods swept down the hill sides and rushed through the valleys, heaping up the tree trunks in the narrow parts, here forming lakes and there scooping out chasms and opening fresh channels.

One such block of tree trunks was formed just where we stand between the cliffs of Monte Catillo and Monte Ripoli.

It is over three hundred feet high and is two or three hundred yards wide and on it was built in later times the ancient city of Tibur.

The transformation from tree trunks to a mass of cellular travertine is a simple process.

It is just the petrifying water of Knaresboro' and other places on a grand scale and occurs in this way.

From depths underground rises the warm water charged with gases. In its passage through the rocks such water dissolves large quantities of lime which it holds in solution until such time as it parts with its gas

and this the slow trickling through a block of cellular matter would assist. Thus the lime is deposited on the tree trunks. In time the tree trunks decay leaving only the forms or casts which present themselves to us to day as so many encrusted pipes of limey earth.

The curious contortions of the semi stratification arises from the alternate heating and cooling of volcanic action.

The rock once heated expands. On cooling it endeavours to resume its position but unable to do so becomes folded over, crumpled and crushed, and all the time the limey water is percolating through the mass and binding it together.

But the volcanic action got less and less and there came a time of quiet, and then on this dam of cellular travertine arose the stronghold of Tibur.

It is beyond the writer's aim to account for the impulses of nature and their duration. Why the ice age was followed by the great deluges one can guess, but it is not so easy to see why the building up of the great dam in Anio Valley ceased and the river began to cut through the dam of its own making.

It is enough to note that the first cutting through on record is described by Pliny to Macrinus in 105 A. D.

These successive efforts of the river have left distinctive marks of lakes at different levels which have formed the subject of a learned treatise by Dr Raffaele del Re of Tivoli.

The stronghold of Tibur defended on the land side by the two streams of « la Forma » and « la Spada » and by the steep cliff and the river on the other side must have been occupied in the earliest times.

Its history may be read in connection with the early village terraces of stone dressed walls which occur round Tivoli, when the semi-pastoral tribes first settled in Italy and gathered round a tribal stronghold.

Later on walls of « tufa » blocks similar to those on the Palatine added to the defences and Tibur became conspicuous in the league of the Latin cities.

Remains of these walls and of the still later paving blocks of « selci » abound.

Soon after the invasion of the Gauls, Tibur became allied to Rome, and in Imperial times her hills became the favorite resort of the wealthy Romans.

The villa nearest to Tibur was that of Manlius Vopiscus a friend of the Emperor Domitian, which stood where the gorge now is. Statius has devoted a hundred lines to describe its glories, almost incomprehensible to us of to day who look down into a gloomy chasm filled with cascades.

Before 105 A. D. when the great disruption described by Pliny occurred, the river flowed tranquilly in a narrow channel according to Statius

" datur hic transmittere visus

" et voces, et paene manus....

and about thirty feet below the temple of Vesta, until it came to the cliff faced by massive arches of « opus reticulatum », Here it tumbled over forming « the præceps Anio » of Horace, leaving on the cliff great curtains of stalactite which exist at the present time to testify to the level of the river before the great inundation.

On the occasion of this disaster the water forced a passage at a lower level through the cellular rock and the scouring out of the gorge began which continued at intervals until 1834 when the church of S. Maria del Ponte fell and with it forty houses.

By this lowering of the level of the river, the two streams spoken of before as la Forma and la Spada ceased to run and the industries of the town which depended on them stopped. In the emergency Pope Gregory XVI with his engineer Folchi came to their assistance and by damming up part of the river to its ancient level and cutting a canal to carry off the floods, the industries of the town were assisted and the danger of future encroachments were averted.

In the afternoon a promenade was made along the right bank of the river skirting the base of the Sabine Hills, a district deserving the name of the « Poets corner » from its association with Catullus and Horace. It was on the sheltered hill side where now stands the ruined convent of S. Angelo that Catullus lost his cough and below in the hollow filled with dark olive trees was the grove of Tiburnus where Horace wandered listening to the lovely voice of Phyllis the last of his loves.

Od. XI lib. IV.

A divergence was made from the road and a steep path through the olives took the pilgrims to S. Angelo where Catullus' Epigram 44 was read, referring to the district.

The Poet himself settles the matter, « some of his friends call him a « Sabine boor and some will have it he is a Tiburtine aristocrat. What the « place may be he cares not but here he lost his cough.

In Epigram XVI he says that the villa is sheltered from every disturbing wind but he can't get over the horrible sum that it cost.

The sheltered situation, the pure water, the glorious views of the waterfalls in front and of the Campagna in the distance all point out a very

choice site and as the land did not probably exceed the extent of the hill containig less than fifty acres, we must agree with the poet that « millia quindecim et duo centa sexterces » about Lst. 12,000 seems a price almost incredible.

The monastery and the lands belonged to the Canons of the Duomo in Tivoli. By them it was ceded to the Olivetani.

The convent was secularized in 1805 and bought by Principe Massimo under whose care the place has become a ruin and the frescoes have been destroyed.

Several of Sir Theodore Martins beautiful translations of Catullus' poems were read and the party descended through the Bosco Tiburni or the burying place of Tiburtus the reputed founder of Tibur and so to the road leading to S. Antonio.

This seems to be the district referred to by Catullus as well as by Svetonius and others.

« Sabini aut Tiburs », from its being at the foot of the sabine mountains but in Tivoli jurisdiction.

Svetonius who having been the private secretary to the Emperor Adrian when he was building his Villa, and who must have known this district well is more explicit in his short notice of Horace for he says :

« Vixit plurimum in secessu ruris sui Sabini aut Tiburtini domusque « ejus ostenditur circa Tiburni luculum ».

Statius speaking of the Villa of Manlius Vopiscus says of the adiacent tomb :

« illa recubet Tiburnus in umbra „

Horace speaks in the same breath of the « Domus Albunea resonantis, et praeceps Anio et Tiburni lucus ».

The maps mark the old road that approached this valley, as the « Salita d'Immamele » and the name of « Truglia », which Nibby says means a sacred place, is the name the valley bears in the catestral maps.

Besides the two villas referred to there is yet a third about which little is at present known, but which gives some ground for pleasing conjectures.

This villa begins at the garden gate of S. Antonio and is projected down the steep side of the hill for about a hundred yards in a position exactly opposite to the old fall of the « praeceps Anio » of Horace.

The building is of the time of Augustus of the « opus incertum » type, the remains of the mosaics are simple, the aqueduct that brought water from Tivoli is of unusual size and the plan of construction of the villa is regardless of difficulty and expense.

Could it have been that here Mæcenas by the advice of the court physician Antonius Musa came to sooth his sleepless nights in the sound of falling water as Seneca informs us?

SENECA, *Ep.* 101, 114 *de Pros.* 111, 9.

Was this the villa of the great statesman described by Merivale that « rose like an exhalation above the cascades of Tibur? »

We cannot answer the enquiry, but of this we are certain, that only a few hundred feet off lies a very small villa of the time of Augustus (called a nymphaeum by some though there are no signs that it had a fountain) that has for centuries gone by the name of Villa d'Orazio.

It is said that the poems of Horace when read in the order in which they were written leave no doubt on the mind that the poet had a Villa at Tibur as well as a small farm at Licenza fifteen miles off.

Careless readers quote the line

« Satis beatus unicus Sabinis ,

and forget that the poet lived for twenty five years after he wrote this, and that he grew rich and that it is hardly likely that he would be content with his « lizard hole » in the wilds of Sabina, when his rich patron, as he tells us, offered more than he could desire.

After inspecting the various ruins the party returned to Rome.

March 27th. — Mr W. St. CLAIR BADDELEY met a large party of the members and others on the Lateran and dealt with the history and topography of that interesting place.

April 3rd. — A considerable number of the subscribers attended Professor MARUCCHI's demonstration at the Vatican Egyptian Museum.

April 24th. — The Rev. J. GORDON GRAY D. D. met a few of the members and associates at the Basilica of San Clemente and delivered a lecture on the House and Church of the Saint. After the lecture he conducted the party, by special permission of the Prior, over the ancient underground edifice and explained the objects of interest therein contained.

Before the opening of the Session Prof. Borge, Hon. Secretary, received a letter from Dr T. EDMONDSTON CHARLES by which the latter tendered his resignation from an actual member of the Society.

The letter was duly communicated to the Council, and the Secretary was desired to forward to Dr CHARLES the following reply:

Dear Sir.

Rome, Nov. 20th 1899.

I am desired by the Council to inform you that they heard with regret the communication of your letter of the 10th inst. by which you resign your ordinary membership, and to convey to you the Council's sense of their obligation for the services rendered to our Society. I am, Sir,

Yours most faithfully

R. H. Borge

Hon. Sec.

The late Marquis of Bute.

It is with deep regret that we have to record the death of the Marquis of Bute, Vice-President of the Society, which sad event occurred on October 10th at Dumfries House, Cummock. After the demise of Lord Savile, the Presidentship of our Society was offered to him, but he declined it as he did not contemplate revisiting Rome. Notwithstanding the illness from which he had been suffering, the end was quite unexpected. Lord Bute was born in 1847 and was therefore 53 at the time of his death.

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VOLUME III.

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NUMBER 3.

JOURNAL
OF THE
BRITISH AND AMERICAN
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF ROME
WITH LIST OF MEMBERS

Session 1900-1901

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ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF ROME
ESTABLISHED 1865.

ROME — Via S. Nicola di Tolentino 72 — ROME

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(*Vacant*).

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Oxford Architectural and Historical Society.
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The following serials are received by the Society.

Bollettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma.
Notizie degli Scavi dell'Accademia dei Lincei.
Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects.
Bulletin of American Geographical Society.

BRITISH AND AMERICAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY

OF ROME

N. 72, via San Nicolò da Tolentino, first floor.

ANNUAL REPORT — SESSION 1900-1901.

The Council of the British and American Archæological Society have pleasure in being able to announce that the Session just closing has been a very successful one.

The Library was opened for the use of subscribers on December 3^d and the number of books issued has been quite unprecedented. The opening lecture was delivered on January 15th in the Winter Garden of the Hôtel Royal by Sig. Comm. G. Boni, Director of the Forum Excavations, who commenced his address by stating that he was proud to inaugurate the XXXVI Session of the Society and read out a telegram from Sig. Comm. Ficrilli, Director General of Antiquities in Italy, regretting his necessary absence. The subject selected by the learned lecturer was the « Strata of the Forum » which was listened to with great interest by a crowded and most appreciative audience, among whom were many distinguished visitors, such as the Duchesse d'Alençon, the Countess Dowager of Albemarle, Lady Hilda Keppel, Lady Goodenough, etc.

The Chair was occupied by H. E. the Right Hon. Lord Currie of Hawley, H. M.'s Ambassador at Rome, Vice-President of the Society.

The U. S. Ambassador H. E. George von Lengerke Mayer was too late in arriving to be present at this meeting but has since accepted the post of Vice-President of the Society.

Deprived of the support which other institutions of a kindred nature generally have in this country from their Governments, Municipal Corporations, Universities, learned bodies, or generous patrons, this Society has after the death of its lamented President the late Lord Savile of Rufford chiefly to rely on the subscriptions of its members and associates for its efficiency. It is therefore desirable that every English-speaking resident or

visitor who takes an interest in the study of History, Archæology and Art should become a subscriber. This desire has been expressed by the Council on so many occasions that it is a matter of regret if it is still very far from realisation, and that the opportunities offered by the Society which holds an unpretentious though not an unimportant place amongst the Archæological Institutions of this city, have not been more generally appreciated.

The amount received in subscriptions during the session was lire 1785. 50 which shows a small diminution on the amount received the year before, and the receipts from all sources amounted to lire 3369. 50.

Two members have failed to pay their current subscriptions, one withdrew from the Society, while 2 new members have joined the list of subscribers. The number of associates continues to be nearly the same as in former years.

The Balance-Sheet for the year, ending April 30th, audited by the Rev. Dr. Gray and Dr. Fenwick shows a balance of lire 147. 10 in favour of the Society, after payment of all liabilities, and the capital invested in Italian Rente at 5 % is of 5000 lire, deposited with the Society's Bankers, Messrs. Nast Kolb and Schumacher.

Sixteen meetings were held during the session, and it is remarkable that nearly all the lectures delivered were in English. A list of these is appended herewith.

It is with great regret the Council have to record the death of two of its most distinguished members, viz., Lieut-Gen. Pitt-Rivers and Mr. Os-good Field F. S. A.

The following new accessions to the Library have been made,

By gift:

Father P. P. Mackey — 12 mounted Photographs of ancient monuments in Sicily.

Prof. O. Marucchi. — S.ta Maria Antiqua.

Father Grisar. — S.ta Maria Antiqua.

By purchase:

Forma Urbis Romæ, VIII part, by R. Lanciani.

Destruction of Rome, by R. Lanciani.

The Council finally wish to express the indebtedness of the Society to all those who helped the work of the session by their lectures, demonstrations, donations and other unmistakable proofs of the interest evinced by them in the welfare of this time-honoured Institution.

Signed on behalf of the Council.

Rome, April 23rd, 1901.

R. H. BERGE
Hon. Secretary.

List of Lectures and Excursions -- Session 1900-1901

1. Opening meeting. — Comm. G. Boni — Strata of the Forum.
2. Mr G. Mc N. Rushforth. — Prof. Wickhoff's theory of Roman Art.
3. Mr T. Ashby junr. — The Collegia of Ancient Rome.
4. Mr W. St. Clair Baddeley. — The Augusteum and the Christian Basilica in it.
5. Rev. Dr. J. Gordon Gray. — Demonstration at S. Clemente.
6. Prof. R. Lanciani. — Christianisation of the Forum. P. I.
7. Prof. R. Norton. — Greek and Roman portraiture.
8. Prof. R. Lanciani. — Christianisation of the Forum. P. II.
9. Prof. O. Marucchi. — Demonstration of S. Maria Antiqua.
10. Prof. R. Lanciani. — Christian Imperial tombs.
11. Father P. P. Mackey. — Some spots in Sicily rarely visited.
12. Prof. R. Lanciani. — Destruction of Rome in 1084.
13. Mr F. A. Searle. — The Academia and Inferi of Hadrian's Villa.
14. Mrs Hamilton Ramsay. — The Temple of Diana at Ephesus.
15. Prof. O. Marucchi. — Demonstration of the Ostrianum.
16. Prof. G. Tomassetti. — Excursion to Tusculum.

SESSION 1900-1901

The Introductory Lecture of the Session 1900-1 was delivered by Commandator BONI, on Jan. 15th. The Rt Hon. Lord Currie, British Ambassador, was in the chair. The subject of the lecture was « The Strata of the Forum. »

Lord Currie, in introducing Sig. Boni, said: « I have great pleasure in presiding at the inaugural meeting of this Society, and I have the more pleasure in doing so because the Committee has been so fortunate in securing the services of Comm. Boni, who has kindly consented to deliver the inaugural lecture. Comm. Boni, as you all know, has charge of the excavations which the Italian Government has, for two years and more, been carrying on with public spirit and liberality, sparing neither pains nor money. Those interested in Archaeology owe them an immense debt of gratitude. Sig. Boni possesses a wonderful instinct which enables him to put his finger on the exact spots in which, as his historical knowledge has told him, interesting relics of antiquity are likely to be found. This combination of qualities has led him to the discovery of the Black Stone, of the Fountain of Juturna, the Republican Rostra, and other remarkable monuments.

« I have great pleasure in presenting to you Sig. Boni, and in calling your attention to his interesting remarks. »

Sig. Boni, after thanking Lord Currie for his kind words, begged leave to begin by a short Italian preface. He read a telegram received from Comm. Fiorilli, the General Director of Antiquities in Italy, regretting his necessary absence, and sending the lecturer his good wishes. Comm. Boni went on to say that he was proud of inaugurating the 36th Session of the Society with an account of the researches made by him, and he proposed to give an idea of the scientific method on which these researches had been conducted.

Proceeding in English, the lecturer said: « A well constructed method is of the highest importance in all Archaeological exploration, and in the case

of the Forum, it is more than ordinarily necessary, on account of the complex character of the excavations. Many strata are represented in the twenty centuries of eventful life demanding investigation, strata often complicated by the natural irregularity of the ground. Some of my first explorations were comparatively simple, the discoveries of the *favissae* of the *Aedes Vestae*, the Altar of *Cæsar* and the *Niger Lapis*; these roused general interest, but they involved no great difficulty. I was however already beginning a different series of explorations from the *Velia* to the *Tabularium*.

The state of the Forum, where converged the life of a people in themselves masters of the ancient world, shows a gradual change in the original formation of the little valley, the cradle and area of the political life of Rome. The exploration found difficulties in the nature of the place itself. Many of the most valuable relics of antiquity were broken and lying face downwards on the earth, or built up into rubble walls. The excavations have already gone far enough to show us that the ruined buildings above ground are but as the last chapter of a long period of human history. The earliest paragraphs are still as a sealed book, lying under marble pavements of the XVI century, or under more recent works, of which the value is equal to that of the whitewash in certain churches, which recalls the visitation of the plague and hides the frescoes of Giotto. Every archaeologist recognises that one fact outweighs a hundred theories, but not on that account are we to refuse to admit of any reasonable theory of reconstruction. On the contrary, a working hypothesis is of great service in keeping well forward the various possibilities. Some of these hypotheses are founded on classic texts, some on structural similitary, or the likeness of the material to that used elsewhere. Tradition also must be carefully considered, and those who accept it blindly are often nearer the truth than those who reject it.

In 1886 there was considerable discussion in Venice as to the tradition in the early chroniclers about the foundations of the *campanile*.

One writes that they have a depth equal to the height of the tower above; another chronicler says that they radiate as far as to the *Basilica* itself. We dug down to the level of the platform, raised on piles and found that the foundations were nearly vertical, neither radiating nor extending, and scarcely five metres deep.

In this investigation we took into consideration the material made use of in the foundation, and also the character of the ground.

In the examination of geological strata in the foundations of a building, we sink shafts close to the wall, continuing horizontally till we reach the edge, and then descending till we arrive at virgin soil. In this way we gain an intimate knowledge of the number and character of the strata we pass

through, and know enough to enable us to reconstruct in a more extended area. It is an immense object in the examination of strata to begin, if practicable, by sinking a pit-clearing the sides till the strata are visible.

In January 1899 I began to study the Niger Lapis. I first examined the layer of travertine surrounding it, and the imperial pavement of the Comitium. In doing this I came upon a medioeval well covered with a fragment of marble frieze and a cancellum of the 9th century. Having drained and cleaned out the well, and got below it, the geological strata revealed blue clay at a depth of 23 metres. The well was evidently sunk during the middle ages. When the Imperial pavement was removed, we found the strata, tufa, gravel and beaten earth. Under a layer of gravel were buried ex-votos, and the ashes of a great sacrifice. Excavating horizontally we came on a pedestal clearly Etruscan, on which the lions may have stood. Under the Lapis Niger, in vertical sections, a shaft was sunk. This was a long process, but it was repaid by very important discoveries. We found the cippus, with its inscription, the cone and the other pedestal, and various votive offerings and sacrificial remains. In making this excavation, each of the strata was carefully examined before proceeding to the next. One lump was kept intact from each stratum, to show the condition in which it was found.

After examining the strata under the Niger Lapis we turned to that of the Comitium. It is surprising how little is known of the history of that most important spot in classic Rome, the centre of its political and social life. We first found travertine pavement of the middle ages, pavement typical of the degraded condition of Rome at the time of the fall of the Empire.

Beneath this was a later Republican pavement of travertine. Under this was a *massicciata*, tufa fragments welded together by trampling, then gravel and beaten earth down to the rock and the clay from which it emerged.

Each stratum contained some remains, fragments of stone, bearing the marks of tools, bits of metal, pottery, showing as in a history the use of tools, and the development of various works. In the Comitium we found every stage of pottery, from the sixth century A. D. to the sixth century B. C. Near the Imperial drain, parallel to the Curia, we worked shafts, and came upon more recent wells. Of these there are twenty-two, in four parallel rows. They are lined with tufa slabs, they average three feet in depth, their tops are on a level with the Republican pavement. Some have been filled up with earth, evidently to preserve them, and then the pavement has been laid down over them, for the Roman reverence of tradition would not allow them to destroy any of these ancient works.

Turning to the open part of the Forum, and excavating to some depth we found the remains of sacrifices, fragments of pottery, fragments of baked tiles such as were in use before the 7th century. Several ritual pits were

found in other parts of the Forum besides the Comitium; also two pits or cisterne. More than thirty wells have been found: Republican, previous to the making of the aqueducts, and mediaeval made after these were destroyed. Over the whole Forum there is no sign of a well belonging to Imperial time, unless it be the Fountain of Juturna, which was sacred. The aqueducts evidently sufficed for the water supply of the city. The wells are of varying depths; near the Temple of Vesta, they are about seven metres deep while in the excavations under Santa Francesca Romana, wells have been found in which we have gone to a depth of 24 metres without arriving at the bottom. The interest of these wells lies in their being store houses, in which are preserved all kinds of articles which the passers-by threw down to try the depth, or to hear the splash. In one Republican well we found vases of the date of 475 B. C., a onehandled jug, a wooden flute, a filigree bracelet of an Etruscan pattern, seeds of trees, bones of animals especially a small weasel, the Roman domestic animal before the introduction of cats from Egypt, knives with wooden handles, and a beautiful set of stone weights.

A careful examination of such strata is invaluable in acquainting us with the daily life of the people, their character and means of living. They also form a ladder by which we may ascend, as for instance by studying the various examples of pottery, beginning with the Etruscan bucchero, local pottery, vases used in ritual with special pictures, the votive vases, etc. Another important discovery was that of an ancient drain under the Basilica Emilia; it is lined with blocks of travertine, and was evidently an open channel which could be roofed in when necessary or when it was desirable to build over it. It probably belongs to the time of Cato's youth, from its simple design typical of the roman power and firmness of character which was so admired by Cato, when they were yet unspoilt by the luxury of the East.

These various discoveries enable us to picture the every day life of the Romans, from which they came forth armed for conquest. We must continue to grope blindly and feel our way towards the truth but by close and patient investigation of facts, we often come on the solution of problems where we least expect it, or at least on some indication of the direction in which the solution may be found.

Dr Nevin, in moving the closing vote of thanks to signor Boni for his delightful lecture, remarked on the interest which the representatives of the two great English-speaking nations had always taken in the Society and thanked Lord Currie for so kindly presiding on this occasion.

Jan. 29th. — Before the commencement of the lecture which was delivered by T. ASHBY jun. Esq. M. A., W. St. Clair Baddeley Esq. who was in the chair addressed the meeting and with appropriate words referred to the sad loss which the English nation and the British Empire have suffered by the death of the great and beloved Queen Victoria. He also read the following letter from H. E. Lord Currie, British Ambassador, in reply to the expressions of deep condolence made by the Hon. Secretary on behalf of the Society :

BRITISH EMBASSY

ROME.

January 24. 1901.

Sir,

I have to express to you my best thanks for your letter of yesterday's date in which you express in the name of the British and American Archaeological Society of Rome your condolences on the melancholy occasion of the death of Her Majesty Queen Victoria. I shall not fail to request Lord Lansdowne to communicate to His Majesty King Edward VII the contents of your letter.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant

CURRIE.

R. H. Borge Esq.

Hon. Secretary B. & A. Arch. Society.

Mr. Ashby said: My first duty is to explain the object of this lecture. Or, in other words: What is the meaning of the word *collegia*? I have adopted the Latin word simply because there is no English word which corresponds to it; but for the moment we may be content with the term *fraternity*. There were three main divisions of *collegia* in ancient Rome: the official, the semi-official, and the private *collegia*. By the first I mean the priestly colleges of the State, by which public worship was conducted at its expense and on behalf of the whole people. The second class are the *sodalitates sacrae*, who took charge of certain cults entrusted to them by the State,

either as the successors of the families, to whom the celebration of these worships had originally belonged, but which had altogether or partially died out, or as the devotees of some new deity. The members of these fraternities were not priests, but merely worshippers of a particular divinity. The third division of *collegia*, of which alone I intend to speak to-day, may be called the private *collegia*, inasmuch as they owed their foundation to private initiative. These fall into several groups: the *collegia* formed by private persons for the joint worship of any deity, next the burial clubs, and finally the professional fraternities, as we may call them. Among these last we may distinguish the associations formed by members of the subordinate ranks of the public service, those formed by certain classes of soldiers, and those which included persons engaged in the pursuit of the same trade or profession.

What interest have these associations for us?

The answer is that they played a most important part in the life of the lower classes in the Roman Empire, of which we have until recently known but little. The historians of classical times take no interest in such topics, it was not their object to write a history of the Roman people, and they did not realise that it is not their highest glory to describe perpetual battles and sieges. Tacitus complains that the task before him, that of writing the history of the Roman Empire, was at certain periods, for example during the reign of Tiberius a mean and an inglorious one, inasmuch as there was uninterrupted peace, and the emperor was not anxious to enlarge the boundaries of the empire, but contented himself with the administration of the immense territories which had been added to it during the lifetime of Augustus. For the state of the empire itself, for its economic development, for its trade and so forth, he cares not at all. Trade was in fact held in very low esteem in Rome from the earliest times.

Senators were not allowed to engage in it, and the equites who grew rich by its means were for a long time regarded as upstarts. Manual labour was held to be degrading and absolutely unworthy of a free man.

Our sources of information are therefore two, the jurists who have left us the various codes of Roman law, showing the state in which it was at the periods to which they respectively belonged, and the inscriptions.

The former have of course been accessible since the revival of learning, but it is only lately that it has been possible to make full use of the evidence of the inscriptions, since the Berlin Academy has undertaken and brought within measurable distance of completion the immense task of publishing all the Latin inscriptions that have been discovered up to the present time. The importance of such a work can hardly be over estimated, and its consequences for history will be far-reaching. We now have before us, in a convenient form, an enormous wealth of contemporary

documents which furnish us with an infinite variety of details as to the public and private life of the Romans and can frequently be used to supplement or correct our written authorities.

A new era has dawned for Roman history, and the change may be compared to that produced in mediaeval history by the systematic research in the various archives of Europe, or in our knowledge of Roman topography by the excavations which have been made in all directions.

The inscriptions are especially valuable in that they fill a gap in our knowledge. As I said just now, Roman authors tell us little as to the condition of the lower orders except in so far as it had a direct bearing on the political history of Rome. Their point of view differs greatly from that of the historical enquirer of the present day, who must make so much use of archaeology that the question has been asked: What is the difference, or rather, the distinction, between the historian and the archaeologist? And the distinction is one, above all, of point of view. The historian dwells more on general tendencies, the archaeologist on details which reveal to him the mode of life, the habits and customs, the state of civilisation to which at a given time a people had attained. But each is bound to avail himself of the work and even to possess to a considerable degree the qualities of the other: or rather the ideal is that both should be combined in one and the same person. I am not speaking of an unattainable ideal, for any one who knows the work of MommSEN will allow that in his case at least the qualities of both are united. And it is this perhaps why the one great history of the Roman republic that we possess has been written by him, while no one has so far been found bold enough to undertake the enormous task of writing a comprehensive history of the Roman empire, a task perhaps, considering the mass of material which archaeology is perpetually laying at the feet of history, beyond the powers of one man.

This digression seemed to me to be necessary in introducing to your notice a subject which may not be very familiar to all of you, largely for the reason that it has only been possible to study it with profit since the collection of all the available epigraphic material. The foundation of the whole investigation is in fact the first work of the man of whom we have just been speaking, a small treatise written in 1843. The literature of the subject since that time has been considerable and need not be dealt with here.

We began by explaining in a general way what a *collegium* is, and may therefore now proceed to investigate in detail the origin and nature of the class of *collegia* which are to occupy our thoughts to-day, — the private *collegia*. Roman tradition assigned the foundation of the first eight of the industrial or professional *collegia* to Numa. It is improbable that this legend

is to be taken to mean that they were founded in contradistinction to the rest, by the initiative of the State. All that is meant is that these *collegia* originated in the earliest period of the existence of Rome, and this is shown by the fact that the trades practised by these *collegia* are precisely those which are common to the earliest stage of development in the industries of all peoples. It may be noted especially that we find among them coppersmiths, but not workers in iron, which shows that the latter metal was not as yet in use.

The occasion of the foundation of these fraternities has been much discussed. It is probable that they grew up gradually, and that the artisans of each class, as they felt themselves strong enough, united for the protection of their interests. That they devoted their attention to the worship of a particular deity is certain, but has not the meaning that some have wished to assign to it, that they were founded for this purpose alone. Rather is it the case that every corporate unity had of necessity a cult. All the purely religious *collegia* of which we hear during the period of the Republic were formed for the worship of foreign deities, and as such were often considered obnoxious by the Senate. This was not the case with the industrial *collegia*, which increased in number under the Republic, so that we know of the existence of several others besides the original eight. They were not in any way controlled by the State, and had complete freedom of internal administration; and there was no essential difference between the original *collegia* of Numa and those that came to be founded as time went on, except that the former enjoyed certain special honours.

In 64 B. C. the Senate, which up till now had not concerned itself with these associations, found it necessary to take measures against them, owing to the part played by them in the political disturbances of the period. Some of the most ancient were spared as being useful to the state, but it is probable that the majority of the industrial *collegia* were suppressed. Their fate was shared by the private religious fraternities and by the large number of purely political clubs which had sprung up.

This measure was, however, not so much an attempt to preserve law and order as a political move; and when Caesar in alliance with Pompey and Crassus led the democracy against the senatorial party (with the result that Caesar became consul in 59 B. C. and governor of Gaul in the following year) it was not long before the *collegia* were reestablished *en bloc* by Clodius who as tribune of the people 58 B. C. carried out the wishes of Caesar and doubtless made use of these organisations to control the assembly.

However, when Caesar became absolute master of Rome, he found it necessary to suppress these associations almost entirely: for Clodius had not only recalled into existence all the *collegia* which had been abolished, but

had founded a large number of new ones, of a predominatingly political character. All these had in the interests of good order to disappear, not to mention the fact that under the absolute rule of Caesar there was no place for political agitation: and the only collegia that continued to be permitted were those that had been long in existence i. e. the very same that the Senate had spared in 64 B. C. After his death, during the turmoil of the civil wars, they were able to regain their footing, and Augustus had to order their dissolution once more; sparing, as previous legislators on the subject had done, only the oldest of the trade collegia.

From the time of Augustus onwards it became necessary for every collegium to obtain the permission of the Senate or of the emperor, nominally of the Senate in Italy and in the Senatorial provinces, and of the emperor in the imperial provinces.

To obtain such authorisation they must needs be not only inoffensive but actually useful: and even so it was sometimes not granted. An interesting case comes to our knowledge from the correspondence which passed between the younger Pliny when governor of Bithynia and the emperor Trajan.

Pliny who had been sent on a special mission to take over the government of the province, which had suffered from the maladministration of the governors appointed by the Senate, had at first forbidden the existence of any collegia, acting on Trajan's direct instructions.

Later, however, he writes as follows: « A great fire at Nicomedia has destroyed many private houses and two public buildings, the Senate House and the temple of Isis, although a street ran between them. Its wide spread was due, firstly to the violence of the wind, secondly to the helplessness of the inhabitants, who, I have it on good authority, stood inactive and motionless spectators of the disaster; and indeed the city possesses no pumps, no grappling hooks, no implements in fact of any kind for coping with fires. These however will be provided in accordance with the instructions I have already given. I ask you, Sire, to consider whether you think a collegium of artificers limited to 150 members should be established. I will take care that none but artificers are admitted and that no use of the privilege accorded is made for other purposes: moreover, so small a number will be easily watched ». The emperor refused permission, however, in the following terms: « It occurred to you that, as is the case in many other towns, a collegium of fabri might be established in Nicomedia. But I remember that that province and those towns in especial have been disturbed by associations of this kind.

« Whatever name is given to those who form an association for whatever reason, they all, equally soon, will become seditious clubs.

« It will be better therefore that means for dealing with fires be pro-

vided and that owners of property should be warned not only to keep fires under control themselves, but also, if found necessary, to avail themselves of the services of the crowd. »

These letters are interesting and important as showing the suspicion with which, especially in the East, such institutions were viewed by the Roman emperors: in Italy and the western provinces greater freedom of association was certainly permitted. Still, even so, leave was given grudgingly, and only for well defined reasons. Such associations were absolutely forbidden among soldiers on active service, but apparently permitted to non-commissioned officers. Veterans often formed *collegia*, but these, and the fraternities formed by private initiative for the worship of a particular deity, required similarly a special authorisation in each case. At some time in the 2nd century, however (or possibly earlier) a note of the senate authorized the foundation without special permission of burial clubs, on condition that they met for business only once a month, for banquets oftener, and that they were bona fide clubs for that object. No one was allowed to be a member of two of these clubs at once. To this class of *collegia* must be added those which were formed by the slaves belonging to a large household. This category of *collegia* has a peculiar interest for us, inasmuch as it was under this permission to form burial clubs that the Christians were able to find shelter, though not till the 3rd century (Waltzing: *Les Corporations professionnelles*, I, 316, note 3 of 151).

It is true that the provisions of these laws were sometimes evaded: membership of two burial clubs was by no means unknown, and unauthorized *collegia* were allowed to exist, so long as they did not constitute a danger to public order, even in the first century A. D.

At Pompeii illicit associations would apparently have continued to exist undisturbed, had it not been that they took part in a quarrel which arose between the people of Pompeii and the people of Nocera at a gladiatorial show. But they were merely dissolved; only the ring-leaders of the disturbances being sent into exile, though the law, at any rate in the 2nd century, allowed of the infliction of far severer punishment. In fact, at the end of the 2nd century, the only distinction between authorized and unauthorized *collegia* seems to have been that the latter might be at any moment dissolved, and did not enjoy certain legal privileges. The state had begun to discover that, now that the danger of political agitation among the working classes was passed, it could only gain by the establishment of these organisations, and in many cases encouraged and favoured them.

The last stage of the development begins in the third century and reaches its completion in the 4th and 5th. Alexander Severus organized all the trades into *collegia*, which gradually became the servants of the state,

finally reaching a stage at which membership of a collegium was a burden which passed from father to son, from which a man might try in vain to escape. But in order to understand how this revolution in the position of these associations took place, it will be necessary first to examine their nature under the early Empire.

We have seen that they were founded by private initiative: but what was the object with which they were founded? what did a man gain by belonging to a collegium? In attempting to answer this question, we must first make it clear that a collegium is not to be identified either with a mediaeval trade guild, nor with a modern cooperative society of workmen, nor with a trades union, nor with a benefit society.

The points of similarity are few and those of dissimilarity far more numerous: and that is the reason why I have not attempted to translate the Latin term, except by a temporary substitute.

To understand what its object was, we need realize the position of the working classes in Rome. We have already alluded to the contempt which the Romans felt for trade and manual labour.

Under the Empire, the majority of labourers, artisans and small shopkeepers were freedmen and had therefore also to bear the stigma of their servile origin.

It was only by combination that this feeling could be successfully resisted; the individual occupied a far stronger position as a member of a large association than in isolation. The collegia were able to obtain the advantages of power, especially in the towns of Italy and the provinces, where they often occupied positions of considerable importance and consideration, more so than ever when they began to be directly useful to the State or municipality. They wielded a considerable influence at elections, as we learn from the placards for the last elections ever held at Pompeii which are still to be read on its walls.

They could not unfrequently obtain from the State direct concessions, or protect their interests against aggression, generally through the intervention of their patrons, who, in the case of large or important collegia, were often persons of high rank.

They had, however, other objects as well: even those which were primarily trade corporations had some tutelary deity, corresponding fairly closely to the patron saint of a mediaeval guild. Those collegia which actually take their name from a god are purely burial clubs: but many of the trade collegia concerned themselves, though as a secondary object, with making provision for the burial of deceased members.

Their ordinary income was derived from the entrance fees and subscriptions of their members, from the sums paid on entrance on office by

presidents etc. and from legacies; extraordinary receipts came from gifts on special occasions, fines and so forth.

Many collegia possessed a schola or meeting room, used for banquets and social gatherings, and also for religious functions, the statue of the tutelary deity generally occupying the post of honour. A burial club on the other hand would generally meet in an upper room built for the purpose above the corporate tomb. Similarly we find the Christians making their scholæ for their agapæ in the catacombs e. g. in those of S. Domitilla, where a large hall surrounded by benches cut in the rock served for this purpose.

We spoke just now of the banquets which took place in the scholæ. The occasion of these was twofold: either they would be mainly religious held on the feast of the tutelary deity or in memory of some deceased member (in the latter case they were generally provided for by legacy) or the occasion might be purely secular, — the assumption of office by a newly elected patron or president who would be expected to give a feast to celebrate the occasion, the inauguration of a new building, the dedication of a statue, etc., etc. In either case, the banquets were scenes of considerable festivity and conviviality, and the friendliness prevailing between the members is shown by many of the inscriptions. Business was not allowed to be discussed on these occasions, but was reserved for the ordinary meetings.

Conviviality sometimes degenerated into rowdiness, it is true. In the statutes of a burial club at Civita Lavinia we find the following curious provisions:

« Anyone who leaves his place at a feast to make a disturbance must pay a fine of 4 sesterces (10^d), whoever insults a fellowmember or causes a disturbance, must pay a fine of 12 sesterces (2/6). Whoever insults the president in any way during the meal, will incur a fine of 20 sesterces (4/2). »

The Christian writers, Tertullian and Cyprian, for instance, draw a comparison between the sobriety of their agapæ and the disgraceful scenes which occurred at the banquets of the collegia.

The words in which the former describes the communities of the Christians are interesting, throw light by contrast on the condition of the Collegia, for 'presidents are the most virtuous of the older men, who have obtained that honour not at a price, but by bearing witness to the faith: for nothing that belongs to God can be bought at a price.

If we have some kind of common treasury, it is not formed by the fees paid by those who are elected officials, as though religion were put up to auction: everyone brings a modest contribution once a month or when he

will, and only if he will or if he can: for no one is forced to contribute, but does so voluntarily. This money is a charitable fund. It is not spent on feasting or drinking, or on useless gormandizing, but on feeding and burying the poor, or poor and orphan children, or old servants, or those who have suffered shipwreck; and if one of our brethren is condemned to labour in the mines, or to exile, or to prison, if it only be for the faith's sake, he is cared for by the religion which he has openly confessed. It is such practising of charity that in the eyes of many distinguishes us from others. « See » they say « how they love one another. »

The pagan collegia, as we have said, never became charitable institutions: anyone who was behindhand with his subscription lost his rights, as he would lose them in a burial club to-day. The rich were of course expected to show munificence and liberality, and did so, but there is no trace of pure charity.

Let us glance now for a moment at the internal organization of these collegia. As we have said they were free, after having once obtained permission to establish themselves, to adopt what internal organization they pleased. As a fact, however, this corresponds in general very closely to the municipal organization of the towns of Italy and the provinces in imperial times, though there is a great variety in the details.

There were two or more presidents, corresponding to the two chief magistrates of a town: then came the curatores, who had various administrative duties, then the quaestores or treasurers, then in the larger collegia secretaries and messengers, and a variety of other functionaries.

These were elected by the general assembly of the collegium, which as a rule preserved its sovereign power, deciding all affairs of importance, and voting and modifying the rules of the association, so that the collegia were as a fact more democratic in constitution than the municipalities. In some of the larger collegia, however, we find an exact parallel between the two. Here the general assembly would have been too unwieldy, and the heads of the decuries (literally « divisions of ten » though the number was not strictly adhered to) into which the collegia were divided, formed an administrative committee elected by the membership as a whole exactly similar to the council of a municipality.

The patrons of the collegia were prominent persons, elected for their influence or wealth, and had no part in the administration, but were simply protectors and benefactors. Their position may be compared to that of a member of Parliament on a local benefit society or farmers' club.

We may now perhaps be able better to understand how the revolution occurred on the position of the collegia by which their members became, as we have said, the servants — almost the slaves — of the state.

The change itself came in the 3rd cent. A. D., but its causes go further back. Under the Republic the government contented itself with ruling, and left the details of administration to private persons. There were of course a few permanent offices — the treasury, the mint, etc. — but taxes were collected by private corporations and the execution of public works and the supply of whatever the state might need were contracted for by private persons. The state only fixed the gross amount and percentage of the tax (the collectors might make what they could out of it) and in the case of public works the sum to be paid to the contractor.

The Empire created the administration for itself. The old magistracies became costly positions, honourable it is true, but carrying with them no executive nor administrative powers nor functions: tax collecting (many taxes were paid in kind), the carrying out of public works, and the provision of the food supply for Rome and Italy and of whatever else might be necessary for the service of the state fell into the hands of the Emperor and his functionaries.

An intensely centralised system like this, in which the State took upon itself, besides the duties of the old Republican administration, most of the functions which had hitherto been performed by private persons under contract with the state, including much that is now left to private initiative and competition, required an enormous personnel.

It was soon discovered that in the *collegia* an organisation existed ready to hand which might be very useful to the state in this regard, and the first *collegia* to enter the state service were those which were connected with the provision of the food supply for Rome and Italy: — the shipowners, and the merchants. Some shipowners began to receive special privileges even in the first century, though not as members of the *collegium* but as individuals. However the idea that membership of the *collegium* implied these privileges acquired strength as it became the fashion for most shipowners to join the *collegia*. Similarly, from the fact that their privileges were conferred on them as performers of a public service (for which they were paid) the idea gradually grew up that the privileges were a compensation for a service which the state had a right to impose on them.

Hence in the fourth century they were saddled collectively as a *collegium* with the obligation of performing this service and became state institutions.

The process was the same in the case of the other *collegia* we have mentioned. On the same principle, that the privileges that had been granted were only a compensation for the burden of state service, such trades as were useful for the execution of public works which had at first been employed as free agents, had by the 4th century all passed into the state service. Mem-

bership of a collegium by this time became hereditary and a burden, — owing to the ever increasing demands of the state service — no longer an advantage; just in the same way as the municipal administration became a burden, no longer sought for but avoided, owing to the amount of expenditure on the public service that was demanded of municipal officials. Every member was bound for ever to his corporation with his goods and family. Desertions became frequent, and the law became correspondingly more stringent, until personal liberty was entirely lost. Even voluntary bankruptcy was at last forbidden as a means of escape — a man was simply not allowed to leave his collegium under any pretext whatever. In some cases marriage, except with children of members of the same collegium, was not permitted; and members of a collegium were often refused permission to enter the church.

The state was inexorable, and required ever more and more; far from providing adequate recompense, it only granted such privileges in return for the services it exacted as would prevent these unluckily situated persons from sinking under the burdens they had to bear. A terrible change this from the position of the collegia under the early Empire, when trade and industry developed freely under the patronage and encouragement of the government. Then membership of a collegium was sought after; now a man preferred to be a serf, because, in that position of life, the state though it would not allow him to leave it, could demand little or nothing of him. Add to this the frequent barbarian invasions and the general misery due to the corruption and maladministration of the higher officials of the central government, and the picture will hardly seem a pleasant one. No wonder that the working classes welcomed the barbarian invaders and sometimes actually joined them.

It would lead us too far to attempt to consider what lessons we may draw from this state of things, but it is certain that the evil effect which the tyrannical interference of the state had on the industrial classes, and on the industry itself of the Roman Empire, contains a warning which the advocates of the universal activity of the state might do well to lay to heart.

The proceedings were concluded with a vote of thanks for the lecturer proposed by the Chairman and cordially responded to.

Feb. 5th. — Mr. W. St. CLAIR BADDELEY gave the following lecture on the Augusteum:

The cold and superficial manner in which the magnificent and mysterious ruins known to us as occupying what must at least be recognised as the site of the « *Templum Divi Augusti* » (otherwise the Augusteum) have been referred to — or, rather, the severe manner in which they have been left

alone, in Archeological Works — may seem to you the very best of reasons for wondering why I should have selected a subject apparently so barren, or, if truth be spoken, so problematical, for my discourse.

But the present excavations are concerned with quite an unusual number of different sites, not one of which has proved so sterile of archæological literature (if we except Christian Archæological Literature) as has this one. Furthermore, in this case, owing to the felicitous exploration of the Christian Basilica, which (with its « Atrium »), became lodged in what has been called its inner hall, apparently at a date no earlier than the 6th century, attention has become so concentrated upon the objects of Ecclesiastical interest therein revealed, that I would ask you to make exceptional excuse in my favour for my seeming over boldness in dealing so far as may be possible with the Pagan side of these excavations. For it appears to me that wherever archæological attention has to become centred on any single ruin or group of ruined classical buildings, the first thing to be done is to try and get at the ends of one's mental fingers whatever records already exist concerning it, and then by applying the closest possible personal examination day by day to the form and materials which the spade and pick help to declare, to wrest from it the open truths which have become secrets — the plain things which have become mysteries — and perhaps the beautiful things which have become obscured.

Archæology, by its very nature, being an inexact science, we cannot be too careful in clinging to hard facts in order to prevent that inherent inexactness developing further, which it is constantly prone to do. « Appearances » in Archæology nearly resemble « symptoms » in the art of medicine; both the doctor and the archæologist are called upon to arrive at diagnosis. But the results of error in their respective diagnoses are happily very different. For the archæologist has fortunately very little to deplore, as a rule, in arriving at absolutely wrong conclusions. There may possibly be risk to reputation, sometimes possibly, to amour-propre; but there is no risk of a more serious kind! While there is no archæology, therefore, without error — there is also no archæology, which does not presuppose the most earnest desire to arrive at truth; and that alone ought to confer invincible happiness on the student of Archæology. The first of many questions, which presents itself to us in connection with this subject, is — « What was an Augusteum? » — It was a templum or inaugurated shrine, dedicated primarily to the Cult of Augustus, of rather, of the Gens Julia, centred in the deified Augustus. At least, this was more especially true in the early days of the Empire. In later times the Sodales Augustales became « Cultores » of the Divinity of whatsoever family happened to be reigning. To such a temple then, was duly attached a sacred brotherhood, chapter or

canonry, essentially an aristocratic one, devoted to the maintenance of the cult of the deified Augustus, whether deceased in the flesh or not, and of such members of his family, as had received the sacred honour implied by the title: August. They had their « Flamen Augustalis », their « ingenui », their freedmen who became « æditui », and their « servi », or slaves who fulfilled various functions, as « victimarii », or slayers and « tibicini », or flute-players, etc. As they had to provide important « games » in honour of the deceased Emperor we may rest assured they took prominent part in all the funeral ceremonies attending his « apotheosis ». Their functions also included all Dedications to the Divinity of statues, and sacrifices; the holding of banquets in his honour; adornings of his shrine; keeping it in repair; as well as restoring, or rebuilding it after catastrophes. The members of this priesthood or Sacred College, entered on their functions on the 1st August. We find also by one of their inscriptions (C. I. L., III, 7268) *Veneri Sacrum et Genio Collegi Augustalium*, that « Venus » (the accepted progenitrix of the Gens Julia), was not unnaturally honoured along with the members of the great family. Sacred feasts in honour of Augustus had been established as far back as 19 B. C. on the occasion of his felicitous return to Rome from Asia and Greece. And these may be said to have constituted the beginning of a deliberately organised State-Emperor-worship, a sort of central Imperial Church.

Next to the cult, temples belonging to it need a few words as regards their peculiarity of design. For, although it must be confessed, we lack any stay like copious evidence on the matter, it seems to have been the prevailing usage to construct the portico (or pronaos) on the long, instead of upon, the short side, of the parallelogram; a proceeding which must have offered certain very practical advantages, else we can hardly suppose it would have been adopted. But what these advantages were it is impossible perhaps to decide. Professor Lanciani and others with him, considers that it was not unconnected with the dispositions of the numerous statues and objects of special value and interest which are known to have been collocated therein: though this scarcely seems sufficient to fully account. The Decastyle pronaos of the building which it is believed, previously occupied the site of the present so called Pantheon, was an Augusteum, and a case in point; and it does not require literary proof to see that such must have been likewise the case in the instance under consideration. If the design of the ground plan of the Augusteum by Ligorio (72, Bodleian M. S.) may be trusted, then we have a fair idea of the portico now missing to this particular Augusteum at the partial excavation of which he himself may have been present in 1549. The arrangement therefore of such Temple was an abnormal one. The Temple of Concord by the tabularium in its latest sumptuous edition (likewise

made by Tiberius and Livia), exemplified the same arrangement, and I suppose in the mouth of 3 such illustrious witnesses as these, the matter may be allowed to be established, that the architectural distribution of the features of Augustea for some particular, but as yet undetermined, purpose, followed an unusual and it must be confessed, decidedly inelegant plan. If we were to trust coins very literally we should conclude from representations on some of them, that the special Augusteum of Rome was not rectangular but circular tetra-style. By the same evidence the temple of Mars Ultor should be circular. But we must beware of the conventionalities of art and literature in ancient Rome. The « Centumviri » we recollect, did not consist as a rule of a « hundred men of Law », any more than that the « quinque tabernæ » were 5 shops! Probably neither the Temple of Mars Ultor, nor the Augusteum, were other than rectangular, although both occur on Imperial medallions as circular temples.

But before proceeding, let me note the precise topographical position of our Ruins, describe them in rough, and then adduce the evidence which has been and is still regarded sufficient to identify them with the highly important « Temple » in question. They rise in Regio X, exactly below the N. W. angle of the Palatine Hill, and are divided from the Temple of Castor by the Nova Via at its emergence from the Vicus Tuscus, on to which latter street they faced W. They thus occupy a very remarkable site indeed, and one which must have been selected by Livia and Tiberius and their pious advisers, for some very definite reason. This reason, however, must perhaps remain a subject for speculation. We thus have a special form and a special site. Of what then, do these ruins, as they roughly present themselves to us, consist?

The view from the west simply provides us with a colossal shell composed of three brick walls, joining each other at right angles, towering up to something like 100 feet in height, the front (or fourth) wall having entirely vanished. The north wall is found to have been secured externally partly by several huge, parallel buttresses (1. 75 in diameter) which were carried right up to the roof. The upper portions of these buttresses are observed to be coupled by flying arches, giving one the notion that all are combining their family influences in order to secure that paternal north wall against unseemly collapse, and it must be confessed they have succeeded in fulfilling their dutiful function. On going to the southern wall, instead of finding it supported in this manner, we discover that precisely similar strength has been secured for it, nevertheless, by the construction of a regular series of short, arched chambers, projecting at right angles southwards from the wall itself, and divided from one another successively by walls also m. 1. 75 thick. The set-off of former vaultings still higher up on this south wall,

informs us that to these strong vaulted chambers succeeded a similar, if smaller set, and above them again occurred something perhaps quite different. On its northern or inner face this wall fortunately retains its original terminus westward in an angular projection, thus determining where the Portico began. The great easternmost or back wall is now seen subtending the southern wall externally by several metres, corresponding in fact to the original lengths of the aforesaid parallel side chambers. These latter appear to have been diagonally truncated at a later imperial period for some reason yet unexplained. (Here designs were shewn and explained).

We thus see that the entire Front portion of the building was originally a parallelogram in form, but sub-divided, in that aforesaid fashion, at its southern end.

But this (as you know) is not the whole building by any means, even on the ground floor. We must pass round, let us (for facilitating matters) say, up the Clivus Victoriæ, and look down on it from the east side. We there become aware that the rear wall, in our former view, had concealed from us two vast halls, with their own dividing, or partitional, wall.

Evidences are not far to seek, that all these majestic chambers once had others (many of them perhaps), towering above them in succession, until the spacious roofs were reached which protected the whole Titanic structure from sun and rain for doubtless many centuries. The southernmost of these 2 rear halls terminates in an Imperial south wall of the same date as all the others, but having an apsidal niche made for and now occupied by an early Christian fresco of Christ. The northernmost hall (towards Nova Via), now a ruined and be-frescoed atrium, is only slightly smaller in its dimensions. It is screened from the former hall by a once lofty imperial wall, 1 m. 42, in thickness, and pierced in its centre by a grand doorway. Its east and west walls are remarkable for the alternate square and round-headed original niches for large statues, which likewise, in Christian times, have received frescoes.

Parallel with these 2 inner halls behind them, a stately vaulted incline paved with opus spicatum in a direction N. to S. and then, on attaining a point some 6 metres short of the end of the southernmost chamber it doubles back until it reaches and meets with, the flight of steps leading from Caligula's palace direct down to the Fons Juturnæ. But it then returns south again, still ascending, and with one more (now vanished) sweep, strikes the Clivus Victoriæ as it enters the substructures of Caligula's palace. In addition to all this, Pirro Ligorio (as before mentioned), has left us a sketch (Bodleian, 72, cf. Middleton's *Remains of Ancient Rome*) giving the ground plan of an octostyle portico. This Portico with its flight of steps, led down, then, to the Vicus Tuscus, at a depth of some 14 feet below the modern Via di

S. Teodoro. When complete, therefore (in height, in width, in depth), this edifice, covering an area of about 200 English feet square, and having a great altitude, contained a series of magnificent columns, halls of varying sizes, was decorated with many thousands of feet of marble cornice, together with multitudes of statues looking down upon precious pavements. But of all this magnificence, what do we possess? Only the bare brick shell!

To the outward view, from the Forum, the Augusteum must have resembled a gigantic cube of marble, a kind of Titanic stepping-stone to the still loftier « Domus Gaiana » behind it. The mere thinking of such colossal structures seems to make one shrink to Lilliputian dimensions. It has stood therefore between the Basilica Julia, and the Palace of Caligula, a sort of mighty introduction or frontispiece, to the Palatine, the Hill sacred to Augustus! Let me now turn to the record concerning its history, and the proofs of its identity! The Emperor Augustus died Aug. 19 A. D. 14, and was deified on 17th Sept. of the same year. The Senate duly decided to erect a temple in his honour, with its own *Sodales Augustales*, to maintain the central cult of his « Numen », and spread abroad his worship. Special « Ludi » were also established in connection with it. The erection of this decreed templum became the loving care of his widowed Empress, Livia, and her son, his successor, Tiberius.

As Livia had done during his lifetime (in re-erecting the ruined temple of Concordia in memory of her husband's victories and placing in it an altar in his honour, and many artistic objects belonging to his collections) so now, after his decease, she dedicated herself to the making of a more comprehensive Augusteum. But the subsequent relations of the widowed Empress and her Emperor son unfortunately did not augur well for any joint undertakings of theirs. Neither of them lived to witness the completion of the Templum Divi Augusti, although Livia is known to have enriched it with various pictures and particular objects of value. (Pliny cit.). Livia died in A. D. 29, and Tiberius, although he reigned till A. D. 37, developed a very emphatic frugality, and, furthermore, he grew to be an habitual absentee from Rome. These circumstances well account for delay in its dedication, which did not take place until Caligula had seated himself upon his uncle's throne.

The frugality of Tiberius was now forced to stand out in inglorious relief, owing to the insane prodigality of his megalomaniac successor. Having dedicated the Augusteum, Caligula seized upon several rich mansions which succeeded up the slope of the Palatine to the rear of it, and, without compensating their owners, he caused them to be razed to the ground. He then, by means of vast « platforming » operations, proceeded to extend the house of Tiberius northwards, until, tier upon tier, the imperial palace

should overbrow the entire Forum. How much of it was completed during his brief and terrible reign of 3 years and 10 months, cannot be declared. As his madness increased upon him, he delighted in likening himself to Darius and Xerxes; and in going about wearing the breastplate of Alexander the Great. Although terrified by thunder and lightning, he came to regard himself the equal of Jupiter, while he boasted that the splendid recently restored (and re-oriented), temple of Castor and Pollux should act as a mere « Vestibulum » to his own Palace. How he would steal down to their temple in order to appear between the statues of these Divinities so as to receive adoration from their devout worshippers, may be read in Suetonius and belongs to popular Archæology. He further declared them to be his mere door-keepers « Janitores » ! But this was not enough for the imperial maniac ! He was bent upon proving himself to be on terms of equality with Jupiter Capitolinus; and in order to carry out his design, he devised mechanical means by which he could reach the Capitoline Temple without having, like ordinary mortals, to descend from the Palatine in order to get there. It is by means of a passage in Suetonius relating to this « pons » that the position of the original « Augusteum » became ascertained. « Super templum divi Augusti ponte transmisso, Palatium Capitoliumque conjunxit ».

Josephus likewise refers to this construction of a bridge, or perhaps, (as Prof. Lanciani thinks) a gangway of wood for the above purpose, though I must confess to feeling doubtful as to so arrant a brick and marble maniac, as was Caligula, satisfying himself with what merely amounts to dexterous carpentry. Nevertheless, these writers shew that he certainly used the temple of Augustus and the Basilica Julia as his progressive stepping-stones, whatever may have been the nature of the constructions he made between these. From these edifices he proceeded to the Temple of Saturn, and so doubtless to some point on the Clivus Capitolinus, it must be owned, a somewhat circuitous course ! It is, quite in keeping with the character of Caligula that he should have treated these glorious structures of his ancestors as his mere footstools. From the roof of the Basilica Julia he is recorded to have thrown coins, or clasp knives, to the rabble below, according to the dictates of his Imperial caprice.

In regarding the word « Pons » in the before-mentioned authors as a temporary wooden passage which crossed the valley of the Forum at a great height (as Prof. Lanciani and Middleton have both done) I take it that they have done so upon circumstantial evidence alone, — Middleton, at any rate, like Prof. Marucchi, to-day, regarding the present remains of the « Augusteum » as the work of Caligula. Hence, he finds it possible to identify a portion of a certain gallery in the Palace of Caligula as the

starting-point of the bridge. To this I will venture to remark that three circumstances have, it seems to me, to be taken into consideration with regard to the height of that bridge, or passage, before any opinion can be offered as to its nature.

Firstly: the extreme unlikelihood of any temple erected by Tiberius having attained to such an altitude as the present walls of the *Augusteum* when completed to their roof-lines must have done. Secondly: the fact that these walls have not in them the slightest trace of Tiberius, of Caligula, or scarcely of the first century whatsoever; while, thirdly, the level, from which the *Julian Basilica* of the first century arose, was situated many feet below the existing pavement of the last edition of that edifice. This, it is manifest, must have seriously affected any calculations of the builders of Caligula's Pons. Before referring further to archæological evidences now to hand concerning the evolutionary history of the « *Augusteum* » I must take note of the few scattered notices regarding that building dating from imperial days.

By strange and striking coincidence, with the tragic extinction of the Augustan Dynasty (in A. D. 68), the *Augusteum* was struck by lightning in the following year (Suet. Galb. 1. « *tacta de coelo Cæsarum æde* ») and the *Portico* (which contained an invaluable library) was burnt, while the sceptre struck from the hand of the statue of Augustus (Plin. 33-34; Suet. Tiberius, 74). This occurred, therefore, in the same year when the temple of Jupiter and the *Tabularium* were burnt by the partisans of Vitellius during his sanguinary struggle against Vespasian. Probably its restoration was at least begun by the latter Emperor. The whole building, however, fell victim to the terrific three-days fire under Titus A. D. 80. At that period it is probable the *Augusteum* was adorned with statues of quite a number of members of the Augustan family. When Domitian rebuilt it, it became known as « *Aedes Divorum* », « *Aedes Divi Titi* » and we learn from inscriptions that this Emperor established near it a temple in honour of his favourite divinity, Minerva (*Post templum Divi Augusti ad Minervam*) upon the walls of which were fastened bronze military diplomas belonging to the year 93 A. D. (C. I. L., III, p. 916) — a very remarkable fact in itself, seeing that until the year A. D. 90 these military diplomas had been placed on the Capitol. This Minerva must have therefore been situate between the *Augusteum* and the Palatine house of Caligula. Even as late as the end of 4th century we find it mentioned in the *Curiosum*, as next in order to Castor et Vesta, which shows that the once inaugurated temple survived until Christianity became established. Here then, under Domitian, we have practically a radical restoration and expansion (perhaps of an adjunct of the first importance) to the Palace of Caligula, and to the *Augusteum*.

More about it is, however, unknown. What catastrophe overtook this temple of Minerva and its magnificent neighbour the Augusteum, during the ensuing early years of the 2nd century is equally a matter of uncertainty. Gold and silver coins of the 3rd Consulate of Antoninus Pius (A. D. 59), however, record the completion of a fresh restoration, in all probability, an entire reconstruction of the latter.

But at this point regarding so important a matter as placing here a temple of Minerva, the question arises — Why did Domitian especially place the shrine of his favourite goddess here? — Had it perhaps to do with his own health as the reigning Augustus (*pro salute Augusti*) in juxtaposition with the cult of the numen of the deceased Emperors? Had that been the case, the shrine erected would have been surely that of Minerva Medica; — would it not? and we should be tempted at once to connect her with the rich group of healing divinities, male and female, whom we now see to have been associated with the pure and holy springs of Juturna, very close at hand!

But the Minerva of Domitian was not Minerva Medica. We are told that she was regarded by him as much as possible in the light of an Ancestress — though not absolutely as Genitrix. The Flavians were a Sabine family (as their frequent agnomen of Sabinus assures us); and Varro (Ling. Latina, 5. 74) specially informs us that Minerva was a specially Sabine Goddess. On the Quirinal accordingly (the primitive seat of the Sabines), she had a temple before ever there was one on the Capitoline Hill — before, then, she had entered into the famous Capitoline trinity of Jove, Juno and Minerva. This, no doubt, is the reason why the Flavian residence in chief was on the Quirinal Hill.

But Minerva presided over other arts and crafts besides that of medicine. She was worshipped by literary men, poets, sculptors, painters and flute players; and of all these Domitian professed himself special patron. The great Poetic competition, or Battle of the Bards, on the Capitoline (together with games connected therewith), had for its highest award a wreath of oak interwoven with Minerva's olive, to which the Emperor's medallion was wont to be attached. Domitian, in emulation of this great Four-year festival, established at Albano, a still more splendid one, over which Minerva and himself alone presided. The prize awarded there, consequently, was a gilded olive-wreath without any oak-leaves. It was at these festivals of Minerva (Athenaica) that Statius three times won the prize for Poems theming the Dacian and German campaigns. They were held on March 15, and superintended by a member of the college sacred to the favourite goddess.

I venture to think that these facts make it less difficult to perceive why Domitian should have placed his temple of Minerva immediately under the

shadow of the Imperial Palace and next to the temple of the Founder of the Empire, and the Patron of its literature and art. The Rustic Sabine family had risen to Imperial dignity: and the rustic Sabine divinity had become hellenised into the equivalent of Athens.

Now, whether Domitian's Temple of Minerva actually joined on to the Temple of Augustus or was slightly separated from it, the fact remains before us that the buildings we are calling the «*Augusteum*» and *Basilica* not only belong to one another by original communication, but their walls are the work of the very same builders. This is matter of considerable importance. It does not present us with an example of descent by modification, as is the case with so many pagan buildings; but it consists of one original plan of an elaborate group of buildings fully sketched-out, and carried-through. The style, the design, the materials, all contribute to two inevitable conclusions: 1) that the entire group is the work of one period; and 2) that that period falls within the first half of the 2nd century A. D. It may well be a matter of wonder that the erection of so stupendous an edifice in so remarkable a site should have left but slender traces of its construction in our rich epigraphic and numismatic literature.

Of its building we have no record but freshly found evidence; though we have inscriptions which shew that the *Arvales* sacrificed there in the days of Severus and Caracalla. But we may remind ourselves that, until but a decade since, the Pantheon (so-called), Portico and all, was still, regarded as the work of Agrippa, whereas it is now known to have been, Portico and all, the work of that mightiest of Imperial builders, Hadrian. And in the case of this other building likewise, the mass of brick stamps now obtained from the walls of front and rear halls, from the vaulting -- arches, and from the drains below, -- all point to its having been likewise projected and carried up to some considerable, if not quite determinable height by Hadrian himself. It is therefore in all probability the *Augusteum* commemorated on the medals of Antoninus Pius, in A. D. 159. That it was in some portions restored by Severus and Caracalla seems to me proved also by the fact that on April 11 last year I was enabled to observe, in situ, in some of the upper masonry of the dividing wall, of the Atrium and *Basilica*, brickstamps, which belong to these latter Emperors. On the other hand, the brickstamps marked by the names of Plotina Augusta and of Paetinus and Apronianus (which dates them to A. D. 123), and after, abound: while, if we descend the main drain (an arched one; leading from the Atrium of the *Basilica* beneath the last Imperial doorway on the right, and passing out under the largest hall of the *Augusteum* towards the *Cloaca Maxima*), we find that it has been repaired and narrowed here

and there for a distance of several metres at a time. At these points it is reduced in width from 97 c. to 51 c., and has been given a lean to vaulting composed of 2 large « tegulae bipedales. » On secessing the mud from them I found each of these tegulae to be finely stamped Q. Oppi. Natalis. around a figure of Mercury. This stamp belongs to the year A. D. 120, so that the noble arched brick drain belonging to an older period (having an uniform height of 1. 70), was repaired in a drastic manner throughout by Hadrian or his successors. This drain pursues its way due N. and W, in order to reach the Cloaca.

Above and below ground therefore the evidences from about 40 different brickstamps alone proves that the Champion Imperial Architect Hadrian, if not the completer of this vast building, at least undertook the chief share in its construction.

Soon after noting down the bearing of that drain, and while re-visiting the Chapel of Ss. Cosmas and Damianus (at the end of the W. aisle of S. Maria Antiqua), on 6th January, the workmen there reached its original imperial floor, and I observed that the large « tegulae » with which it has been originally tiled were not set square with the chamber itself in all portions of it. At the further or southern end of it, where they had not been disturbed, by the sinking of a medieval well, they were not only orientated, similarly to the drain mentioned, but they proved to run under the present south wall which is actually built across them. Beneath these tiles run next constructional arches which I have seen, precisely following the E. and W. direction of these tiles above them. On finding a stamp belonging to them it proved to belong to later first century, or commencement of second. (Pieri Q. N. 1362. C. I. L.). The constructions beneath may possibly belong to a previous building on this portion of the site. It should also be mentioned that the orientation corresponds (whether by accident or not) not only with the aforesaid main drain, but with the walls beyond S. Maria Antiqua, whose direction has been determined at right angles to the Clivus Victoriae, from which they run off. And it will be recollected that one of these walls displays Republican *Opus Incertum*.

Turning now to the bases of the various walls of the group of halls, we see them to have been founded upon massive, well-cut, blocks of travertine, which have formerly been clamped on to others with metal.

It may be doubted whether the entire Forum can show another instance so illustrative of the desperate hunger of the medievals for travertine as do the bases of these majestic walls to-day. Wherever it is possible (and especially at the turns of the many great doorways) these hunters and hackers have deliberately hewn away the walls of brick in order to extract

block after block of travertine, in such a bold manner in some parts, that it is almost a marvel the walls have not cracked and tottered to their destruction.

While studying these travertines that remain « in situ », it was impossible not to come to the conclusion that the men who built these walls did not lay those stones. The compass showed that they were not lying so as to preserve any particular uniform direction, but varied considerably. Some lie E. of N. 10 and 15 points, and some lie W., and some again, N. and S. As they frequently subtend the walls at odd angles, one is driven to the conclusion that a great number of them were not deliberately laid to suit this building, but were materials which had been merely utilised by its builders. Beneath them lies built a bed of dark concrete.

Before leaving these details which may serve, I trust, merely to stimulate the observation of others with regard to this splendid riddle of a building, — let me mention that the angular piers within S. Maria Antiqua, which have suffered a good deal by weathering, and are not of particularly good workmanship, are nevertheless Imperial and not Papal construction, and that beneath the degenerate bases near them, whereon the Christians have raised their 4 granite columns, may be traced larger and bolder bases, which have doubtless, at a previous period, served to support the larger and nobler columns which must have adorned a peristylum within Hadrian's building.

This building (if these conjectures be within any measurable distance of the truth about it) arose then in an Imperial period distinguished for its remarkably eclectic taste, conjoined with perfection of engineering skill — a period rich in scholarship of all kinds, and radiant with the love of art. Once more Rome was become the universal market for learned men, still as Wordsworth says, holding « the gorgeous East in fee ».

Probably the yield of precious marbles from the mountains of Asia, Greece and Africa in Hadrian's reign (like the brickstamps) exceeded both in quantity and variety that of any other known period of history. For, apart from his undertakings in the Provinces, and near Tivoli, — his buildings and embellishings, on a grand scale, in Rome itself, were more extensive than we shall perhaps ever know, unless the *Corpus Inscriptionum* shall become enriched by the recovery of the lost list of his « Buildings », which Pausanias says once adorned the Pantheon, which he raised (in imitation of the one here) at Athens.

It is true we know a good deal about his temples of Venus and Rome; we are aware that he completed the Forum of Trajan with the templum Divi Trajani and a triumphal arch; that he entirely re-constructed the Pantheon, the Basilica of Neptune, the Septa; that he restored the embank-

ments of the Tiber and threw across it the Pons Aelius to his mausoleum; that besides these works he carried out several architectural repairs on the Palatine and in the Forum of Augustus; — nevertheless, a veil of mystery still hangs between us and much that Hadrian accomplished. For besides these monuments, his biographer, Spartianus, tells us that he built a temple to the Bona Dea; and Lampridius mentions besides these, a magnificent Athenaeum, with halls so spacious that the Senate could hold sittings there, and that Poets and Philosophers, Roman and Greek, discoursed in them, and contended for prizes. Of this latter edifice we hear for the last time in Symmachus, of the 4th cent. Zampf believes that this Athenaeum was consecrated as a temple of Minerva. There is however, no evidence to connect this present mighty aggregation of halls with Domitian's temple of Minerva, or with the Athenaeum of Hadrian. Until the débris of centuries is sifted by the present excavations, and Fors Fortuna, (who seems to be the body-attendant of our friend, Comm. Giacomo Boni), brings to light some inscription bearing upon the Imperial story of the building, we must content ourselves with studying this Augusteum lovingly, not certainly as a beautiful Greek or Roman temple, but as a titanic architectural prodige, due to the genius of Hadrian.

February 13th. — The Rev. J. GORDON GRAY DD. gave an interesting demonstration of the house and Basilica of St. Clemente on the Coelian. After a short preface as to who the Saint was, the lecturer went on to say:

We are thus on the earliest Christian ground in Rome. Only two other sites can compete with it. The oldest of all is the house of Aquila and Priscilla on the Aventine, the ruins of which lie under the garden next to the church of S. Prisca, the next that of Pudens on the Viminal, under the church of S. Pudenziana, and then this a little later only than these others. Three important centres had thus become well-known in connection with Christian assemblies before the first century closed.

It was most natural that, as soon as the times admitted of it, important churches should be raised over spots so associated with the earliest Christian worship. What surprises us is that the actual history of the various changes, which have taken place on this site, should have been so completely lost sight of that a veritable discovery was needed to bring them again to the light. Until the Father Mullooly, the late honoured Prior of the adjoining monastery, began his researches, it was supposed that the present basilica occupied the site of the original church. Its history before 1850 could be summed up thus. The earliest mention of it was found in St. Jerome in his lives of illustrious men in the year A. D. 385. Even then the antiquity of a church, bearing the name of St. Clement, could be referred

to. Zosimus, the Roman bishop, had mentioned it in the year 417 in his letter to the African bishops as the place, where he gave judgment on the errors of Pelagius. In 449 it appears as a titular church in a letter of Leo, the First, to Flavian, bishop of Constantinople, and that same year is found on a list of churches in connection with the Council presided over by Symmachus. About the year 600 Gregory the Great delivered in it two of his homilies, the 33rd and 38th. When the 8th century was nearing its close the roof of the basilica was restored by Adrian I. In the following century several of the Roman bishops enriched it with gifts of various kinds, among which was a new marble chair. Very probably the destruction of the first basilica took place in the year 1084, when so many public edifices suffered at the hands of Robert Guiscard from the Lateran to the Capitol.

The actual basilica in use to-day was built or completed in the year 1108, in the time of Pascal II, by Cardinal Anastasius, as the inscription on the Portico bears.

Such is a brief outline of the history of the church till the Prior of the Irish Dominicans began his highly important and successful excavations under the church. In the year 1857 he was moved to begin by the well-known fact that the remains of the Rome of St Clement's time, brought to the light in this neighbourhood, lay at a much lower level than the site of the modern church. There was also the similar case of the S. Pudenziana over the house of Pudens, to guide him. A shaft was let down near the sacristy and after reaching a depth of 14 feet the remains of a marble pavement were found. This at once gave proof of the existence of an older basilica at a lower level. Very soon the workmen found themselves dealing with an immense quantity of earth, mixed with broken bricks and pieces of marble. When the debris had been cleared away, they found themselves in one of the aisles of the older basilica. On proceeding next to extend their operations laterally, a wall of brickwork (*lateritium*) with traces of frescoes upon it was reached, and on the other side a row of columns with the spaces between filled in with a wall of rough blocks of stone. This aisle turned out to be in almost exact correspondence with the North aisle of the upper church.

Great care had to be taken in the prosecuting of the excavations, lest the foundations of the later basilica should be impaired. At length the whole of this northern aisle was excavated and it was found divided from the nave by 7 marble columns about 18 inches in diameter and from 11 to 12 feet in height, while all of them were in their places. This at once made it clear that the original basilica had not been destroyed either by human hands or by earthquake shocks. It had only been partially injured by the great fire that wrought such havoc among the buildings, lying between the Lateran and the Capitol, and then the whole had simply been filled up with debris. The

columns were soon seen to be not only of various marbles but of special value. « The first, » writes the Prior, « of verde antique is of marvellous beauty and very remarkable for its vermillion spots varying its surface, of vivid green and pure white; it is considered an unique specimen of its kind in Italy. The second is Parian; the third and fourth (fluted) are of Numidian marble; two others of Oriental granite, and the seventh of Settebasi of the rarest quality. Some of these pillars have been stript of their capitals, others retain them, and although all are valuable and beautiful, they lack uniformity both in height and diameter, which shows that they must have been taken from still older edifices, perhaps porticoes or Pagan temples. »

In this we may find a distinct note of time. In the age before Constantine columns from such a source would not have been available. After the peace, introduced by him between the church and the State, we know that temples were utilised for churches and this may have been one of the ways in which this was carried out. It would enable us to date the lower basilica, as belonging to the first half of the 4th century.

« Springing from these columns are arches of early construction supporting the northern wall of the upper church. The columns seem to stand on a uniform plinth, running along the aisle, but, in fact, it is a brick-wall of the imperial period » (Mullooly).

The entire basilica came in course of time to be excavated, when similar columns were found, marking off the southern aisle from the nave. Its entire length was found to have been 146 feet and its width 91 feet, 8 inches. The aisles were not of equal breadth, the southern being 1 foot, 3 inches wider than the northern one.

Before leaving the lower basilica a reference may be made to the pavement, which was formed of porphyry, cut into diamonds and squares with marbles of white and serpentine. Only a mere fragment was found in the southern aisle, that was first discovered, but it was sufficient to show what had been the general pattern.

Another feature that will attract our notice in connection with the other aisle, is that there was no wall running between the columns as in the other case, but round two of the columns two great brick pilasters are found, which had been ornamented with frescoes. These piers are about 9 feet, 6 inches in width and about 3 feet in thickness, the column remaining imbedded in each. They were evidently meant to give support to the building at these points, where it had given signs of weakness or with a view to support the structure that came to be raised above the original basilica. The fact that these piers were ornamented with frescoes indicates that they were there before the lower basilica had ceased to be used.

We pass over meantime the interesting wall-paintings that were disco-

vered as the excavations proceeded, some of them at the time being found wonderfully preserved, though they have suffered much since they came to be exposed.

Discoveries of special interest yet awaited the indefatigable Prior. When the excavations had reached the western wall, the lower stratum to the height of 18 inches was seen to be of a construction peculiar to edifices of the first century, while the upper was of an inferior character distinctive rather of the 3rd century. It became at once manifest that this wall had been built on the remains of another, which might have belonged to an edifice erected during the first century. The question then arose, what could this building have been? The first church had now been opened, this could be no other than the house of St Clement, on which that church was built. And so the next thing that had to be ascertained was the depth, to which this wall reached.

In following up this search, they came upon another wall under the pavement of the lower basilica, which turned out to be built of large blocks of travertine, such as are found in the Coliseum. As they dug deeper, this wall of travertine was found resting on one still lower, but of material that might connect it with the time of the kings of Rome. Subsequent investigation established the fact that a portion of the Servian wall had been reached. As much as 100 feet of it were come upon in a straight line and it was found to run out still at both ends. The earliest period in Roman history was thus found to be in contact with the foundations, on which the first basilica of St Clement rested. What a wonderful series of strata came to be laid open! A portion of the wall of Servius, a building on it of the Republican period, supposed to have been the Mint of these times, then a house of Imperial times, belonging to a Roman of wealth and position, then the basilica of the 4th century and last of all the basilica of the 12th, reaching down with many repairs on it to this present time. In other words Regal, Republican, Imperial, Christian, Mediaeval and Modern Rome rise one above the other at this point.

And yet there remained one valuable link amissing in the chain of evidence that was to establish the fact that here under all stood the house of St Clement. In proceeding to examine the brickwall under the apse a walled up doorway was found. On opening it and removing the earth within there was discovered a series of chambers belonging to a Roman house. In one of these there was stucco-decoration of a richer character than usual arranged with panels and rosettes in their centres. This appears to have been the original oratory. As the earth was entirely cleared away, the foot of a staircase was reached leading up to the S. W. corner of the basilica. This was probably used as the means of access to the oratory from the

church, just as the more modern stair enables us to get down to the earlier basilica. These chambers have on them the marks of the earlier years of the Empire. And now came the greatest surprise of all. Marble pilasters were found in position with caps upon them, indicating the middle or end of the 3rd century. These turned out to be doorways into a large chamber, which was discovered to be a perfect temple of Mithras. That such a temple should be found in the very house, where at an earlier period the Christians had gathered for worship, was at first very perplexing. And the question arose: did this necessarily overthrow the evidence that had been thus painfully and gradually accumulating as to its being the actual site of the oratory of St Clement? Further light soon came in regard to this strange intrusion of an Eastern form of Pagan worship into this cherished spot, where Christianity had taken deep root, ere the first century closed. This form of heathenism was introduced into Rome with the soldiers of Pompey the Great and had made such progress in the time of the Antonines that it was the predominant religion of the Empire.

The confiscation of Clement's property, which may have accompanied his condemnation and martyrdom can easily account for the house changing owners, even though it may have been family property. This would bring to the Pagan priesthood their opportunity to possess themselves of it. The very fact that one so distinguished in the Church as its former owner, had held Christian assemblies in it, would make these priests doubly anxious to secure it. And so there in the very room, where the holy gospel had been preached, the bloody rites of Mithras came to be celebrated. The very altar, decorated with a bas-relief representing the sacrifice of a bull to the deity stood on that spot. It looked as if Christianity had been conquered in one of its chief seats and centres. Yet it was but a temporary defeat to be followed by a far greater and more enduring victory. This strange extinction of the true light in this sacred spot may have covered a considerable period of the 2nd and of the 3rd centuries, until the great conflict between Paganism and Christianity wrought out its issue. Then there rose over that very spot, that had become desecrated in the eyes of the Christian Church, a basilica that was worthy of the name and services of St Clement. The exact date of that basilica it seems impossible to fix. If not before the time of Constantine, certainly during his reign or very soon thereafter a church must have risen on a spot so dear to the early Church. We know that the site of Pudens' house had been connected with a considerable edifice even before the 2nd century had run much more than half of its course.

What strikes us as singular is that pains was not taken to remove from that early Christian house of St Clement every trace of the Mithraic worship

and that so late as this 19th century of the Christian era there should have been found in it these relics of the Pagan altar and worship. Is it not better so? One important link in the historical evidence would have been amissing. We should not have been able, as we are now, to fill up the blank between the earlier Christian victory and the 3rd or 4th century basilica with such a splendid proof of the power of Christianity to drive out of its strongholds the revived Paganism of the 2nd and 3rd centuries, bitter and desperate as the struggle was.

A statue of the Good Shepherd was found in these adjoining rooms, marking out clearly the house as a Christian house, before part of it became a Mithraic temple. And the interesting bronze plate, possessed, according to Prof. Armellini, by a contemporary of Baronius, that had been attached to the collar of a slave strongly confirms the fact of the existence of the oratory of St Clement in the earliest times. On that plate were inscribed the words: « Keep me because I have fled and return me to Victor, acolyte from the dominicum of Clemens ». The term *dominicum*, it is known, was used in the beginning of the 4th century, but had fallen into disuse at its close. This is another of those links which help us to fill up blanks in the history of the house of St Clement. In the 4th century it had again become a Christian oratory, to be followed up by a Christian basilica. Had we been able to say that the bronze plate had been found actually on that spot, it would have completed the evidence as to this having been St Clement's house. As it is we have to rest it on the unvarying evidence going back to the 4th century, to which we have referred, from Jerome and others.

Let me quote to you De Rossi's conclusion on the facts, with which we have been dealing.

« All difficulties vanish if we hold that the place was truly, as many arguments persuade us to believe, an old conventicle or place of meeting of the faithful preserving the memory of St. Clement on the Coelian, usurped by the Pagans during the persecution. In which case the edicts of the peace of Constantine restored it of right to the Church and to its primitive Christian designation. Thus the agreement between the historic dates and the monuments becomes complete. The Coelian edifice of the first centuries of the Empire was not constructed for a Mithraic cave, but the Mithraism was introduced into it within the period, in which these Christian meeting-places were more than once confiscated. On the peace of the Church coming, Constantine gave them the right of reclaiming their former possessions and their sacred spots, of which the *Dominicum Clementis* in Rome was one and was at once recovered and transformed into an ample basilica.

On the 26th February, Professor NORTON, the Director of the American School of Classical Studies, delivered a lecture on Greek and Roman portraiture, of which the following is an abstract.

No one who compares a collection of ancient and modern busts can avoid being struck by the great difference between them. In a collection of classical busts, whatever differences there may be between the work of one artist and another, the same general principles underlie the work of all. It is not so in a collection of the work of modern artists. There we meet with examples in every style, made with every purpose, and each artist appears to be a law to himself.

The art of portrait painting flourishes in wealthy communities, and especially where large private fortunes abound. This was the case in Greece after the discovery of the silver mines of Laurium, at Rome in Imperial times, and in Venice at the time of her greatest commercial prosperity.

Portraits were most frequently made for commemoration. In Greece the athlete who was three times successful in the Olympic games could claim his portrait bust. Pericles presented his bust to the Temple of Athena as a thank-offering in acknowledgement of the assistance he had received from the goddess in carrying on his public work. Though we are well aware that the feeling of warm personal friendship existed in Greece, we know of no instance in which friends exchanged their busts with each other. Pliny speaks of the fashion of ornamenting libraries with the busts of celebrated men as new in his day. Roman families handed down from one generation to another the masks of their ancestors. Their contemplation by succeeding generations was supposed to have such an important influence in maintaining a high tone of family feeling, that they were made inalienable by law.

A description in words, such as we meet with in literature, stands at a considerable disadvantage compared with a painted portrait or a carved bust. The particulars which can be given in a literary portrait are but very few, and so the description is necessarily vague, and the effect produced will differ with the varying imagination of each reader. The limitations of literary portraiture, compared with those of painting may be illustrated by a comparison between Shelley's description of the pianoforte player in « Julian and Maddalo » with the player in Titians picture of the « Concert » in the Pitti. Other illustrations of the limits of literary description may be found in Browning's portrait of Louis Napoleon as Prince Hohenstiel Schwangau, in Shakespeare's « Sonnets », and in Lowell's Ode in commemoration of Lincoln.

The sculptor of a bust works at some disadvantage compared with a portrait painter. The painter settles once for all the light in which his

subject shall be seen, and he can give the colour of the hair, eyes and complexion, while the features upon which the sculptor must chiefly rely for producing his effect are the mouth and brow.

As an example of a bust of the best period of Greek art, we may take that of Pericles in the British Museum. It represents with great restraint, the features in a state of repose and quiet thought. The attention is not distracted by the working out of subordinate details such as the hair of the head and beard which are left indefinite, and there is no attempt to portray any passing emotion. The artist's aim has been to suggest the inner and nobler life of the man, to give us a certain type of countenance and character, rather than the likeness of an individual.

The bust of Demosthenes may be taken as an illustration of the next period of Greek art. The attempt to represent a type of character is abandoned, and we have instead a lifelike portrait, giving the personal peculiarities of the man as he appeared in every day life to his contemporaries.

Greek art again declined when a Court portrait painter was appointed by Alexander the Great, and it declined still further when after his death, each of the kings who ruled a part of his empire, desired his portrait to be an imitation of that of Alexander.

The first impression made by a collection of Roman busts is that they are vigorous but ugly. They are the portraits of men of action — men who have done something not men of thought like the Greeks. The modelling of the face is more worked out, and the details are more prominent. The brow is often contracted, the pupils of the eyes are hollowed out and the look is fixed. Sometimes the portrait head is placed on the body of a Greek god. The busts of Brutus and Cicero may be taken as examples of Roman Art.

When we come down to the time of the Renaissance, the Florentine pictures of youths and children make the nearest approach to Greek art and the representation of beauty for its own sake.

The Florentine portraits of older people on the other hand, remind us rather of Roman Art.

Prof. MARUCCHI gave on March 5th a demonstration of the newly excavated church of Santa Maria Antiqua at the foot of the Palatine. He said:

You have read in the invitation that I would give an explanation of the church of Santa Maria Antiqua in Italian; and it is true because I am not yet able to give a lecture in English. But I have thought that a short introduction in your language would be agreeable to you; and thus I have written a few words upon the general history of this church and after this I will continue in Italian my explanation of the pictures and other monuments.

We know from the diarium of Valois that in the year 1702 an ancient church was discovered below the church of Santa Maria Liberatrice which was in the same place where we are now.

This old church was decorated with pictures of the eighth century. The archaeologists of that time thought that this church was the same as that described in the *Mirabilia urbis Romae* of the XII century under the name of Sant'Antonino and later of Santa Maria de Inferno; where an old legend related that Saint Silvester killed a dragon. This legend was certainly a souvenir of the triumph of christianity over paganism.

In the itinerary of Rome by the Anonymous of Einsiedlen we find named in the Roman Forum a church of *Santa Maria Antiqua*. And for this reason some archeologists thought that the old church discovered in the year 1702 was *Santa Maria Antiqua*. But others have been of the opinion that Santa Maria Antiqua was identical with Santa Maria Nova now called *Santa Francesca Romana*.

In the month of January of last year (1900) the Ministry of public Instruction undertook excavations on this site; and as a result we have found here the remains of the old church discovered before — and now again brought to light. -- We saw by this discovery, that this church was not a little chapel, as many thought, but a great building like a basilica with columns, apse, and decorated with pictures throughout.

These pictures are generally of the eighth century and they represent scenes of the old and new testaments and also many figures of Latin and Greek saints. Soon after this discovery I came to the conclusion that this church was *Santa Maria Antiqua* agreeing in this with Prof. Lanciani and Father Grisar.

And now three monuments have proved without doubt the correctness of this opinion:

1° An inscription in the apse which says — SCAE . DEI . GENITRICI . SEMPERQVE . VIRGINI . MARIAE — A dedication which shows that in the eighth century our church was already dedicated to the blessed Virgin. But the itinerarium of Einsiedeln of the same century speaks only of one church in the Roman Forum dedicated to the Virgin and this is *S. Maria Antiqua*; therefore this must be *S. Maria Antiqua*.

2° A picture of the eighth century which I will show you presently, represents the administrator of the church of S. M. Antiqua with an inscription to this effect.

3° We know from the Liber Pontificalis that Pope John VII placed a pulpit (ambon) in the church of *S. M. Antiqua*; and in the excavations we have found here a fragment of this pulpit with a Greek and Latin inscription mentioning the same Pope. Therefore the identity of this church with *S. Maria*

Antiqua is placed beyond a doubt. This church was built probably at the end of the fourth century in a large room of the palace of Caligula which was on the authority of Svetonius in connection with the temple of Castor and Pollux. In any case this church was very ancient because it was already called *antiqua* in the seventh century and we can think that it was consecrated at the end of the fourth century and that this was the most ancient church in Rome dedicated to the blessed Virgin. In fact *S. Maria Maggiore* although it was built in the time of the Pope Liberius was first dedicated to the Virgin by Pope Sixtus III in the fifth century.

This basilica built in the very palace of the emperors became an imperial church and had a great importance especially in the times of the exarchate of Ravenna.

We know from the *Liber Pontificalis* that this building became also a papal church in the time of Pope John VII who built above on the Palatine an episcopal residence and in this way we can explain the portraits of different Popes which we will see presently.

We are able to recognise the remains of this palace of Pope John in the middle of ruins of the palace of Tiberius and Caligula; and I have also identified the ancient stairs which you see to the left leading from the temple of Vesta to the Palatine with the stair restored by the father of Pope John, by means of an ancient inscription found in the church of *S. Anastasia*. The church was in use certainly till the middle of the ninth century; but at this time it must have been too cold and damp; and for this reason it was abandoned by Pope Leo IV who translated the ecclesiastical title to another church built by himself on the site of the ancient temple of Venus and Rome; which new church took the name of *S. Maria Nova* and is now called *S. Francesca Romana*.

Finally the old church of *S. Maria Antiqua* little by little was forgotten and fell into decay. After this the modern church of *S. Maria Liberatrice* was built which with its name, preserved till our time a souvenir of the ancient appellation.

March 26th. — M.^{rs} HAMILTON RAMSAY contributed a paper on the Temple of Diana and other monuments of Ephesus which was illustrated by a number of slides. After dealing with the history and topography of the city, its walls were first described and shown on the screen: — They are said to have been built by Lysimachus and can even now be traced for nearly their whole length as in their windings they follow the lofty and irregular ridge of Mount Prion which bounds the city on the north side and thence run down westward to within a few yards of the mountain stream which falls into the Cayster. Then crossing the extremity of Mount Prion, and returning east-

ward, they enclose the ancient fort commonly, but erroneously, called the Prison of St Paul. From this point dipping down the precipitous side of the rocky steep on which the fort stands, they run to the edge of the canal near the City-port, and here was the gate through which the city was entered from the sea.

The Odeum came next which was excavated by Mr. J. T. Wood. Here imagining that it was the tomb of St. Luke they raised in honour of the Saint the beautiful shrine of which Mr. Wood found enough to enable him to restore it on paper.

Then followed a description of the Great Theatre which is one of the largest in Asia Minor: — It is built on the western slope of Mount Corefsus and from the upper seats may be seen a long strip of blue sea. Its diameter is 495 feet and like most theatres of this description it is of a horse-shoe form. This vast theatre was capable of seating 24,500 persons. The stage was nearly 22 feet wide, the orchestra 110 feet in diameter. The proscenium built almost entirely of white marble was adorned with granite columns and highly enriched entablatures of fine white marble filled in with strips of porphyry. A large archway on the north side of the outer wall is of the period of Augustus.

As is well known at Ephesus was the famous Temple of Diana which Pliny called « universum Templum. » The platform on which it was raised was 415 feet 1 inch by 239 feet 4, 2 inches (English) measured on the lowest step; the dimensions given by Pliny being 425 by 220 feet (Roman). The height of the pavement of the peristyle from the pavement beyond the platform was 9 feet 5 1/2 inches.

The temple itself was octostyle, having eight columns in front; and dipteral, having two ranks of columns all round the cella.

This accords with the description of it by Vitruvius. The columns of the peristyle were as Pliny has described them one hundred in number, twenty-seven of which the gift of kings. Pliny and Diogenes Laertius tell us that the foundations of the first temple were laid on charcoal and fleeces of wool according to the advice of Theodorus of Samos about the year 500 B. C. The second temple was built on the same foundations by Dinocrates, a Macedonian architect, and to this building belong most of the fragments and sculptures now in the British Museum. The cella was nearly 70 feet wide and the temple supposed to have been hypaethral. The size of the aperture is not exactly known, and opinions are divided on that point. The pavements of Greek temples were sunk in the centre, which seems to prove that the rain was allowed to fall there, and by this contrivance the remainder of the cella was kept dry. In rear of the altar must have stood the statue of the goddess. The foundations discovered are large enough for both the altar and the statue.

The following letter conveying an expression of the sorrow of the British and American Archaeological Society at President Mc Kinley's assassination was addressed by the Secretary to the U. S. Chargé d'affaires in Rome.

72, S. Nicola da Tolentino
Rome, 14th September 1901.

Sir,

I am desired to express to you the deep sympathy of the British and American Archaeological Society on the sad occasion of the death of H. E. President Mc Kinley, and to beg you to convey the sense of our great indignation and sincere condolences to Mrs. Mc Kinley and the American Nation.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

M.r Lewis Morris Iddings
U. S. Chargé d'Affaires
Rome.

Your obedient servant
R. H. BORGE
Honorary Secretary.

M.r Iddings replied:

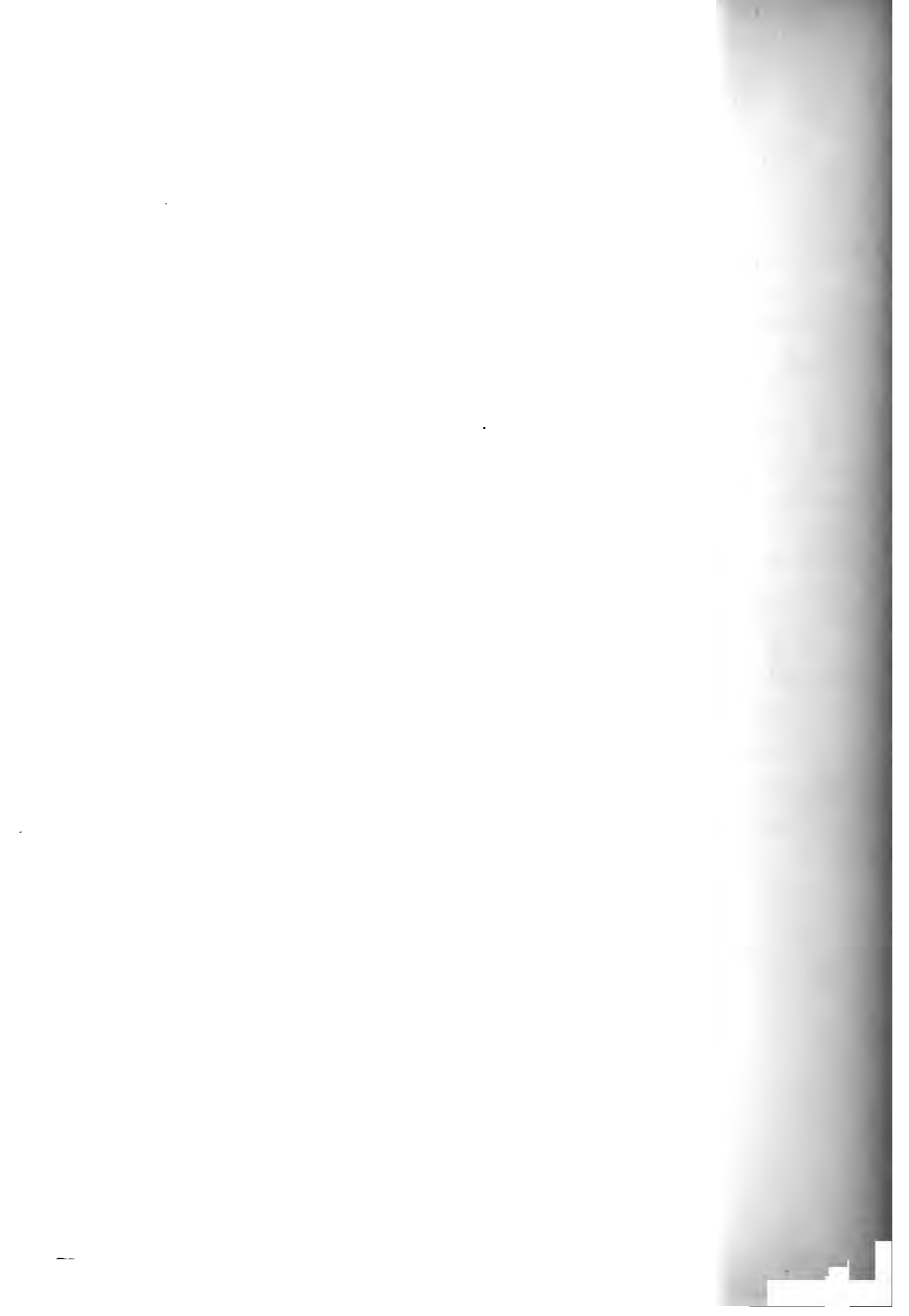
AMERICAN EMBASSY
ROME
September 16, 1901.

Sir,

I beg leave to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 14th instant in which you express in behalf of yourself and the British and American Archaeological Society of Rome, your condolences on the death of President Mc Kinley. Your expressions of sympathy are highly esteemed by myself, and will be fully appreciated at Washington. I have the honor to thank you for them in the name of my Government; and to remain

R. H. Borge, Esq.,
Honorary Secretary
British and American Archaeological Society,
Rome.

Your obedient servant,
LEWIS MORRIS IDDINGS
Chargé d'Affaires ad Interim.



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OF THE
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ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF ROME
WITH LIST OF MEMBERS

Session 1901-1902

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THE BRITISH AND AMERICAN
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF ROME
ESTABLISHED 1865.

ROME — 72, Via S. Nicola di Tolentino — ROME

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(Vacant).

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Notizie degli Scavi dell'Accademia dei Lincei.
Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects
Bulletin of American Geographical Society.

BRITISH AND AMERICAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY

OF ROME

N. 72, via San Nicolò da Tolentino, first floor.

ANNUAL REPORT — SESSION 1901-1902.

It is very gratifying for the Council to be able to announce that the Session has been even more successful than the preceding one.

The Library was opened, as usual, for the use of subscribers on December 3rd and the Inaugural address was delivered on the 14th January by Professor R. Norton, Director of the American School of Classical Studies, in the Winter Garden of the Hotel Royal, before a select and numerous audience. His Excellency the Hon. G. von Lengerke Mayer, United States Ambassador to Italy and Vice-President of the Society, was in the Chair.

Fifteen lectures and demonstrations, not including the opening, were given during the Session, as may be seen from the list appended herewith and it is very satisfactory to notice that in one case only the lecturer could not make use of the English language, all the others, Professor Lanciani and Sig. Boni excepted, being English-speaking gentlemen and ladies of high culture, and archaeologists.

Three new Members have been enrolled in our list of subscribers, while the Associates from 50, which was their number last Session, have increased to 76.

Sig. Comm. G. Boni, Director of excavations in the Roman Forum, and Mr W. St. Clair Baddeley, the well known lecturer and archaeologist, have been elected honorary members. Sig. Boni, in reply to the letter announcing his nomination, said « he was proud to belong to the British and American Archaeological Society. »

The estimation and favour in which the Society is held by all that take a real interest in historical and archaeological research, are best shown by the increased number of exchanges made of our Journal of Proceedings with

the valuable and in many cases costly publications of kindred Institutions in Great Britain and America, without reckoning the eagerness with which the Journal is sought after by the public at large. The number of copies sold this year has been quite unprecedented, and it is a matter for consideration whether it will not be advisable to bring out a larger edition next autumn.

The number of tickets sold to non-subscribers for attending the meetings has been also most encouraging.

The accounts for the year ending April 30th, audited by Rev. Dr. J. Gordon Gray and Mr. F. A. Searle, after payment of all liabilities, show a clear balance in hand of lire 317.90, the capital invested being the same as last year.

It is necessary, however, that a special fund be raised by donations and otherwise to be exclusively devoted to the purchase of new books, with which the Library ought to be provided. Meanwhile the following additions have been made during the Session:

By gift:

L. Pigorini. — Museo preistorico ed Etnografico di Roma (from the author).

L. Pigorini. — Plan of the Museums Preistorico and Kircheriano (from the author).

W. A. W. and J. C. W. — A Christian Corner in the Roman Forum (from Mr Campbell Wall).

Several Handbooks to towns in Northern Italy (from Miss Briggs).

By purchase:

Gregorovius. — History of Rome in the Middle Ages, vol. VII, Eng. trans.

Lanciani. — New Tales of old Rome.

Lowrie. — Christian Art and Archæology.

It is with much regret that we have to chronicle the death of the Rt. Rev. Monsignor Campbell DD., an Honorary Member of the Society. The deceased prelate rendered through a great number of years valuable services to the Society, as his lectures on Christian Archæology delivered before us testify. We also have to record the death of the Rev. J. Wall, a subscribing member. In each the Society loses a warm friend and supporter.

Last but not least the Council wishes to avail itself of the opportunity to express its sense of warm obligation to all those who so generously helped the Society's work during the Session by their lectures and demonstrations.

On behalf of the Council.

Rome, April 24th 1902.

R. H. BORGÉ
Hon. Secretary.

List of Lectures and Excursions.

1. Prof. R. Norton. — Origins of Etruscan Art.
2. Mr T. Ashby junr. — The Campagna in ancient times.
3. Comm. G. Boni. — Recent excavations in the Roman Forum.
4. Prof. R. Lanciani. — Demonstration of San Saba.
5. Prof. R. Lanciani. — Demonstration of Sta Agnese.
6. Prof. R. Lanciani. — Demonstration at Sti Giov. and Paolo.
7. Mr. W. St. Clair Baddeley. — Demonstration at the House of the Vestals.
8. Mr W. St. Clair Baddeley. — The gardens of Rome and what grew in them.
9. Rev. Father Mackey. — On some sites connected with the earliest periods of Grecian History.
10. Dr Edmondston Charles. — Demonstration at the Roman Fire Brigade Station.
11. Prof. O. Marucchi. — Demonstration at the Catacomb of Sta Priscilla (italian).
12. Contessa Gautier. — Excursion to Veii.
13. Rev. Dr J. Gordon Gray. — Origin of the Christian Basilica.
14. Excursion to Tivoli.
15. Mr W. St. Clair Baddeley — The Roman Forum.
16. » » — The Palatine.



SESSION 1901-1902

As mentioned in the Annual Report the Introductory Lecture of the Session was delivered by Prof. R. NORTON, Director of the American School of Classical Studies, on the 14th of January.

We regret it is not in our power to publish even an abstract of Prof. Norton's very interesting lecture; we cannot, however, pass over in silence his introductory words which cannot fail to afford our subscribers the greatest satisfaction.

« I would ask you to remember, » Mr. Norton said « before beginning the topic of my lecture, that this is the 37th year of existence of this Society. More important, however, than its mere age, is the spirit in which it was founded, and the men who were at work in Rome at that time. Those were the days of Parker and his fellow-workers, our brothers in archaeology — men not overburdened with facts, for they repeat themselves again and again, but full of genuine interest in the study of archaeology, and of sympathy with the ancient world — a sympathy aroused by their feeling that nothing human is lacking in real, lasting, permanent value. I am sorry I cannot pledge a silent toast to their memory, but the offering of these few remarks is a sincere sacrifice to their shades. »

Jan. 21st Mr T. ASHBY jun. delivered an address on the Campagna in ancient times.

Mr St Clair Baddeley introduced the lecturer, who said:

I must first say that I feel somewhat sorry and very much flattered that so many of you should have abandoned such an opportunity of studying the Campagna itself as is afforded by this lovely day, and should have come to listen to me indoors.

A few words first as to the natural features of the Campagna. As specially included, the Campagna lies on the left bank of the Tiber — on the other side of the river, according to the ancient Roman writers, was Etruscan country. Horace calls the right bank the Etruscan bank, and the

name Ripa Veientana occurs on the stones which were placed along the right bank to mark the boundary between public and private property.

From the Alban hills or from Tivoli the Campagna is like a vast monotonous plain, and it is often hard to tell where the land ends and the sea begins. But when a traveller goes through the country on foot, he finds the general level of the surface divided by valleys. The rock is volcanic, and sometimes the valleys are shallow, with a broad flat bottom. Sometimes two hills equal in height are separated by a deep ravine about two hundred feet deep with a stream at the bottom.

At the mouth of the Tiber the sea has been continually receding, and is about two miles further out than in Roman times. Both North and South of the mouth of the river, and at Castel Fusano especially, there is a line of sandhills bordering the Roman coast line, by which it may be traced. (At Anzio the modern shore line is inside the ancient one, that is to say, the sea washes through the walls of the old Roman villas). In walking through the woods at Castel Fusano, it is strange to hear the sea, and not to be able to see it, the sandhills sometimes reaching the height of sixty feet.

The hills surrounding the plain are volcanic to the North and South-East — the craters are now lakes Bolsena, Bracciano, etc. to the North, while on the South East are the Alban hills, which were originally one enormous crater, a big ring seven miles in diameter. Tusculum is on the outer edge of the crater. The Camp of Hannibal forms the later crater, and to this there are various subsidiary ones — the lakes of Albano and Nemi, the valley below Ariccia, Lake Regillus, etc. On the East is limestone, as at Tivoli. An exception is formed by a small amount of clay in the valley between the Janiculum and the Vatican, and gravel on those hills and Monte Mario. The valleys are largely artificial, and have always been a great place for brick-making, as in the Val d'Inferno.

I do not intend to enter upon the question who were the prehistoric inhabitants of the Campagna — the material is not sufficient and the results so far reached are extremely obscure. And here I would give a warning by the way, that walls built of Cyclopean masonry are not necessarily of very early date or prehistoric. Several of the villas at Tivoli are built on platforms supported by masonry of this character, and on the great high roads as on the Via Appia near Terracina pieces of this polygonal masonry are to be found. Near Fara Sabina at a place called Grotte Torri there is a villa with a crypto-porticus (which means, I need hardly tell you, a covered passage running inside the walls of the platform on which the villa is supported). Outside this cryptoporticus is polygonal masonry while within the walls our feet thick in all are faced with *opus incertum*, and windows traverse the wall. The date of this is about the second or first century B. C. There

might be several reasons for this style of building. The limestone was hard to work, and it would be easier to split it into blocks not quite horizontal. In later times travertine in square blocks was used, but it was not so easy to work as the volcanic tufa. Local tradition too may have kept alive the polygonal style.

In Roman times it developed into a picturesque style of leaving the face of the stones somewhat bossed as in the *Porta Maggiore*, where the stones are left rough for the sake of appearance.

Latium, « the broad plain » according to Mommsen, the flat country as distinct from the hills, was surrounded by the Volscian and Alban hills, by those of Tivoli and by Etruria on the further bank of the Tiber. The oldest organisation was that of clan-districts, and these formed cantons, all linked in the Latin League, *Alba Longa* having the leading place. The rendez-vous for the Latin feast was the temple of Jupiter *Latialis* on *Monte Cavo*, and the federal centre was at *Caput Aquæ Ferentinae* close to *Marino*. *Alba Longa* never made use of the Latin confederacy as all for her own advantage, as was done by Athens and Rome in similar circumstances.

As to the question how Rome was founded, the legends are interesting as giving reasons for choosing a site which surprised the Romans themselves. Even Cicero, who was fond of Rome, wonders that they should have chosen a place in what he calls « a pestilential region. » We must remember however that Rome was the port of *Latium*, an important commercial place, lying on the river, which was a great thoroughfare — for in those early times the river was much more easily navigable than in later Roman times, and of course infinitely more so than now. It was a strong position too, with the seven hills, which can still be traced, though they have largely disappeared. If you wish to realize a site like what was chosen for Rome, visit *Veii* — there you will see the ravines and the hills as they must have been in those early days.

Passing now to consider our special subject, we come to the first beginnings of Roman territory. Rome was contained within a very narrow boundary. Except along the banks of the Tiber, the boundary was not more than four or five miles from the city gates. The sacrifices to *Terminus*, the god of boundaries, were held at five or six miles' distance, and the *ambarvalia* at out two miles off. When the cantons were first formed by the clans, who were the early patrician families, there were twenty tribes; a twenty-first tribe was formed later, for convenience in voting, and was called *Tribus rustumerius* from the district in which the *Mons Sacer* stood.

When the Latin league for defence was formed in 370, according to Mommsen, most of the towns belonging to *Latium proper* were under the supremacy of Rome. Up to 299 we can trace the advance of the Roman

power by the gradual formation of 14 new tribes, which brought the number up to 35. After 299 no more tribes were added; the power of Rome began to extend to further Italy. The Roman road system was extended still further, through the heart of the newly-won territories, connecting them with Rome. The Romans pushed forward to the utmost limits of their power, and built strong fortresses on their borders.

The Campagna in the period before the Punic Wars was a place of considerable prosperity, but gradually the population decreased, the small farmers died out; and their place was taken by large owners, whose estates were cultivated by gangs of slaves, who were dangerous to the public safety. It was no better towards the end of the Republic, when the manhood of Italy was chiefly to be found in Cisalpine Gaul. At that time small towns like Gabii and Bovillae were reduced to such a state of decay that they could hardly find a representative to send to the Latin festival. This was partly due to the malaria. Many of the towns of the Latin league have disappeared altogether. Pliny gives a list of fifty towns, of which the most are mere names, and the search of them is attended with great difficulty.

The decay of the Campagna brought about the fashion of *villeggiatura*, and the rich citizens sought refuge from the heat and unhealthiness of the summer at Tivoli and elsewhere. Under the Empire came a change and revival in prosperity for the Campagna. Villas began to be built at a short distance outside the gates of Rome, as well as on the Sabine and Alban hills, and the plain between Rome and the hills was covered with the residences of wealthy Romans, though mere fragments of their marble decorations now testify to their former magnificence. The water supply was arranged with great care, reservoirs were constructed, marshy ground was drained, roads were made, and the plain became one vast garden. The road system under the Republic had been generally administered by the Censors — but there was not real systematic superintendence. Under the Empire a curator had the charge of each road. He was appointed by the Emperor, and the post was considered a most important one.

As to the gradual decline of the prosperity of the Campagna, we know that it was abandoned during the Middle Ages, and was in a state of the greatest insecurity. The grounds for its decline history does not tell us. One reason may have been that some of the most important high roads were wholly commanded by the fortress of some great noble — as when the Caetani made their fortress at the tomb of Cecilia Metella. The other roads were disused, and some of the most important were lost. In some cases the people preferred to make a new track close to the old one, rather than mend it, for on the principle that « the corruption of the best is the worst », the Roman roads, which were laid with large paved blocks,

forming an even surface, became so exceedingly uneven, when the blocks had fallen out of place, that it was really easier to make a fresh track by the side of the old one.

As to the roads, we have two kinds of evidence, literary and material. The former is of a more general character and chiefly from classical writers. The material evidence is on the spot. We can trace how the roads went in cutting through hills, going in a straight line, and with a splendid disregard of gradients, going right through a difficulty instead of making a way round.

The villas on the Alban hills and at Tivoli were mostly built on the steep side of the hills — the view of the Campagna being the attraction — a level surface was made for the house, and enormous terraced masonry underneath offered effectual resistance to the weight of the earth. This has in some cases been spared — of many villas only a fragment of pavement remains. With the disuse of the villas came the disuse of the roads, and of many we can only guess at the existence by finding that there was an ancient road between two given points — but no trace is left, the modern road has obliterated the ancient one.

The rapid spread of cultivation in the Campagna at present is remarkable. Even in the few years during which I have known Rome, the cultivation radiating from Rome has met that of the Alban hills. The agrarian colony at Ostia is now able to pass the whole summer there, whereas in former years existence was only sustained on liberal doses of quinine. The reasons for this increased healthiness are the abandonment of the salt marshes, and the draining of the land. We may hope that now the road system of Rome will again become the spider's web it used to be.

I have purposely restricted myself today to the dry bones of my subject. I have not attempted to give an idea of the charm of the Campagna, the beauty of its scenery and the unfailing kindness of its inhabitants — a kindness which perhaps arises in part from the old superstition that lunatics were under the protection of the gods — for they undoubtedly regard archaeologists as benevolent but mad persons.

The more we study the traces of the abounding life of the past, the more we are struck with the overwhelming solitude of the present time — a solitude for which it is not necessary to go far outside the gates. I was conscious of it a few days ago, when only about three miles from the walls, on the Via Prenestina, — except my companion, I could see no human shape, and hear no human voice — yet within two or three miles there was a city of half a million inhabitants.

The Campagna has these desolate solitudes and contrasts of the present with the past in an extraordinary degree, and from this arises its fascina-

tion. If you try to study it, you will certainly find the pleasure it gives you will repay your trouble.

Mr St-Clair Baddeley, in moving the vote of thanks, spoke of having accompanied Mr Ashby on many of his rambles, and alluded to the article he will shortly publish, giving some parts of the results of his labours.

Mr Baddeley further described a piece of polygonal work, on the shores of Lake Albano, close to the Emissarium, which cannot be later than 394 B.C. He also described the walls made by the *contadini* in the Campagna in the polygonal form, evidently a following of an old traditional way of building.

Jan. 30th. — Comm. G. BONI, Director of Excavations, gave the following demonstration at the Roman Forum. He said:

One of the most difficult problems to solve in the Roman Forum is that of the *Sacra Via*. The last letter I wrote to John Ruskin, three years ago, concerned the *Sacra Via*, but it was over six months before we started the excavations by which we might detect the real track. It was on this *Via* that Romulus the King of the Palatine, and Tatius King of the Capitol and the Quirinal, met and entered on an agreement concerning the material, political and social welfare of their people, and from this meeting some believed that it was called the *Sacra Via*. What helped me to find the true direction of the *Sacra Via* was the course of an early drain, one of the sixteen which I have discovered in the Roman Forum, and which ran under the pavement. The pavement of the *Sacra Via*, as we formerly knew it, was made up of stones belonging to the road made for the triumph of Charles V in the beginning of the 16th. century while the real *Sacra Via* was below. This is proved by various bits of broken pottery of the 16th. century, and by a quantity of coins, of which the dates reach up to 1535, by two or three Mediaeval wells, containing fragments of distinctly Christian work of the 8th. and 9th. centuries — by large fragments of porphyry stolen from the Temple of Venus and Rome and used in the restoration by Maxentius, and by larger fragments of brick and tufa. The real *Summa Sacra Via* has determined the direction of the *Clivus Sacer Palatinus* which started from the *Summa Sacra Via*, and points towards the *Porta Mugonia*, the early entrance to the Palatine Hill. We hope next to excavate the whole of it, and to enter the Palatine through the gate entered by the Republican Romans, and perhaps also by those of an earlier era.

The stones of the *Sacra Via* are of basaltic lava, cut in a polygonal form, bordered by travertine, smoothed by the friction of wheels. It may surprise one to see the arch of Titus standing on the *Summa Sacra Via*, yet not seeing it, for the *Sacra Via* passes beyond it. The Flavian builders of the Colosseum, the largest and most important building of Imperial times, laid it

Arch with its axis corresponding to the central branch of the *Sacra Via* going to the Comitium. The Arch is now outside this. I believe that Hadrian, when he was anxious to diminish the glory of the Flavian race by building his great temple of Venus and Rome, displaced the Arch of Titus to a less important position. I am on the track of something which will demonstrate this by showing the early foundations of the Arch of Titus. At present in our digging we have found fragments of the early stone decoration. Whether it had one arch or three we do not yet know. The Arch of Augustus, between the Tomb of Julius Caesar and the Temple of Vesta had three arches, and it was not erected to commemorate a victory, but merely the receiving of the insignia; while the Arch of Titus commemorates a great victory. I should not wonder if the Arch of Titus were some day demonstrated to be much more important than it now appears, as reduced by Hadrian.

The *Sacra Via* was considered to extend from the Velia to the Regia, the old house of the kings, which, when the monarchy fell, became the residence of the priest, called the Pontifex Maximus, and was held as very sacred. Another branch extended from the Summa *Sacra Via* to the Sacellum Streniae far beyond the Arch of Titus, where was a wood of laurel out of which the augurs on new year's day brought fresh leaves. The *Sacra Via* finally extended from the Regia to the Capitoline Temple, where the Augurs met the processions and uttered their oracular sayings. It is interesting to look back on the Forum as recently excavated and think of its original proportions. It was surrounded by the Basilica Julia and the Basilica Emilia, by the Tabularium, the Vulcanal and the Rostra, which represented the resistance of the plebeians to the power of the patricians, a fight which was continually going on between the two races. On the left side of the *Sacra Via* is the Regia, the Sacrarium of the people who founded Rome. Near it the Sacrarium Vestae, and the Sacrarium Juturnae—the sacred fire and water. Near by is the Heroon of Caesar. Towards the end of the Republic he grasped in his hand the life of the people, and impressed his own spirit on it. He even altered the orientation of the Forum from the Republican, in use up till that time, to the monarchical one.

It had been in use for five centuries, and it may be that Caesar felt the need for forgiveness for such a deed, and made the ritual pits round the Forum, which have been recently discovered, as a sort of expiation.

We have found underneath the Forum galleries eight to nine feet in height, and four feet wide with little arches of tufa, like the Rostra of Camillus. There are underground chambers and passages; possibly they were used for Caesar's ludi, when he had a theatre in the Forum. There are marks of the friction of the ropes used for racing machinery and materials for the plays.

There were sacred suppers given to the gods, at which their images were set up to represent them.

(We will proceed down the *Sacra Via*, and stand in front of the *Regia*, and then proceed to the other end of the *Forum*, where I shall have some drawings to show you.)

There are different topographical points which have yet to be settled, such as the exact junction between the *Summa Sacra Via* and the ascent to the *Palatine*.

Also the position of the temple of *Jupiter Stator*, also the ancient *Necropolis*. The *Aryans* buried their dead outside the principal gates along the high roads, and they set up along the road earthen pots on the top of columns.

I believe that at this spot (close to the *Arch*) thirty or forty feet below we shall find the remains of that early *Necropolis*. This discovery will settle all questions concerning the race of what we call the founders of *Rome*. It will show us the connection between these early founders of *Rome* and the *Aryans*. The sacred pottery, if we find it, will settle many problems. As yet we have had only three days' work but not a spadeful has been wasted or thrown aside, since all may give us hints. We get many hints too from the ancient writers, men who wrote down what they believed to be the truth. If I have made some discoveries, the merit is not mine. I owe it to the study of the writings of *Livy*, *Varro*, etc. men who wrote of what they knew. It is of no use to deny the value of legend. It is like an avalanche which gathers more and more snow as it rolls, but if you go to the centre you will find the original pure snow, if you go to the centre of the legend you will find the truth.

Prof. Boni then led the party to the *Regia*. Standing there, he said: « We are now at the entrance of the *Regia*, the official residence of the *Pontifex Maximus*. Here was the *Sacrarium*, where were kept the « *hasta Martis* », the wonder working spears of *Mars*. *Mars*, as you know, was the solar god of the *Latins*, as *Quirinus* was the solar god of the *Sabines*. These spears were supposed to shake, and to register the movements of the earth when it trembled in seasons of earthquake. By this means the *Senate* were able to know what had taken place, and how many sheep they should offer to appease the earth. — Sheep were offered as the most important victims, not for their size but for their temperament.

There were other *Sacraria*, where were kept the sacred cakes and the salt used in matrimony. The ceremony was observed in the presence of one of the higher *Flamens*, and the bride and bridegroom were seated on a wooden seat made of an *ox yoke* (hence *conjug*); the bride wore veil which typified the sky, or *Jupiter* coming down on her head. A sa

cred cake was broken over their heads and they ate bread and salt together, and he presented her with fire and water, as the things most necessary to life which were to be in common.

A curious ceremony connected with the Regia was that of the October horse, the *Equus October*. It was the horse on the right hand side of the chariot which won in the races run in October in the *Campus Martius*. Its head was cut off and embalmed, and a struggle took place for it between the men of the *Sacra Via* and of the *Suburra*. If the *Sacra Via* won, it was fastened against the walls of the Regia along with little loaves of bread. The tail was cut off and carried at full speed to the Regia, where the blood fell on the sacred cakes made by the Vestals from a special corn, mixed with the ashes obtained by the cremation of thirty cows in a great ceremonial sacrifice. All was symbolical of the fertilizing of the fields and the fruitfulness of the flocks. The ashes of the sacred oxen of Vesta were taken to a spot near the Temple of Saturn where they were committed to the earth — the ashes were thus given back to the earth to feed other oxen. — Mars, the solar god, whose rays purified, was represented in the festival of New Year's Day (1st March) by fresh laurel leaves to deck the temple of Vesta, and by two new laurels planted in front of the Regia, represented by those you now see. Soldiers coming from the wars, as they followed the general in his triumph encircled their heads with wreaths of laurel; so laurel came to be looked on as the emblem of triumph, whereas it was really the emblem of purifying. In an ancient Greek painting Apollo is represented as holding a laurel branch over Orestes, who is purifying himself after having killed his mother Clytemnestra.

Beyond the *Sacrarium Vestae* is that of *Juturna*, the sacred fire and the sacred water. The ancients in their monuments commemorated the natural phenomena which were most impressive — nothing can be more so than the thunder-bolt, fire or earthquake. Jupiter is represented holding in his hand a thunderbolt having three points. The first represented only a shaking of the bolt, a light paternal admonition; the second a light chastisement, the third a heavy punishment.

As the House of the Vestals has been undergoing complete exploration, we hoped to have found the *Penetralia*, the *Poenus Vestae*. We found an octagonal structure, but not the *Penetralia*. We found beyond the Temple of Vesta the sacred oven from which came the ashes for the sacred cakes, and we found five sets of ritual pottery. We hope soon to print a report of the discoveries, with three hundred illustrations of the pottery — the simple pottery I have always considered to be the most important.

Prof. Boni next took the party to the Arch of Septimius Severus, to

speak particularly on the Rostra. He said: « You have no doubt noticed the loculi dating from early mediaeval days in the front of the Senate House, and in the walls of S. Maria Antiqua, of the 6th. century. These loculi contained human skeletons, of which over three hundred have been found. In looking at these skeletons I have been struck with the fact that they show a narrow forehead, not the round head of the ancient Romans. Who were these men of the sixth century? Were they the destroyers of Rome? Were they not more probably the patrician families who had become effeminate and degenerate. I have studied the Venitian patrician families from the days of their great prosperity in the 13th. century down to the end of the Republic in 1795, and have found that in nineteen out of twenty cases they have become degenerate or wholly extinct. The patricians of Rome were always at war with the plebeians. Camillus hoping that he had put an end to the strife built the Temple of Concord. But discord followed, and in the contest in which the Gracchi took part the Forum was again bathed in Roman blood.

Seven years ago I tried to excavate the Niger Lapis, but was not allowed to do so. Three years ago the excavation was carried out and we found the pavement of black marble, and under it two basements which I believe mark the place where the lions stood. We found also a cone and a cippus, with an inscription in greco-archaic letters. It may refer to the restoration after some destructive contest. At first we thought the Gauls had destroyed the Monument, for there are the marks of at least twenty-one blows on it; but we have now come to the conclusion that it happened during the time of the Gracchi, when the patricians destroyed the Curia.

From the Rostra in front of the Curia the plebeians had been used to declaim against the patricians, and to stir up civil discord. Cæsar, the greatest man of genius in old Rome, removed the Rostra from the Comitium to the centre of the Forum. Henceforth there was peace, and they were used chiefly by orators to commemorate the death of important people. Later, in the times of the Emperors, they were enlarged perhaps by Nero, certainly by Domitian, to form a fitting background for his great equestrian statue in the centre of the Forum. We used to think these were the Republican Rostra but they do not correspond to these in dimension or in material. In the late days of the Empire, 472, additions were made to the Rostra by Valentinus, to commemorate some little success in Sardinia against the fleet of Gensericus. These rostra too were decorated with beaks of ships for we can see the holes into which they were fixed. We can trace back the tribune even before the Rostra which stood in front of the Curia.

On the natural eminence called the Vulcanal was raised an altar to the

God Vulcanus after the alliance between Romulus and Tatius was concluded. Vulcanus was the God of fire used for the forging of metals — while Vesta was the good goddess of the fire of the domestic hearth. We have found the bases of this altar. Here on the Vulcanal was the first tribune, before the Rostra were brought in. There are a series of low arches, of five little vaulted rooms. The work that Cæsar did in removing the Rostra from the front of the Curia to this side of the Forum was done in order to make them lose their political significance, but he thus brought them back to the position of the early Rostra. The men of those days were not the Romans of the *loculi* found in the Senate House — they were of the pure Aryan stock of which we hope to find the remains in the Necropolis of the Palatine.

Feb. 4th. — Prof. R. LANCIANI gave a demonstration of the Church of San Saba. He said :

It is a curious fact that the Popes, who always showed a great interest in the classical antiquities of Rome and the neighbouring district, as is proved by all the great excavations in the end of the last century and afterwards, in the Napoleonic period — as is proved by the great Museum, they have left to us, the finest in the world — the Popes showed a great indifference for Christian antiquities. Up to Pius IX who was the first to institute a Commission for Sacred Archæology, and who bought the *Vigna dei Sacri Palazzi* outside *Porta San Sebastiano*, where the Catacombs of S. Callisto and in *Lucina* were explored by De Rossi — up till that time nothing had been done to explore the Catacombs except for the sake of removing the bodies of holy men buried there to some church or chapel not only in Rome, but throughout Europe.

There is another point I desire to state to you in connection with the antiquities of the Roman churches. You must remember that, with very few exceptions, the Roman churches which date from the 11th. century and after, are all on the modern level of the city, and in general, all churches previous to the 11th. century, and to be precise from 1084, are underneath that level. After the sack of Rome by Robert Guiscard and his Normans, the city was raised almost to its modern level by building on what had been destroyed. In building a church at that time no one thought of taking away the existing church, but simply used it as a foundation, building the new one at a higher level, and by degrees the modern church obliterated the very memory of the older one.

The first attempt at exploration under Pius IX we owe to Father Mullooly, the Prior of San Clemente, who discovered the church of the Constantine era buried after the fall and pillage of Rome.

Another instance is that of Padre Germano, of the Passionists, who discovered the church and the house of S. S. Giovanni e Paolo below the modern level, and other experiments have been made. Cardinal Manning wished to do the same for his titular church of S. Gregorio, which ought to be the English Catholic church of Rome. I was appointed a member of the Commission which was named to inquire into the subject. We made soundings and went under the walls to about 70 feet below the present level, and we found the remains of the home of Gregory the Great, which was made into a church about the fifth century after Christ.

I am persuaded that if we gave proper attention to Christian antiquities, and especially to the churches of Rome, we should find below each of the modern churches an ancient one, and not one only, but sometimes two and three buildings, as under S. Clemente, where there are four strata. The modern church, the church of the time of Constantine, the palace of Imperial times, and under the palace Republican remains.

The work has now been seriously taken in hand by the Roman Association of Architects, and the first church they have undertaken has been S. Maria in Cosmedin. And you all know what a transformation has been wrought in that church which before nobody could read. There were so many ages, so many different kinds of work, so many architects, so many Popes connected with it that we could not read the history of the place, when it was written and where it stopped. Then it was pulled down, signor Giovenale examined every bit of the meaning and after several years of hard work, the church was brought back to its aspect in 1200, A. D. It is really a masterpiece of its kind.

I know nothing that comes up to S. Maria in Cosmedin in its present state, as far as architectural and artistic value is concerned.

After S. Maria in Cosmedin the question arose — what church should next be taken in hand? Several circumstances caused the selection to fall on S. Saba, the property of the German College. The Rector of the College was most willing to lend his assistance and to give pecuniary help. The works were entrusted to signor Canizzaro, son of the eminent professor of Chemistry. He has been able to do what you see to-day. Unfortunately the work is stopped for want of money, but I hope that before the end of the spring the work may be resumed, and brought to completion.

To give you an idea of the importance of what is now going on — in the book of Armellini on the churches of Rome, he devotes only half a page to S. Saba, and he tells us only the things we know: that the monastery of S. Saba was founded by monks from the convent of Mar-Saba between

Jerusalem and the Dead Sea. It is a convent and place of pilgrimage, which has been beautifully described by Chateaubriand. The monks came here, built the Cella Nova and lived in peace till the time of Lucius II, who took the monastery away from the Eastern priests and gave it to the Cistercians.

Gregory XIII suppressed the monastery, and gave the revenues for the foundation of the German college. Armellini says that near the church lived S. Silvia, the mother of Gregory the Great, and that every day she used to send to her son, in his house on the Cœlian a meal, generally of vegetables, in a silver cup, which he afterwards gave to the monks, and which was preserved as a relic for many centuries. Armellini gives the inscription engraved on the top of the architrave above the door. It says: « In the honour of Our Lord Jesus Christ, in the 7th. year of the Pontificate of our lord Innocent III, by order of John the abbot, this work has been done by the hand of magister Jacopo ». This « Magister Jacopo » was one of the so-called Cosmati, and this is one of the few inscriptions bearing the name of that famous school of Roman marble workers. The present exploration has revealed many other things.

First, we have here one of the most complete sets of archeological superstructures which can be found anywhere, beginning with the time of the Kings, and coming down to modern ages.

The King was Servius Tullius. You may have remarked at the junction of the high road with this lane one of the best fragments of the Servian Wall. The wall came up the slope of the hill and turned round the church. I shall be able to show you the remains, the stones are not *in situ*, but the enclosing wall has been built with the remains of the Servian wall.

Another discovery has been made linking the present with twenty five centuries ago. In boring to find a quarry for tufa blocks, it was found that the bed of rock stopped suddenly, and met a bed of rubbish. The owner was disappointed, as the quarry was a good investment; he persevered however, and after thirty-five feet of rubbish came again upon the rock. It was the ditch which had been in front of the Servian wall on the outside, and in process of time had been filled up with rubbish.

So much as far as the Servian wall is concerned.

Secondly, there was here a large Imperial building which has been identified as the barracks of the 4th Battalion of the Roman police, called the *Vigiles*. There were several bodies of police entrusted with the care of the « *Pubblica Sicurezza* », in ancient Rome. There were the detectives or *frumentarii*, the *Urbani* who had to see after the markets, etc. and those who discharged the double duties of policemen and firemen, and who were called the *Vigili*, because they were on duty at night. Their duties were to be

ready for any emergency, especially in case of fire. They had the right of entering private houses, to see if the fires were properly extinguished. This body was composed of seven battalions, of from 900 to 1500 men each, and as the wards of Rome were fourteen in number, their stations were on the border line between two wards. In Trastevere, opposite S. Crisogono are the remains of one of these police stations. Each battalion had, besides, its barracks, capable of accomodating a thousand men. The police stations of the first, second and third battalions had been found, but of the fourth there was no trace, when De Rossi chanced to find, in the Public Library of Siena the pocket book of an architect, I think it was Baldassare Peruzzi, in which he recorded how one day he came to S. Saba, and found the high altar of the church supported by a pedestal dedicated to Caracalla bearing the date 213 A. D. and having an inscription addressed to Junius Rufinus, prefect of the Vigiles, authorising him to watch the porters of the houses, and those who keep up fires in their kitchens, and in case of a conflagration if the proprietor has been guilty only of neglect, to fustigate him, but if he has set up the fire willingly then he must be handed over to the prefect of the City, who alone has the power of life or death « he being », says the inscription « my great friend Fabius Cilo. » It was this Fabius Cilo who had a magnificent palace next door to S. Saba, where are now the church and monastery of S. Balbina. This palace was built in the reticulated style. Very little of it remains, but enough to constitute a link between the time of the Kings and the Christian era.

Of the house of S. Silvia we know nothing yet; the explorations have only been made inside the church, but we hope that with time and money they may be extended, and then it may be we shall find the house of S. Silvia. I am forbidden to take you to the upper loggia, as it is not quite safe, but from any other point of view, you can see that the garden and area of the monastery and cloisters form a perfect square, giving the dimensions of the barracks. They were not barracks as we understand the word, meaning an extremely ugly building, with many windows, and no sort of adornment. The barracks in ancient times were a sort of Museum, full of ornaments and works of art. This we found when we discovered the Scotland yard of ancient Rome, the residence of the Prefect of police, the barracks of the first battalion of Vigili. Curiously enough, they occupied the same place as that of our Police Head-quarters of to-day. You know that they are at the Convent of S. Marcello, between the Corso and the S. S. Apostoli. Under the church of S. Marcello and below the Palazzo Savorelli-Balestri, we found the head quarters of the Roman police, full of works of art, columns, statues, etc., like a Museum. The barracks of the 2^d battalion was found at Villa Mattei.

Third. After the fall of the Empire the hills were deserted, for the aqueducts being cut, the population gathered where they could find water, or where it was easy to bore wells, which was difficult on the high ground. Therefore they left the hills, and congregated in the Campus Martius. Some monks came to Rome from the Convent of Mar-Saba; a place of pilgrimage between Jerusalem and the Dead Sea. The monks were given the remains of the barracks, and here they settled, and became one of the richest and most important communities of Rome. We can see from the list of their property that they were literally as rich as kings. The largest property at present in the Campagna is that belonging to the King, Castel Fusano and Castel Porziano, about fifty or sixty thousand acres — this was only *one* of the properties of the Convent. In the time of Gregory XIII the property was transferred to the hands of the Jesuits, and given to the German College. To show you the great importance of the present excavations, — up to three years ago, we all thought that the existing church was that which was built about the 7th. Century A. D. and afterwards enlarged and improved by the Abbot John, and ornamented by the Cosmati. We had no idea that the modern church was raised on the foundation of the earlier one. Unfortunately the difference of level is too small (only about six feet) to allow the lower one to be seen to advantage as is the case at S. Clement or at S. Maria Antiqua. In ancient and in mediaeval times, when anyone desired to raise a building at a higher level, he did not destroy what was below, but simply built above it So when the Abbot John and the Cosmati built their new church they simply built above the old one, leaving the lower portion of it intact, only cutting off as much as was necessary. They knocked down the apse, and a portrait of Our Lord, which was in the centre, fell into the middle of the early church, and was left there. Under the church was a Cemetery. The custom of burial inside churches has only been forbidden since the Italian Government came into power.

In the village where I have my country-home, Montecelio, I remember as a child seeing the coffins piled up underneath the church.

A gallery was made in the centre and one at the side, and here the monks were buried, the opening being closed with a marble tile on which the name was written in red. The records of these burials are most interesting but have not yet been published and must wait for the end of the excavations. The bodies were laid in marble sarcophagi, evidently taken from those used by the Romans along the high road. The Via Appia, the Via Ostiensis were lined with tombs, and although much was destroyed to make lime and the destruction went on for about eighteen centuries, we still find sarcophagi by thousands every year. The abbot evidently took as many as were required,

not caring though they were adorned with Pagan representations. The lids of the sarcophagi were mostly broken, and their place was supplied by marble tiles from the roof of some great Imperial building. I think probably a temple. These tiles are all numbered, so that when it was necessary to take down any part of the roof for repairs, the tiles being numbered could easily be replaced in their proper order.

A curious circumstance was connected with this discovery and this is the last thing I have to mention here, — that in the restoration and reconstruction of the church at a higher level the builders took the fragments pillaged from classic buildings to strengthen their foundations. You can see capitals, bases, bits of most exquisite frieze all piled together.

Of the convent only the cloisters remain and these were never finished, but what is left standing is extremely interesting and picturesque.

When the church of S. Saba is finished, as we hope it soon will be, like that of S. Maria in Cosmedin, I think you will not find in all Rome a church which gives you more matter to think and which represents so many ages from twenty five centuries ago up to the present time.

Prof. Lanciani, accompanied by the architect, sig. Canizzaro, then took the party into the cloisters. He pointed out that they were not elegant like those of the Lateran or S. Paolo, but plain, with no ornament. Here and there are bits of the old work of the barracks of the Vigiles. Beautiful fragments have been found by sig. Canizzaro, evidently part of the tomb of some great person or of a temple. There is a sarcophagus, no doubt taken from the neighbouring necropolis on the Via Ostiensis. It was as popular a place of burial as the Via Appia, or Via Flaminia. Here a monk has been buried in a sarcophagus adorned with the nine Muses while another, more modest, has no emblems at all. Here is a very interesting set of the work which began to be in favour in the time of Charlemagne, and lasted to about the 5.th Century A. D., and is called Cosmatesque. The genuine work of the Cosmati is a lace-like carving, always with mosaic intermixed with it. Here is one of the tiles used for closing the place of burial, with the name Johannes written in red. Here are two capitals carved in green porphyry. These are absolutely unique, and it is impossible to understand how such elaborate carving was done, for the material is as hard as basalt. Pius VI and Pius VII who laid hands on whatever marble they wished for the Vatican Museum, took two columnus of Numidian marble from the church of S. Saba, and they were replaced by painted wood.

Fragments of plaster forming parts of the old frescoes have been picked up, and these are being put together by Sig. Canizzaro with the greatest care. At the corner of the cloisters Prof. Lanciani pointed out the wall built up with fragments of exquisite carvings and basreliefs.

Going inside the church Prof. Lanciani pointed out that the old church was much smaller than the later one. At the side is the gallery which was found filled with sarcophagi. When the central gallery was opened this was covered up. No names were found here. In the central gallery the names were inscribed on the tiles. One of the painted panels contains a riddle, which seemed to have no meaning, but we have been able to read it, for in North Africa a Roman inscription was found in which the same words are used, and from that inscription Prof. Huelsen has been able to explain this one. This shows how we get help from every side, and how sometimes light is thrown on a mystery from the most curious sources. In one of the walls are to be seen blocks of the wall of Servius Tullius, used by this later builder to strengthen his wall. There is one aisle on one side and two on the other. Evidently as the number of monks increased they opened the arches on one side, and added a wing to the church.

In the garden Prof. Lanciani showed the enclosing wall built with remains of the Servian wall pointing out the direction in which it ran. It had a ditch outside, as the Servian wall always had when it crossed a plain, not when it was on a hill. A side door was also shown of which the whole frame was made up of fragments of marble.

In conclusion Prof. Lanciani thanked Sig. Canizzaro for the great work he is carrying out. D^r Gordon Gray moved a vote of thanks to the lecturer.

Feb. 25th. — S. Agnese. Second demonstration by Prof. LANCIANI.

The group of monuments comprising the church of S. Agnese and the Tomb of S. Costanza, and another curious building, unique among the ruins of this kind, called the Hippodrome though it has nothing to do with such a place — belong in position to the second milestone on the Via Nomentana. The Via Nomentana is the most singular of all the Roman roads.

The consular roads, as you know, left Rome straight as an arrow, like the Via Appia and the Via Flaminia.

The Via Nomentana, on the other hand, was a winding road, which came out of the walls at a gate near the present Porta Pia, passed near the Villa Patrizi, crossed the present Via Nomentana, and continued on this side of the present road. The church of S. Agnese, instead of looking towards the high road, has its apse turned to it and faces West.

This state of things can be explained when we remember that whereas the great Roman roads led to far away places — to the Adriatic, or to northern or southern Italy, the Via Nomentana, between the Via Salaria and the Via Tiburtina, simply led to a small village. It became, indeed, almost a country lane, though it was paved, and flanked with villas and tombs, like the greater roads. The direction followed by the old road can be seen to

the present day. As you go towards the Ponte Nomentano and cross the railway bridge, you will see to the left a very graceful tomb of cut brick, called the *Sedia del Diavolo*, or Devil's Chair — but evidently a tomb — in the style of the Antonines, showing that the old *Via Nomentana* passed that way. This spot, on which we now are, was the family estate, the garden and suburban villa belonging to — we must say *S. Agnese*, for in spite of all inquiries made by De Rossi, Armellini and others, the saint's family name remains unknown.

S. Agnese, you know, is the most charming, the most sympathetic, the most dear young martyr saint of all time, and has always been venerated by the Romans in a very special manner. More has been written of her than of any other Saint of her age and condition in life. All attempts, however, to discover her family name have been to no purpose. Armellini insists that her name was *Claudia Agnese*, but this is not supported by archaeological evidence, and the saint remains unknown except by her second name *Agnese*. She was of a patrician family, and according to custom was buried after her execution in the family burial ground in the little garden. After the Peace of the Church had been given to it by Constantine, the first thought of the victorious Church was to honour the memory of those who in that generation had laid down their lives for the faith, thus you will notice that all the older churches, *S. Sebastiano*, *S. Agnese*, *S. Lorenzo*, are all raised in honour of saints who had died during the last persecution. This young girl saint seems to have been connected with the Imperial family of Constantine, and according to the *Liber Pontificalis*, Constantine or Constantia had to do with raising the church in her honour. In building a church in honour of a saint, three rules had to be observed: 1. the tomb of the titular saint must never be touched, neither raised nor lowered. 2. The tomb must come in the centre of the apse. 3. The body of the church must be to the East of the tomb. The tomb of *S. Agnese* was so much on the high road that it was not possible to find room to build the church without destroying hundreds of graves of people buried in the same Catacomb, and to leave the original tomb in the centre of the apse, it was necessary to turn the church round. Now excavations have been going on for two or three months to ascertain the relation between the grave of *S. Agnese* and the rest of the Catacomb, and we shall see later on the result of these excavations.

Whoever built the church Constantine or Constantia, laid hands on all the materials that could be gathered in the neighbourhood, and one thing we know they laid hands on, and that was the tomb of Nero's architect, who built the Golden House.

From Tacitus we learn that there were two famous architects o en-

gineers of Nero, one was named Severus, and the other Coeler, and Tacitus expatiates on the great talent of the one who projected a canal between Rome and the sea, made the works at Porto d'Anzio, and built the Golden House. Now among the blocks of marble which were turned into capitals for this church, there is one lying in the garden, on the top of which you can read the inscription to Nero's architect, Coeler.

Another curious thing is that the greater portion of the roof, — of the tiles which cover the church, are the original tiles. One of my colleagues Mons. Crostarosa spends most of his time hanging over the roofs, and exploring this new source of archaeological information. He had already studied the roofs of S. Martino ai Monti, S. Maria Maggiore, and S. Croce in Gerusalemme, and he assures me that the roof of S. Agnese is one of the best preserved, with the original tiles of the second or third century. The tiles are so strong, they can stand the wear of ages, and every time the roof has needed repair, the tiles have been laid aside, and then replaced in their proper positions.

There is one feature in this church which can be studied in very few others, that is the *Matroneum*, or upper gallery reserved for women. It is found in S. Agnese, in S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura, and in the Ss. Quattro Coronati on the Cœlian. The church as it has come down to us is in general the work of Constantine, repaired and enlarged by Pope Honorius I in the sixth century. The mosaics which adorn the apse are the work of this Pope, retouched here and there. We have the original drawings — two sets — one at the Escorial and one at Ferrara; there is also a set in England, in the King's private library.

The figure of S. Agnese in the mosaic is original. When we are accused of thinking too much of the old traditions, there is this in our favour that here is a monument of the sixth century, 528, in which the place of honour is given to S. Agnese. If it were possible to impose on us now, it would not have been possible then — the generation then living was too near in time to the events recorded.

In the middle ages this church, we know, was covered with beautiful frescoes. I do not remember the restoration of the church in 1856, but it was then that after the event which you see commemorated in that awful fresco, Pius IX, in gratitude, modernised the church, and in the process of white washing some frescoes were destroyed, and a few were cut from the walls, and removed to the Christian Museum of the Lateran. I am told by Mons. Crostarosa, and Armellini also says, that between the present roof of the church and the beams there is a band running round, covered with original frescoes of the Cinque Cento, each signed with the name of the artist, and of the person who supplied the money for it — in short — a little gallery of mediæval pictures.

Stevenson in looking over the mss. in the Biblioteca Pontificale at Naples found that a man named Saragani in 1582 had taken careful copies of the frescoes. I wish they could now be exhibited here, for both from a historical and an antiquarian point of view they would be very interesting!

We come now to the time of Paul V. This pope did much to transform or reduce the church to its present conditions. He was very fond of S. Agnese, and he destroyed the mediæval canopy covering the high altar, and raised the one which is now standing, supported by four precious columns of porphyry, and he put over the altar the statue of the saint. This statue is very curious — it belongs to a set lately described by a young Professor in the Prussian Archæological Society who has studied the statues of the saints, bas-reliefs and busts. He has found that in the 16-17th, and even in the 18th. centuries, men were not afraid to take pagan statues and put them in the churches provided they answered their outward purpose. The statue of S. Agnese was cut out of a very rare kind of alabaster, and is a replica of one of two statues found at Herculaneum, and afterwards removed to Dresden. The head only is of the time of Paul V. This pope made excavations under the altar to collect the bones of S. Agnese, and her foster sister S. Emerenziana, and placed them in an urn or coffin of pure silver. This coffin was found six weeks ago; Mons. Wilpert, Marucchi and others, with the consent of the Pope, and of the Ministry of Public Instruction, made excavations, and found the coffin. I have seen it, but only a little bit, as they were unwilling to disturb it, and I have seen the photographs of it. The coffin is made of solid silver, it is six feet long, and has on the top, palm branches interlaced, and the name *Paul V 1605*, and underneath *S. Agnese* and *S. Emerenziana*. The precious relic has now been covered over. The length of the coffin led me to believe that perhaps the whole skeleton might be inside, but I have heard from the Curato that it is divided into two, and has a heap of bones on each side.

We now come to Cardinal Spada Feraldi. In 1602 he altered the entrance to the Church, which was formerly by the lane off the high road. The Cardinal built the present staircase, and in the necessary digging of foundations he found more antiques and precious works of art than we have found in our most famous excavations. Amongst them was one statue of Hercules killing the Hydra, which is now in the corridor of the Capitoline Museum. It was found wanting one leg and the body of the monster. Cardinal Feraldi gave a commission to the sculptor Algardi to complete the statue, which he did beautifully, as you may see for yourselves. A few years later the second leg and the body of the Hydra were found, and it was discovered that the restoration had been quite wrong. Now you can see in the Capitol the original pieces placed side by side with the restoration. Going on with

the building of the staircase, the Cardinal found a good many bas-reliefs, amongst them the Spada panels, which are in the Spada palace. They were almost perfect, needing very little restoration. But why they were here, and where they came from, remains a mystery. They seem to have been taken bodily from some great heathen monument, and brought here.

To the set of bas-reliefs in the Spada palace may be added two sets of bas-reliefs known to have been discovered on the Palatine in the last century, but which instead of being kept together like those of the Spada Feraldi, were dispersed, some in England, one in Florence, one in the Baths of Diocletian and so on.

We have nothing special to record of S. Agnese from the time of Cardinal Spada Feraldi to the time of Pius IX. He had a great favour for the Church of S. Agnese. Now in the days of Pius IX the 12th of April was kept as the Pope's feast day, in commemoration of his return from Gaeta, after the events of 1848-49. On the 12th April 1856 Pius IX went to see the excavations of S. Alessandro, five miles further up the road. Coming home, he stopped here and gave a reception to the nobles, and the French officers who were then stationed in Rome. The floor of the room, which was above here, gave way, and many of the guests fell through and were seriously injured, while the Pope escaped unhurt. I am sorry that it happened here, for to show his gratitude, the Pope reduced the poor church to the modernized state in which we now see it.

This was not the last episode in the history of the church. Cardinal Lavigerie, Archbishop of Algiers, and Cardinal Titular of the church, set about renewing the staircase which had been built by Cardinal Spada-Feraldi. He found that precious panels and other bits of sculpture had been used as good material, for each step being lifted up revealed some carving. Some of these you may see lining the walls of the staircase, and amongst them, as the chief result of the work of Cardinal Lavigerie is one really precious panel, which had been used as the central panel of the enclosure round the Presbyterium (for in the Mediæval churches, as you can see in S. Clemente there was a portion near the altar screened off from the rest of the church).

This panel contains a beautiful portrait of S. Agnese, with the name written in such small letters that I have never been able to read it.

The veneration of Constantine's family for the saint is shown by the fact that Constantia, sister of the Emperor Constantius, wished to have her tomb raised in the near neighbourhood of that of her favourite saint.

Up to the present time, in studying Roman antiquities we have stopped at the wrong place. We have studied classical and pagan art down to the 4th century A. D. but we have paid little attention to Christian art. Take

any book on Roman topography, and read about the Imperial tombs. You will find that it stops short with that of Alexander Severus, and says nothing of the Imperial tombs down to the fall of the Empire, tombs raised by Christian Emperors, not so beautiful perhaps, but certainly as interesting as those of the classical Emperors. The book will tell you of the Mausoleum of Augustus; of Trajan, who was buried under his own column; of the Mausoleum of Hadrian, and of Septimius Severus, who was buried on the Appian Way, and Alexander Severus at the Monte del Grano — but it will not give much study to the Mausoleum of Helena, at the Torre Pignatara. Near the Vatican, on the site of the present sacristy of St-Peter's, there was a famous Imperial Mausoleum — Musileum, as it was called, from a misunderstanding of the word. — The tombs seem to have been left almost untouched till the time of Sixtus IV. and Paul III. when they were explored, and the account of what was found, especially in the tomb of Maria daughter of Stilicho and wife of Honorius, read very like a fairy tale — there was thousands of scudi's worth in gold and silver and gems.

To come back to the Tomb of Constantia. It is the best preserved tomb of the Constantinian time, having so many Pagan characteristics that it is difficult to believe it to be a Christian tomb, and up to comparatively recent times it was called the Temple of Bacchus, from the mosaics representing vines and vintage scenes. The enclosure it stands in was formerly called the Hippodrome. Ten or fifteen years ago De Rossi made excavations, with the idea that it was not a Tomb but a Baptistry. He however found no corroboration of his idea, and we may take it as an established fact that this is the Tomb of Constantia. The sarcophagus, as you all know, now stands in the Hall of the Greek Cross in the Vatican Museum, face to face with that of Helena, the mother of Constantine. It was made out of a single block of porphyry, and the amount of work required to carve that royal coffin into the bas-reliefs is simply appalling. It was restored by Pius VI, at the cost of 80,000 scudi, from which we can imagine the cost of the original work. The Tomb has never been let alone. In the 15th. century it was laid hands on by Paul II (Barbo) a Venetian.

Paul II was an insatiable collector of antiques, not only in his own country, but having emissaries in the Islands of the Archipelago, in Constantinople, Asia Minor, etc. He laid hands as Pope on whatever pleased him, as for instance, on an image of the Blessed Virgin in the church of S. Maria in Campitelli. This image is of Florentine mosaic, inlaid with precious stones, unique of its kind, and one of the most marvellous pieces of work in Italy. Paul II removed it from the altar, and took it into his private Museum — but it was afterwards restored. He also brought from the Lateran the famous bronzes, the Wolf, the Hand, the Boy extracting a thorn,

and placed them in his own private collection. So he had this beautiful tomb removed to the Piazza di Venezia, on the 14th August 1467. As soon, however, as he died and Sixtus IV was elected, the Canons of the church made such persistent demands that it was brought back, and left in peace till the time of Pius VI. He was a little Paul II and laid hands on a great many things — for instance the two most beautiful candelabra in the Gallery of the Candelabre which stood one on each side of the tomb of S. Constanza. He took away the urn, and placed it — as you all know — in the Hall of the Greek Cross.

Excavations made in these last days have proved beyond a shadow of a doubt that the enclosure in which S. Costanza stands was used as a Christian Cemetery, during the fourth, fifth and sixth Centuries. The discoveries made at the present day are for us of the greatest importance. The Cemetery in which S. Agnese was buried has no name, it was probably named from her family, Claudia or some such name, and it was a very small affair. Next door to it, separated by a little lane is a very large Cemetery, extending over 500 yards by 600. This Cemetery has been known as S. Emerenziana, as the Cimitero Maggiore, and the Cimitero Ostriano, and also ad Nymphas Sancti Petri. The name *Ostrianum* has been explained as being derived from a man's name Ostorio; *Nymphas Sancti Petri* is in allusion to the traditional spring or springs of water to which St. Peter used to come, and administer baptism. A series of traditions about it, monuments, paintings have come down almost from the Apostolic Age. We have found out that this is all a mistake, that this is not the Cimiterium Ostrianum — which lies on the other side of the Via Salaria in the Catacomb of S. Priscilla. According to a recent study by Prof. Marucchi — the name *Ostrianum* did not come from a family name, but from a tree which the ancients called Ostia. Pliny says it was a kind of tree that grew in wet places with rocks. Here we have the springs or wet ground. In the excavations now being made by Prof. Marucchi for the Commission of sacred Archaeology in S. Priscilla, they have found not only one spring, but up to last week, no less than four reservoirs. They have also found a monumental staircase, built for the use of pilgrims coming down to worship the holy places of Rome, to the tombs of the martyrs — but in this case the staircase leads not to a tomb, but to a water tank. Here was an historical inscription, no more preserved, which was copied in the 8th. century, and one of the copies is at Verdun, in the celebrated collection of mss. in the monastery there. It says in effect that here was a record of S. Peter and of the chair of S. Peter. — Underneath the sockets are the graffiti of pilgrims — they did not write their names, but they wrote pious aspirations, such as « VIBAS IN CHRISTO » and

many crosses. The conclusion is that the *Cimiterio Ostriano* must be shifted to the *Via Salaria*, to the *Catacomb* of *S. Priscilla*. It does not take away the interest in *S. Agnese*, for it is always interesting to follow historical traces, but it proves that the *Cemetery* of *S. Agnese* had nothing to do with the *Cimiterio Ostriano*, but was made, probably, at the time of the persecution of *Diocletian*, by herself or her family for their own use, and that of their servants who had embraced the new faith.

(We will now go first to the *Church* of *S. Costanza* and today being her feast-day, we shall find the *Church* open).

IN *S. COSTANZA*.

If we could have seen this church during the *Golden Age* of the *Renaissance*, in the time of *Leo X* we should have seen it covered with frescoes and mosaics. We have drawings, which only make us feel how much we have lost. It is easy to understand why this was called the *Temple of Bacchus*, for there are no distinctively *Christian* subjects, all are scenes of the vintage. *Armellini* says that *Padre Garrucci* found in the early copies and designs of the mosaics preserved in the *Escorial* certain *Christian* ones, scenes from the book of *Genesis*, amongst others the sacrifice of *Abel*. *Armellini* says that in the principal niche there was the monogram of *Constantine*, on a background sprinkled with *Stars*. He says the exact spot where this mosaic was fixed can be found. From these various evidences we may be sure it was a *Christian* building and as to the date, the frieze about the arches being rounded is a sign of a *Constantinian* building.

In the garden outside the *Church* *prof. Lanciani* pointed out the capital on which is engraved the name of *Nero's* architect *Coeler Neronis Augusto Architecto*.

Descending the staircase to the *Church*, he pointed out the early likeness of *S. Agnese* on the panel and one of the inscriptions of *Pope Damasus*.

In conclusion he said:

Excavations are being made at the present time near the altar of the *Church* to discover if there is any connection between the tomb and the neighbouring *Catacomb*. It has been found that there is no connection between them. Other graves have been found close to *S. Agnese*, showing that it was a small local *Hypogeum*, and had no connection with any other. It is interesting to us from the name of some of the persons. Such as *Hagne*, *Emereus*, etc. There has recently been brought to light the finest portrait head of *St Peter* that I have ever seen, showing the square, high brow, shaggy beard, etc. This you will find beautifully illustrated in the next number of the « *Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana* » by *Mons. Wilpert*.

March 3rd. — The Church and House of S. S. Giovanni e Paolo. Demonstration by Prof. Comm. R. LANCIANI.

Prof. Lanciani first took the party to see the great arches of travertine, remains of the portico belonging to the Temple of Claudius. He said: « This is only the upper floor, there is another of the same architecture underneath. This style which is called the *rustic*, because the stones are left rough and unpolished, was characteristic of the time of the Emperor Claudius — as you can see in the Porta Maggiore, belonging to the same period and nearly to the same year as this structure. There is a little fragment of the portico, which was about 600 feet long, beginning where the Bell Tower now stands (which is built on some of the arches), and reaching as far as the Colosseum.

On a stone, in the front wall of the church, is the monogram of Presbyter Johannes. He was the Cardinal who restored the church after it was destroyed by the Normans — and when he went around to collect materials for his church, he marked with his own name the marbles he had purchased — or collected.

Inside the Church.

In the history of the Roman Churches, that of S. S. Giovanni and Paolo occupies a prominent place. There used to be small guide books or Itineraries published for the use of the pilgrims, and in one of the best, the Itinerary of Salzburg (so called because it was discovered in Mss. in one of the Convents of Salzburg) to this church is given the first place among such pilgrimages made to the tombs of the martyrs. Considered either as a building or as a historical record, it is absolutely unique, because the Roman law, forbidding burial within the walls of the city, lasted to the beginning of the 6th. Century, and was observed by Pagans as well as by Christians. No one was to be buried within the walls of Rome. An exception was made here, and there is no doubt from the monumental evidence that these two, whoever they were, victims of the persecution of Julian the Apostate, were buried in this very place, where they had been secretly murdered in one of the corridors of their ancestral home. What wonder that this place should attract the attention of pilgrims above everything else! In going round to the other tombs of the martyrs, they would require to leave the city and explore the Catacombs, but here within the walls of the city was this celebrated Sanctuary, which remains to the present time.

The history of the place is connected with the general topography of the Coelian hill, on which we now are. The Coelian is the second of the fourteen

wards into which Rome was divided. — It remains distinct from the others because it contains the noblest houses of the Roman Aristocracy, along with the barracks of the Roman garrison and all their surroundings as wine-shops, etc. Here was that beautiful monument, the Temple of Claudius, here the house of Giovanni and Paolo, who were certainly noble, though we do not know their family name. Next door, in what is now the Villa Mattei, were the barracks of the fifth battalion of the Roman police. In the Villa Casali, where is now the military hospital, were the barracks of the Roman detectives, the peregrini and frumentarii — the secret police, a body of men hated by the populace, who had their hands in every crime, and especially in the persecution of the Christians under Diocletian, and under Gordianus. When the Emperor wanted a watch set on any man, he employed one or more of the frumentarii.

So objectionable did these men become, that after the persecution of Diocletian was over, Constantine suppressed them, and substituted a better organised body.

Then, still on the Coelian, there was the Lateran, where just next door to the Imperial palace stood the palace used as barracks of the Equites singulares. They were a regiment about a thousand strong, a select body of horsemen who were specially employed about the person of the Emperor at home, or in time of war. They have a special interest for us, because Giovanni and Paolo seem to have been officers of this bodyguard. So mixed up with barracks were the palaces of the Roman nobles! The popular belief was that the Lateran palace was confiscated by Nero, and given back to the legate by Septimius Severus. It was again taken by the Crown, we do not know at what time or for what reason. At the time of Constantine it was Imperial property and he gave it to Pope Miltiades, who rebuilt the palace.

Next to the Lateran on the site of the present Convalescent Hospital was the Domus Vectiliana, where the Emperor Commodus, when he suffered from insomnia, sought for repose. It was doubtless a more agreeable residence than the crowded rooms of the Emperor's palace on the Palatine. Here a great many important discoveries have been made. Only three or four weeks ago, in repairing the pavement of S. Giovanni in Laterano, a water-pipe was found, bearing the stamp of Domitia Lucilla, the grandmother of the Emperor Commodus, evidently it was connected with the Domus Vectiliana. In this house was the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, which was probably never buried, but was taken from the Domus Vectiliana to the Lateran, where it used to be kept among the collection of ancient bronzes, the Wolf, the Hand, etc. It was considered to be a statue of Constantine, and thus escaped destruction at the hands of the Roman populace. It is mentioned in the pilgrim's books down to the Renaissance of the

classical style. Amongst the houses on the Coelian was that of Symmachus, which I saw when the Military Hospital was being built. Symmachus was the man who took part in the famous contention in the Senate House, Symmachus representing the Pagan interest against S. Ambrose Bishop of Milan, who represented the Christians. The object of contention was the statue of Victory which was brought by Augustus from Taranto to Rome, and adorned — if I remember rightly — with the jewels of Cleopatra.

It stood in the midst of the Senate Hall, and it was customary for the Senators to pay their tribute of devotion to the statue. The Christian Senators objected, saying that it was a remnant of Pagan superstition, which had been abolished for ever. Symmachus said it was not worshipped as a goddess but as a symbol of the conquering arms of Rome. Finally the victory remained with the Christians. When the Military Hospital was being built, the ruins of the house of Symmachus came to light, and here there seemed to have been more harm done than in any other private house which I have seen in the course of our excavations. It was not due to the crumbling of the walls, nor to fire, but to the action of a mob smashing everything into atoms, and hammering to pieces all they could lay their hands on. Among the fragments we put together, 172 seemed to belong to the same object, and when the workmen tried to put these together, they took the shape of a statue of Victory. We suppose that Symmachus, the great fighter for the statue, had a copy of it placed in his own house, and that, on the collapse of the Pagan party the mob broke into the house, and destroyed this statue of Victory.

Now we come to the house of S. S. Giovanni e Paolo. The ground above the house is occupied now by the church — the Convent stands on the site of the building of which I showed you the remains. The church and a little bit of the surrounding chapels occupy the site of a Roman house standing independent of any other, like an island, free on its four sides. This is very remarkable, for generally the Roman houses were in blocks, each containing several tenements — but this one was absolutely alone. It is reached by the one original Roman street in existence, the Clivus Scauri, one of the most picturesque corners of ancient Rome. It is the only street in Rome which is actually surrounded on either side by Roman houses preserved to the height of the second floor. The house was thus unique in shape. Its position was not very favourable. It had a « mauvais voisin » in a high structure which towered up so that the house of S. S. John and Paul, like the house of the Vestals, can have had very little sun. This building was originally a temple which Agrippina the Younger raised in memory of the Emperor Claudius. It was unfinished when Agrippina died, and Nero abandoned the idea and turned it into a great reservoir for his enchanting Villa,

the Golden House. Nero arranged it so that the water was brought to the end of the building from which it fell in graceful cascades into the lake which was on the spot now occupied by the Colosseum. In another part of the Golden House was an arrangement by which water was made to play like shots from the beaks of a man of war, in the shape of boars' heads. In 1878 one of these was found right at the foot of the place to which it belonged, and it is now in the New Museum, at the Orto Botanico. After the death of Nero the Flavians built the Colosseum. As far as they could, they restored everything to its original state, pulled down the *Domus Aurea*, and brought to completion the Temple of Claudius making use of the arcades as an approach to the Colosseum. We must not think of that great amphitheatre as a building standing alone but as the capital of a large kingdom, having other buildings connected with it. There was the *Vivarium*, near the Pretorian Camp; the *Amphitheatra Castrense* near S. Croce; the *Castra Misena*, where were lodged the naval reinforcements from Misenum and Ravenna, who were called to Rome for manoeuvring the *velarium*. Also the place where the weapons for the gladiatorial fights were kept; the *Ludus Magnus* where the gladiators were trained; the *Venatium*, and finally two *Vivaria*, which were the places where the wild beasts were kept and the performing beasts were fed. They had even elephants dancing on tight ropes. There was always a very large stud of wild beasts, to be ready for any extensive celebrations. As the vivarium was two miles from the Colosseum, we cannot suppose that the day before the celebration, the surprise and pleasure of the people could be spoilt by seeing the great beasts dragged through the city in cars. They were doubtless transferred in the night by the arcades, and secret passages were made to enable the *Venarii* to carry the cages on small rollers from the arcades to the Colosseum. The secret passage can still be seen for forty or fifty yards and Cassio in a book written two hundred and fifty years ago, says that the passage had been excavated as far as this church.

Now we come to the house itself which we are going to visit. It is always desirable, in studying old records, to separate what is historical from what is simply tradition. It became the fashion, after peace was given to the Church, to publish small religious novels — something like the story of *Fabiola*, only that is sympathetic and clever, and written so as to make a very interesting story. These books are written in a much more crude style, and are much shorter. They came out about the fifth century A. D. In studying these *Acta Sanctorum* we find, for instance, the questions put by the judge to the martyrs, and their answers. These are naturally the concoction of the novelist, but the fact that they were brought before the Prefect is true, because that was the Roman way of dealing with criminals.

When in the *Acta* any topographical allusions are made, we may be sure they are perfectly true. They might say what they pleased about the evidence, more or less historical, of the passion of the martyrs, but they could not say what was not true about places, monuments, buildings, of which the evidence was before the eyes of their readers. The *Acta* of S. S. John and Paul are unfortunately the most uncertain we have — the history, as reduced to a few facts, is this. — There were two brothers one named John and the other Paul. Now John is not a Roman name, and this is the first difficulty, for it is not likely that a Roman gentleman of high rank would have named his son John, in the fourth century A. D. These two brothers were officers in the bodyguard of the Emperor, which was not then called *Equites Singulares*, but *Protettori Laterales*. They were born under Constantine. — When Julian the Apostate brought a sort of supplementary persecution to bear on the Christians — always concealing it under political reasons — he ordered his Prefect Terentianus to put these two brothers to death as secretly as he could. Terentianus, with a few police, came into the house at midnight on June 20th.—362, and murdered the two brothers. In order to conceal his part in the deed, and that it might be ascribed to robbers, the bodies were secretly buried in their own house. A few years afterwards, three sisters were told in a dream that the bodies were in the house; a search was instituted and they were found, buried exactly in the same place, in which they had been concealed by Terentianus on the night of the murder. Such is a short statement of facts from the *Acta Martyrum*. All these details have been actually confirmed by recent discoveries. You will see a little enclosure in the floor of the church. This we were always told, marked the actual place where the martyrs were killed. We were rather sceptical about this, for after all the church is a modern building. We now find it is almost exactly over the spot where the murder took place, and which is marked by paintings and by the graffiti left by the pilgrims.

The house remained in the hand of the police of the Crown for a certain number of years to the death of Julian the Apostate when peace was restored to the Church. A friend of S. Jerome named Pammachius, a very charitable and devout man determined that the house which S. S. Giovanni and Paolo had sanctified by their Martyrdom, should be turned into a Christian basilica. Pammachius is also a historical character. He was the friend of S. Jerome, of Marcella, of Paula and others of those noble women. Among the works which distinguish him, one of the best was what he did on his estate at Porto, where he built a hospice for the pilgrims who came over to Rome. This hospice was discovered in 1872 by Prince Torlonia in a perfect state of preservation, even the silver spoons and forks were there.

These Prince Torlonia very generously presented to Pius IX. And they are now in the Christian Museum of the Vatican. There was a beautiful courtyard, surrounded by cells where the pilgrims were lodged and fed at the expense of Pammachius.

As I said to you at S. Agnese, when the tomb of a martyr was to be made into a church, every thing was destroyed so that the tomb might be brought into the centre of the apse, and the apse must be to the East. In this church nothing of the kind was done, the house of John and Paul was left absolutely as it was, only the upper floors were taken off. The front wall, that on the Clivus Scauri was left intact. There is a great slope, so that the rooms as you go East become smaller and lower.

Of the basilica of Pammachius we know little. It had the pure basilica type, two rows of columns, a central aisle, apse and open roof. It lasted up till 1084, when the Coelian was almost levelled to the ground by Robert Guiscard, whom Pope Hildebrand called to his aid. He came from Sicily with Saracens along with his Norman warriors, and they absolutely destroyed this part of Rome. They set fire to all the churches. S. Clemente was burned to the ground, the SS. Quattro Coronati are a speaking record of these evil days. S. S. Giovanni and Paolo is not mentioned among those which perished, but there is no doubt it did. It was restored by Leone III. Jacopus the elder, head of the *dynasty* of the Cosmati, worked here, for in the garden there is a fragment of an ambone signed by his name. The pavement was one of the most perfect of their works. The fountain where the officiating clergy washed their hands was an exquisite work of the same.

The church remained untouched for many centuries till in 1718 Cardinal Paolucci restored it, making it what we see! When one reads accounts of this place before it was destroyed, it makes one feel that the Cardinal committed a great crime. The walls were covered with paintings inscribed with the names of the painters or of the donors. All these were destroyed in 1718, and it was reduced to the condition in which we see it now.

After these few words of explanation, we will go down and examine what is left of the house. The house is exceedingly interesting from a purely artistic point of view.

It has nothing to do with the general rules for a Roman house, which had an outer part, and an inner part, or Gynceum, which was the private abode of the family. The two parts had each an atrium for light and ventilation. This arrangement is not to be seen in this house, as you will judge for yourselves. It is interesting too because it is a house of the second century A. D., and the old walls of the second century are there,

though they were altered in the third and fourth, when Pammachius built his church at the level of the first floor. In the frescoes we have a history of wall painting from the time of the Antonines to the time of Charlemagne. These have been well explained by Padre Germano, to whom we owe the discovery of the place. He is a wonderful man, and I am very proud to be his friend.

The porphyry basin was then shown in which the relics of the saints were deposited, under the high altar. At the time when the bodies of the martyrs were being removed to the churches, it was customary to deposit them in rare and costly receptacles. The Baths of Caracalla and Diocletian were ransacked for these great baths, of rare materials.

The party now descended to the house of the Saints.

In one of the rooms which is adorned with frescoes, Prof. Lanciani pointed out that these birds and flowers were not unlike those in S. Costanza, but these are the older. If they are not of the second century, they are not later than the beginning of the third. Figures of so large a size are very rare. In the cellar were amphora marked with the Christian monogram, and the blessing of the wine.

Of one of the inscriptions of Pope Damasus, Prof. Lanciani said: « It was the secretary of Pope Damasus who invented this peculiar form of letters. These inscriptions have been copied by the pilgrims, and these copies exist in Verdun and elsewhere, so that though they were found in an almost entirely defaced condition, only a letter here and a letter there, it has been possible to fill up the gaps.

Leaving the house of S. S. Giovanni e Paolo, the party proceeded with Prof. Lanciani to the Museum in the Orto Botanico, where he showed them the statue of Victory, put together out of 172 fragments — also the boar's head, through which the water came, and a whole room full of objects which have been discovered during the works for the Quirinal tunnel, sixty-six feet below the level of the King's Garden. It is rich in works of art. — All the objects in that room were discovered during the first part of the work, and when the greater excavation begins next week, it is hoped that so much will be found that these rooms will not be large enough to contain them.

With a vote of thanks moved by the Rev. Mr. Seaver, the lecture was brought to a close.

March 11th. — Lecture by Rev. Father P. P. MACKEY O. P.

The announcement of the few words I have to say to you this afternoon commences in this way « On some sites connected with the earliest period of Grecian history ». Now it was the custom of the classic poets, when

they spoke of Arcadia, to commence with an invocation of the god Pan: these are the words of Virgil:

. " Leave for awhile, O Pan, thy loved abode,
And if Arcadian fleeces be thy care,
From fields and mountains to my song repair. "

When we speak of Arcadia, we cannot do so without remembering that it was the cradle of the god Pan. There he was born (if he ever was born!) There he developed all the arts « that make the shepherd's care », and to his worship we owe all that is most ideal and romantic in pastoral life. Nor is Pan the only deity connected with Arcadia; it was also the hunting ground of Diana. There she roamed on her loved Erymanthian Mount, accompanied by the nymphs and huntresses who made the charm of the tales of our childhood. And besides Diana and Pan, Arcadia was also the birthplace, it is said, of Mercury, and there he invented the lyre and the sylvan pipe.

So much for the times of the « lost gods. » To them succeeded the heroes of Greece, and Arcadia was still the scene of their exploits. Here Hercules destroyed the Stymphalian birds who used their feathers as arrows. Here he captured the stag, with horns of gold and feet of brass. Here he destroyed the Lernaean hydra. Here at some time there lived that Princess of Greek heroines, Atalanta; here she was born, here she was exposed, and taken up again by her father Jasius; here she ran her races, till at last she was overcome by occupying herself with the golden apples which fell in her path. Hence she went to the hunt of the Calydonian boar, and bore away the trophy: the boar's head, which was still to be seen in our era, for Pausanias declares he saw it in the city of Tegea.

Nor was it only the demigods and heroes, who were connected with Arcadia; there also lived a race of famous men. Arcadia is said to have existed before the moon. The Greek poet Apollodorus has a disich which says:

« Before the moon there came the Arcadian line
« And lived on acorns ere she yet did shine. »

Indeed the origin of the race is attributed to Pelasgus, who founded the race of the Pelasgians, whose work is scattered over the whole of Greece and Italy, and to whom are attributed the earliest foundation walls of Rome. Not only the race, but the man to whom the origin of Rome was due, came from Arcadia. Centuries before Romulus, Evander landed, and built the first walls in Latium, and called his town Palantium.

When a traveller determines to explore Arcadia, it is with a mind filled with memories of these « gods and godlike men. » Unfortunately a small portion only of this interesting region can be explored in one visit, espe-

cially when that takes place in the month of August. At that time travelling is hard and burdensome; the days are long, and there is much to be seen; the fatigue is great, and it often happens that, merely from want of courage to face the heat, interesting sites are left unexplored till a future visit. It often takes five or six hours to reach the spot, so that one lands precisely at midday, when everything that is to be explored is bathed in the rays of a scorching sun. Naturally one hurries over the ground, preserving only vague and too quickly obliterated recollections, but even these serve to give body and reality to many memories living in the mere words of books. So this special visit was full of interest, yet it may be the things left out were more interesting still.

The journey of which I have some recollections to give you, took this form. Some weeks had already been passed in the Northern parts of Greece. Delphi had been visited, and Marathon and Mycenae, with its memories of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra, and for three weeks there had been no respite in the heat. Now there was the hope of rest and cooler air, because Arcadia is not only full of interest, it is also the healthiest spot in Greece, forming the top of the Peloponnesus. There is a circle of mountains, through which it is possible to wend one's way, and come out into a central plain thirty miles in length and fifteen in breadth. This is Arcadia which was civilized in ancient times — here Atalanta was born, here Mercury and here Diana roamed. At the present day the access is by railway.

There was thus no fatigue in the approach, but one was deprived of the agreeable delay which makes it so interesting to enter on foot. In the course of three hours, we passed through Lernia, seeing the very fountain where the hydra, slain by Hercules was accustomed to drink.

We passed the range of mountains called Parthenion — there was the very one on which the father of Atalanta exposed her, and where she was brought up by a she-bear, till her father, relenting took her again for his own. Towards evening we landed in the great Arcadian plain. There is one town and only one — the centre of the Peloponnesus knows no other. It has 15,000 inhabitants; there it is possible to find accommodation which may be described as sufficiently comfortable. This was the centre of our sojourn; we passed a few days in excursions into the interior, and others in excursions from Arcadia, and then there was our most interesting departure from Arcadia. When we arrived at Tripolitza it was about four in the afternoon, and there were yet several hours of daylight.

We ordered a carriage, and set out to go and look for the city of Evander — we said the city of Palantium. — No one in the town had ever heard of such a place. We were able, however, to give sufficient indica-

tions of the locality from certain topographical information which we possessed. The carriage was found and we drove along a solitary road for six miles. Then we came to an inn — a very small inn — called from the old Turkish dominion, a *Khan*. There was no other sign of life, but this was sufficient indication from what we had read on the subject. The carriage was left there, and we turned into the fields to look for a city! There was nobody, not even a peasant, to ask for information. All depended on some lucky chance that we should take the right direction, and light on the correct spot, and fortunately this was what occurred. We penetrated a mile into the fields — around was a circle of low hills, seven or eight in number, each appearing to have been made for the express purpose of planting a small city on its top. Here was the *embarras du choix* — which were we to take? for at that time of day, and after the fatigue of the previous days, we were not inclined to undertake the exploration of seven hills, one after another. One seemed proper to begin with, and we were fortunate, for it was the only one on which we should have found remains; and there was a distinct line of the fortifications of a small city. There was nothing above ground more than one or two feet, but it was possible clearly to trace the lines of defence of the city. Mounting to the top, we pronounced this to be the city of Palantium. Here reigned Evander, and from those seven hills he came to these, and brought the name Palantium, from which comes *palace*, the residence of a King.

Remains of any distinct interest there were none. All we could do was to say « This was Palantium, this was the first beginning of Rome. » It was some encouragement that in descending we met a peasant, to whom we told how we had gone to look for a great city, and he said « yes, that was the city of Palantium » — so we had really found the site. Two small circumstances fell in with our memories of Arcadia. The only living being — not human — that we found there was a tortoise. And it was by Mercury finding a tortoise that the music of the lyre was created. At the entrance to the grotto where he was brought up, he found a tortoise, and took the shell, drawing strings across, and thus he made the lyre.

A few yards further on, we found a shepherd boy who, for a few pence gave us the pipe made in this spot by Pan himself and rendered more perfect by Mercury. Thus in visiting Palantium, we found our recollections carried back to the legendary founders of the earliest Greek history.

We returned to the town to sleep, and the succeeding days were devoted, not so much to Arcadia itself as to excursions from Arcadia, to following the road from Arcadia to Sparta — that being the scene of much that is most memorable in the story of historic Greece.

This was the line on which were fought many battles of the Pelopon-

nesian War; here Epaminondas made his last struggle for freedom; here Philip, the father of Alexander fought so often for the subjugation of Greece.

Although this excursion really occurred in the order I have mentioned, I will speak of it afterwards, as the other excursions were properly Arcadian.

The first was to the city of Tegea. Tegea in the olden time had command of the whole of Arcadia, and the whole of the Peloponnesus. It was founded by the very son of Arcas, or Arcadias himself who was the son of no less a person than the Great Bear, his mother having been lifted up to that constellation to console her for her troubles in this life. He founded this city and amongst his descendants was Atalanta, the peerless virgin huntress of the ancient world. It is some three miles from Tripolitza, but it requires a good day's work, as at the present time one has to explore no less than five villages, all existing within the ancient site. We went first to the highest point, the old acropolis, where there is now a church dedicated to the Saviour. There on the summit was the church, and from there we could see the plain, entirely surrounded by mountains, whose names recalled the heroes of Arcadia. There was Artemision the mountain of Diana; Parthenion connected with Atalanta, Lycaeon named after the son of Jupiter who was afterwards turned into a wolf.

Of the remains of the city we have spoken of, there existed in old times the temple of Ceres. The temple has disappeared, but the spot is perfectly recognisable, and consists of a mound formed entirely of votive offerings, brought by young maidens who consecrated themselves to Ceres, and obtained her protection. In a very short time from twelve to twenty peasants had gathered round, and we went together to see what we could pick up. As numerous as stones were the votive offerings — statuettes of Ceres, and other goddesses, three to four inches in height, in terra-cotta. Cartloads could be taken away; the upper ones have been somewhat broken in digging, but a little lower down some of the finest possible specimens can be found. After going on for about half an hour, the monotony of the votive offering find made itself felt, and we moved on to the next spot of the ancient city. On this spot there is still the theatre, distant about half a mile from the votive offerings. On the theatre is built a Byzantine church of the middle Ages, a most interesting, curious and even beautiful structure. The remains of the theatre can scarcely be seen; they are hidden by the church.

Although Arcadia is the classic land of robbers, and there Mercury was born, who was the god of thieves, the people seem in no way afraid of robbery. We went round the church, examining the various doors, and giving up all hope of entering. We were going away, when we met a peasant woman, and told her of our attempt. She assured us the church was open;

we returned, and found that the door was fastened with a bit of string tied in a bow, not to exclude men, but to prevent the entrance of goats and cattle.

We found the church rich in pictures of its peculiar school, and it was very interesting to explore not only the church, but also the little museum we found by its side, where have been gathered together the remains collected from the ancient city of Tegea.

It was then one or two o'clock, and there being nothing further to see on that spot, we directed our steps to the village of Piali, the third to be found within the precincts of the ancient town. There we found small comfort of a material kind, but real hospitality. All the village gathered round to welcome us. Among the others, we were surprised to find a person dressed as people dress in Europe — for in Greece the peasants wear the Albanian costume. This person wore European clothes; he was brought to be introduced to us, and he spoke English, and had arrived the day before from South Africa!

He had established a grocery shop in Cape Town, and had returned to help an uncle in the building and finishing of a house for the entertainment of English visitors. He knew English after a fashion, from what he had heard, not from study or reading. We were amused at his translating his name into English. For every Greek word he insisted on giving the English equivalent. He wrote down his own name in Greek and English, and gave it in English the pronunciation you would expect to find among the tradesmen of Cape Town. His name was Giorgios Ducas, a proper Greek name, but in his English he said « I am called George Dukers »!

He was very good to his poor relations, and though he must have appeared to them rolling in wealth, for whenever he put his hand in his pocket to bring out a few pence, some sovereigns were sure to be mixed with them, yet no one thought of being jealous or envious of this rich kinsman.

He was more or less with us during the rest of our stay in Arcadia.

I was curious to test the relation of the present Arcadian to his classic progenitors, so I asked if he could read Homer. This was his reply, in his very words: « I can read him, but I don't know what he wants to say ». It revealed exactly what was his state of mind. He could read the words, but what was the meaning of such words he was totally at a loss to understand.

Towards evening we returned to our comfortable quarters at Tripolitz, and next day set out to see another site memorable for many recollection, that of the city of Mantinea, where Epaminondas fought his last battle, where he was wounded, and being carried to a neighbouring height saw the

battle was going in his favour, and died happy. About ten miles from the battle field we passed on the left what is supposed to be the place. We passed it with feelings consecrated to its memories and entered the great plain of Mantinea. Eighty years ago this was still a deserted swamp, but now it has changed its aspect, drainage has taken place, and it has become a nursery for the vines of Greece — for let me observe in passing that the wine of the Peloponnesus is not what one would expect to find. The wine is good, and the true fruit of the grape, but wherever one sees a pine tree, there is a cutting in the centre of the trunk to collect the turpentine, and this is mixed in equal quantities with the wine. It has extremely beneficial effects but is disagreeable to the unaccustomed foreigner. The plain of Mantinea has been devoted to the production of wine suited to our tastes, and it has been a great success. The wine is said by its producers to be equal to Champagne, Burgundy and Bordeaux; it is really very good wine without the admixture of turpentine.

Some four miles along the plain there is a solitary Khan — this is the ancient Mantinea — here five great battles were fought. It was on the high road from Athens to Sparta, a great and important city. The traces we see do not belong to the city of remote antiquity, that was built on a near hill. This city had this peculiarity in Greece that it was built upon a plain. The town had been strongly fortified; it was built in a square form, the walls are some three or four miles in circumference and about three or four feet above the surface of the ground. Within there is nothing except the ruins of a theatre, ruins now devoted to the pasturage of cattle, corresponding to the epithet used by Homer to describe this people, «abounding in cattle.» To explore three miles of walls at midday in August was more than we felt able to undertake, so after looking at them vaguely, and determining to look more closely in the cool of the evening, on our return, we passed on to the next site, that of the Arcadian Orchomenos. This is the most central spot of the Peloponnesus, equally distant from the sea on every side. Had we not followed the timid advice of the guide books, we should have pushed on to the sea with, I believe, complete success, but turning to Baedeker, we found that no one was advised to go further, unless he had the means of carrying his bed. This discouraged us, as we were not prepared to carry matrasses with us, so we abandoned the idea very reluctantly, for we might have gone on to visit the Falls of the Styx, the Stymphean Lake, the very mouth of Hades itself, whose vapours poisoned all things; which was the reason that the river was transferred to the infernal regions.

There lived the birds of Hercules who used their own feathers instead of arrows. We saw no birds with brazen beaks and claws, but we saw birds

absolutely without fear of man. No bird would move more than a yard out of your path, and then only to protect its person, and from no fear of man; small and large, falcons and even eagles were so tame that they would only move away enough to avoid being crushed. This was all we saw of the Stympalian birds.

Orchomenos goes back to the most remote period of antiquity. It was governed by a dynasty bearing the name of the « fir-tree » kings, Elati. Here is a circle of mountains, still crowned by fir trees, and for many centuries the lord of the territory derived his name from the fir. The city was governed by a King, yet it must have been filled with a strong democracy, for no less than two of the kings were stoned to death by their people. Here was one of the visiting places of Atalanta who came from Tegea, twenty miles away. I have read in some classical Author, though I cannot recall exactly where, that part of her education was carried on in this city. Now all that can be seen is a tiny village on the side of the hill.

We were told in Tripolitza, where we had hired a carriage with three horses that we should find the road very *abnormal*, but that was simply the Greek word for rough. After passing Mantinea, we found the road was indeed abnormal. The three horses (abreast) occupied nine or ten feet, the path was not more than six feet! The first half mile was the ascent of a torrent down which came a troop of cattle, bearing out Homer's description, so numerous were they. On reaching the last ridge we found the descent on the other side was not indeed the bed of a torrent, but all the stones were big and all were loose, so with a carriage and three horses abreast, the character of the travelling was certainly abnormal. I feared every moment that the coachman would insist on turning back, but not so, it was « abnormal » and nothing more. We had five miles to go, and when we reached the plain we had no road at all, consequently it was perfectly easy travelling. There we found men occupied in building a house, to serve as a wine press. From them we inquired how to find the acropolis of Orchomenos. They found two donkeys, one for my companion and one for the guide, and we explored the spot. Pausanias has given special details — how it was opposite to a rock like a rough sheer precipice — and we saw the very rock. He speaks of a fountain of fresh water, and we found the very one, where the women of the village were washing clothes.

Having discovered the spot and mounted to the summit of the rock, 800 feet high, there in very deed we found in comparatively full preservation the fortifications of the ancient city, in the pelagic or cyclopean style. Three rounds of fortification were passed one after the other. On the top the most remarkable and very ancient citadel which formed the stronghold of the city. From here we could see the entrance to the Stympalian Lal

the spot where springs the river Styx, and misled or frightened by our guide book, we resolved to go no further on this occasion. So we descended to content ourselves with a long and full examination of the circuit of these walls. Two boys attended us, and soon recognised what we wanted to see; here a tomb or taphos and there a tower. They were of much use in pointing out spots which were very interesting. In order to make sure of having explored the place thoroughly, we had waited to eat till afterwards — now a storm was coming on, and the coachman wished to return, so we had to content ourselves with eating a little as we passed along the same abnormal road. We reached Mantinea, and there the storm broke, and we were able to observe, without danger to ourselves, the peculiar form of picturesqueness which is lent to mountain and plain by a heavy tempest.

These were the principal spots we chose for our excursions in Arcadia, for in Greece, as in Italy, it is necessary to content oneself with a few of the many things which are to be seen. Historical spots are numerous in a country we know as well from the descriptions of Thucydides, Xenophon, Plato, etc., as we know the country of English history. Our time was nearly ended, we could not explore more of the special spots in Arcadia, but we determined to see the road from Arcadia to Sparta, along which came Castor and Pollux and Atalanta, setting off to the chase of the Calydonian boar, the chase so often represented on the sarcophagi of Rome. The spot is so interesting that I must say a few words about it. The long journey of forty miles must be covered in one day, for there is no place where one can rest with comfort. We were therefore seated in our carriage by eight o'clock. The road goes between Tegea the city of Atalanta, on our left and that of Evander on our right. About 11 we entered the mountains. The road was not abnormal, but properly made. At every moment objects of great interest presented themselves. We saw the river which disappears into a hollow abyss.

We passed a path turning off to the left, a most tempting path, for it led to the ancient city of Caryae, a city in which the special worship of the goddess was performed by the maidens of the town, the Caryatides. Their grace of form in the performance of their religious duties so impressed the Athenian artists that when they wanted to find female forms to decorate their architecture, they took them from these damsels, representing them in the form we know so well, supporting baskets on their heads, as the maidens supported baskets in their dances.

It was a most tempting path, but it was not the road to Sparta, and time urged us to push on. Twice we had to stop, once for ourselves to take some little refreshment... twenty miles further on we stopped again, for the sake of the horses. Here in a recess of the hills there was a Khan, with

carts and horses about it. It was ten miles from Sparta. Here we remained for two hours, and became very intimate with the people of the khan, though we did not talk any Greek. The good mistress became so friendly that she showed us the doll with which her little girl diverted herself! She produced a little cradle, and in it the doll made of four pieces of cloth sewn together. And this doll her children fondled with the same maternal tenderness as Western girls.

Going on our road, late in the day we descended on the plain of Sparta. The mountains surround it in a circle, and one understands why the old writers, Homer especially, speak of it as « Hollow Sparta ». The approach to it is really descending into a hollow. One scarcely realizes till one gets there, that the present Sparta was entirely built eighty years ago. It cannot be called a success, it is a most poor town. It is never successful to build a city for agriculturists. All their work is in the free air and they do not take to a city.

Sparta has evidently been laid out with great magnificence and completed in great poverty. It struck us very much that in the whole of the country there was nothing corresponding to the class of gentry, and one realizes that eighty years ago, the fathers of these people were all slaves or serfs. The gentry were Turks. These have now disappeared, and those who are left were of the labouring classes. We did not see one person of what we should call the better class. The remains of the ancient Sparta are very disappointing. One is reminded of the words of Thucydides, « that if ever Sparta were destroyed, nobody would believe it had existed ». The general characteristics have been preserved, but in point of size it is altogether insignificant. In a stroll of two hours we had seen all that was to be seen in Sparta itself, and reserved its surroundings for the next day. The Sparta of which some remains exist is not the Sparta of Menelaus, and Paris, and Helen, but was built by the Dorians, who had driven out the Achaeans.

Early next morning I went out by myself to see what I could find. I left the city, and made for the river Eurotas, distant half an hour. I did not know where the river was, only the general direction, and I made right across the rifle ground, where the army was practising. They gave the necessary signals, which I failed to notice, till a soldier warned me to be more careful. Then I saw the position I was in, turned aside and reached the Eurotas. It is a rapid river, a few feet in depth and a hundred yards wide. I speak of its depth in summer. It was very picturesque, the banks fringed with sedge and willows, where lived the wild birds, unafraid of man. On the left the bank rose precipitously to about three or four hundred feet. Here stood the Menelaon.

It was now time for us to return on our weary journey of forty

miles, we made the same two stops at the khan of the doll and the other one, and by 11 p. m. reached our quarters at Tripolitza.

I see my time is approaching an end, but I must mention our interesting egress from Arcadia. We determined not to return the way we had come, but to reach the Southern extremity of Greece, Cape Matapan. We delayed at Messene, one of the most wonderful cities in Greece, on mount Ithome. Here Aristomenes fought, he who when imprisoned, was liberated by the guidance of a fox.

We stopped at Kalamata, the ancient Pharae. This city was used as a resting place by Telemachus, as Homer tells us, coming from Pylos to Sparta. Here the great feature of the place was a tame pelican, which was proudly exhibited to visitors. On the Western shore are many interesting spots: Pylos, the city of Nestor; Navarino, where was fought the naval battle in our own times, and the Strophades, where the Harpies flocked. We then had three days at sea, our vessel being on a trip for collecting corn, and consequently it stopped at the unimportant spots by day, and passed the most interesting ones at night. The most noteworthy thing about that trip was the small expense for which one can make a most comfortable journey by steamer on the coast of Greece. We occupied the steamer for three days and two nights, we had the best cabin and first class accommodation. The steamer had been a Scotch yacht, bought for the purpose. We made no bargain, and got no reduction, and the whole expense was fourteen francs!

We were anxious to see Zante, but as we cast anchor at 1. a. m. and left at 4, nothing could be done. We landed at Patras, whence we returned to Europe. From Patras we visited Calydon, the scene of the famous boar hunt. But time does not allow me to tell of it. I will only say it was as full of interest as is every other spot in Greece, though it in no way excels in that respect the Italy in which we live.

March 25th. — Catacomb of S. Priscilla on the Via Salaria.

A large party attended Prof. MARUCCHI's demonstration. Before going through the Catacomb, the Professor gave a short address in English on the history of this, the most ancient of the Roman Catacombs. It was established in the property of Pudens, the father of S. Pudenziana and S. Prassede, who according to a very old tradition, received the Apostle St Peter in his house, now the church of S. Pudenziana. The monuments of the Catacomb confirm its great antiquity. We have here some of the oldest pictures. From excavations made here years ago by De Rossi, it was discovered to be under the great Villa of the Acilii Glabrones, of which family Pudens was a relation. One of them was consul along

with Trajan, and was martyred by Domitian. Very old inscriptions, perhaps of the first and second centuries, are found in this Catacomb; and we have here the oldest representation of the Blessed Virgin (2nd century).

The Pontifical Commission of Archaeology has in the last few months made here new excavations and has found an ancient Baptistery, near the basilica of S. Silvestro. This baptistery, according to a recent study of Prof. Marucchi, seems to point to the tradition that the Apostle Peter baptized in that spot afterwards called « Coemeterium ad Nymphas Sancti Petri ». It was formerly believed that this referred to the Catacomb adjoining that of S. Agnese, which was called the Ostrian Catacomb. The discovery of this Baptistery seems however to make it certain that the Ostrian Catacomb was really connected with the Catacomb of S. Priscilla, and that the one known till now by that name on the Via Nomentana must be rather called « Coemeterium Majus, » to distinguish it from the small Catacomb of S. Agnese.

The party then visited the *Cappella Greca*, a real subterranean church in which, from early inscriptions we know that liturgical services were held. It is of the second century. After seeing the representation of the holy Eucharist and of the Madonna, said to be the oldest in existence, Prof. Marucchi took the party to the new excavations, especially the Baptistery and the Nymphaeum. The Baptistery was approached by a stair, like that used by the pilgrims as an approach to the holy places. It led in this case into a crypt with an apse, in which was a large *piscina* still full of water. It seemed clear that this was an ancient baptistery from the form. Access could be had to descend into the *piscina* by a few wooden steps or by a stone, as it was only 1 metre 40 in depth. Thus baptism could be by immersion, or by sprinkling — for inside the apse is to be seen in the floor the hollowed out place where stood the vessel for containing the water.

On the intonaco of the arch on either side are numerous inscriptions — principally graffiti of the pilgrims in the form of crosses, hundreds of them — made by pilgrims of the fifth and sixth centuries till the time of Charlemagne. One of these inscriptions speaks of the baptism. The baptistery at once recalled the memory of the time when Liberius baptized « in Coemeterio Novellae » near S. Priscilla, at the time of the Aryan controversy — but it also recalled a more ancient and sacred association, namely with the tradition that St Peter baptized « ad nymphas » because there was, according to the opinion of Prof. Marucchi, an ancient inscription of the fourth century with the record of S. Peter and of the chair of S. Peter. This inscription was copied by a pilgrim near the basilica of S. Silvestro above the catacomb of Priscilla and near a baptistery « *ad fontes* » therefore near the baptistery recently discovered.

Prof. Marucchi ended the demonstration by showing the most recent excavation — a crypt with niches having a large arco-solio, and beside it a column on which stood the receptacle for the holy oil, proving it to have been a place of burial of the martyrs. This crypt was covered by a vault, sustained by a column of which the marble base remains, in a good state of preservation. There were four galleries leading off from it, made doubtless to conduct the faithful to the tombs of the Martyrs. This crypt was very probably a nymphaeum attached to the great Roman Villa, where is now the Villa Ada and it was turned by the Christians into a burial place. Prof. Marucchi said that probably in that chapel was the tomb of Pope Marcellinus (+ 304). There is still much of it to be excavated, and there cannot be much more done at present, as on the first of May the works are discontinued, but it is hoped that in the coming winter greater and even more important excavations may be carried out.

April 1st — Rev. Dr. J. GORDON GRAY. — The origin of the Christian Basilica.

The term « basilica » common alike to the hall of judgment and the Christian temple, was supposed, till within a comparatively recent period, to have passed from the secular to the sacred edifice by reason of a general similarity of construction between them. More careful investigation has led to the conviction that the origin of the peculiar form of building, in which the early Christians worshipped, is not thereby sufficiently accounted for. The Roman house, more than the Roman judgment-hall is now considered to have furnished the outlines of the buildings, used by the first Christians for their common worship. The secular basilica, no doubt, had a very large influence in the development of the Christian basilica, but it cannot be said to have solely originated it. For several centuries before the Constantinian Basilicas came into existence the Christian Church had gathered its ever-increasing members into buildings that were well adapted for its services. Even before the times of persecution the Church felt the need of regular places of assembly for those belonging to it.

The habit of meeting on the first day of the week, which began with the Apostles, became an essential feature in the life of every Church community, as soon as it came to be formed. Apostolic example naturally suggested the way, in which this common place of meeting could be procured most easily. The « upper room » became associated in the minds of the early disciples with some of the most sacred memories of the Church's history. The Syrian house lent itself for the Last Supper and the gathering of the one hundred and twenty on the morning of the Pentecost, as no ordinary upper floor of a Roman house could have done. Upper rooms were

Roman house could be turned into a place of assembly, there was the important consideration that little or no expense was thereby involved. In that earliest period of the Church's history no building more or less costly had to be provided. Wherever there was a Roman citizen, interested in the new faith and disposed to put his house at the disposal of the Church, there a Christian congregation began to meet. That is precisely the picture of the Church in Rome, when the epistle to the Romans was sent to it. One house in which there was a Church, is mentioned, that of Aquila and Priscilla on the Aventine. Two « households », so called, are also referred to, though it would be more correct to call them simply « those of Narcissus » and « those of Aristobulus ». Two other companies are spoken of along with well known names. Five different centres were thus in St. Paul's mind, to which he sent salutations, when the first century of the Christian era had run little more than half its course. Such centres must have greatly multiplied during and after the Apostle's visit, so as to admit of « the immense multitude » of Christians that were ready for the stake in the year 64 A. D., when the first persecution broke upon the Church. We may be almost certain that no Christian edifice had begun to be set up ere the persecuting times began. The Church in the house sufficiently served all the purposes of worship in that earliest period.

There was an additional advantage gained by it in that the Church was thus enabled to assemble within what was private property and with closed doors. The new faith could thus have a large development, before it attracted public attention to any notable extent. The meetings in the Roman houses took place here and there over the City, just as the clients were wont to gather in their patrons's houses. No one could interfere with them, as the head of the Roman house was supreme within those precincts. This may explain how the Roman authorities were so long in being able to distinguish between the Jews and the Christians. For them the Christians were only another sect of the Jewish community, so that the edict of Claudius in 54 A. D. affected the Christians as much as the Jews and is described as having been directed against all the Jews in Rome at that period. The difference of course was made very manifest afterwards, so that not a single Jew as such is known to have perished in the circus of Nero some ten years thereafter.

Another important end was served by this turning of the house into a Church, when persecution at length came, it formed a protection to the Christian assemblies, until the houses were discovered, where the Christians were wont to gather. The persecutor did not readily invade a Roman house, unless there was distinct information obtainable as to the presence of Christians in it. There is evidence also that, even in the

earlier period, there were Romans of position and influence that had come to cast in their lot with the followers of Christ. One Roman lady, Pomponia Graecina, is known to have become a convert unto the Christian faith even during the reign of Claudius. There is reason also to believe that Pudens, who had been a centurion in the army sent to subdue South Britain under Aulus Plautius, had been brought by Graecina into contact with the same faith.

Certainly some few years after the persecution, he appears among the Christians in Rome, who, through St. Paul, send salutations to Timothy. The presence of such influential persons in the Christian community must have not only provided large houses for Church gatherings, but secured protection for them in troublous times. When the persecuting spirit was keenest, such protection of course did not avail. The highest as well as the humblest in the Church must have sought refuge by flight or in the Catacombs. At the earliest period there could have been but very limited room in the Catacombs for the number of Christians, that had temporarily to take refuge in them. So far as we know there are very few remains of galleries or crypts earlier than the last quarter of the first century. Certainly those that then existed such as the family-burying places of Pudens and Domitilla and a few others effectively protected the Christians who fled to them. *There* services were held, when it was not possible to continue them in the houses in the City. But that happened to a far less extent than has generally been supposed. The persecution under Nero soon spent its force. During the reigns of Vespasian and Titus the Church had comparative rest, until Domitian came on the scene and proved himself to be a second Nero. After him again there was a fresh respite and so it happened all through the next two centuries. There were periods of relief, when the Church had opportunity to develop and the need for larger places of assembly must have come to be felt. To this less harrassing experience belongs the growth of the Church in the house, so as to need the large hall of the Baths of Novatus. Even yet it is not a regular Christian edifice that is set up, but a private property that is enlarged and adapted until about the middle of the second century there is something like the establishment of a « titulus » or Church property. The traces of this period, however, are as yet so few and far between that no account of the development of the Church of the house into the fourth century basilica is possible.

We have certain indications here and there that can be put together, so as to fill up somewhat the great gap but there is nothing of a complete character. Thus far we have to satisfy ourselves with the remains of the houses of Pudens and Clement, while we still wait for the unearthing of the earlier house of Prisca. And then we are face to face with the

Over them a plain brick wall is supported, pierced with arched windows to let in the light. The roof was formed originally of wooden rafters, stretched on great beams that spanned the nave.

In the centre of the apse was placed the bishop's seat with other seats for the clergy on either side of it. There on the raised platform stood the altar, very much where was found the table in the Roman House in front of the tablinum. This raised portion of the nave may have been enclosed with a balustrade, as that which is seen in the Palatine basilica, but there is no trace of it left in the 4th century S. Clement. The choir, which we find today in the upper Church, was transferred from the lower and is of very ancient date, though it cannot be traced back to the beginning of the 4th century. It cannot be said therefore to have entered into the furnishings of the first basilica, when it was first used for Christian worship. The pavement of the basilica, of which fragments have been found, was richly adorned with marbles, arranged in patterns. The main door was at the further end of the nave from the apse. In front of the Church proper there was a square court surrounded by open colonnades with a fountain in the centre. The portion of this portico next the Church was called the Narthex, to which the catechumens withdrew, when the Sacrament was being received by the actual members of the Church. The rest of the portico came to be used as a place for burial in the case of the various officers and benefactors of the Church. This outer court, which is distinctive of all the earliest basilicas of the first importance, seems to be a departure from the typical secular basilica. The simple vestibule is all that we have in the approach to it. This addition goes back rather to the Roman house, with its atrium behind the vestibule, and the peristyle in the inner part of the house behind the atrium. To this fourth century S. Clement, we have now to add, thanks to the great services rendered by Comm. Boni, a basilica of precisely the same type in S. Maria Antiqua, and still standing in clear outline under our eye. We yet wait for the verdict of those most competent to judge as to the exact age of the Church. We are fortunate in having a terminus, from which to reckon back in the last fresco belonging to the middle of the 8th century.

The problem that presents itself is, how long did these various layers of fresco take to develop and what are other indications as to age? Certainly in this case we have no martyr's memorial tomb or centre of early Christian worship to form a basis for the setting up of a Church edifice at the earliest period. If we are to follow the rule that seems to have influenced the Church in the other cases, we have no motive suggested to us for a building for Christian worship in that actual spot. It is true that the walls of the Augusteum and of the Palace of Caligula were there standing in their massive solidity, with an atrium already to hand, inviting the Church to go in and adapt it for

its purposes. There was no bar in the way, such as a heathen temple and its worship would have formed. On the other side of that great brick wall of the Augusteum where the statues of Augustus and members of his dynasty stood, the Church certainly never could have set up a Christian temple. That had been desecrated for them by the worship paid to the Emperors. No such difficulty stood in the way of using the atrium of Caligula, though he had been one of the chief offenders in the matter of that very worship. Yet there is wanting the special motive for taking possession of that celebrated site by the Church at so early period as that of Constantine. There is room for special research here. Suggestions are being made, one in particular has come to our knowledge from the pen of Prof. Marucchi, that the Church had a special purpose in setting up a Christian altar here, in order to form the true counterpart to the worship of the Vestals. And he would find in that the reason of the name given to it, the Church dedicated to the Virgin Mother; making it thus to be the earliest instance of the use of her name and giving the reason for that name. Manifestly it is the simple fact of the name connected with the Palatine basilica that has suggested the explanation; it is but a working hypothesis meantime. It may be found that the proximity of the site to the Imperial Palace, forming as it did an actual part of it, accounted for the Church being anxious to possess it for Christian worship at the earliest possible moment. It would be part of the heritage of the Church, when the Empire was definitively transferred to Byzantium, and the bishop of Rome came to absorb the honours and functions of the Rulers of Rome.

The Atrium of the Palace of Caligula could very easily have been converted into a Christian Church. At the very exit from the Palace the covered portico of descent from the Palatine to the Forum had an outlet that served the Palace without necessarily passing through the Atrium. The site might easily have been gifted by one of the early Christian Emperors for Church purposes, if not by Constantine himself. Even that would limit it to the early half of the fourth century. While we wait for the proofs, we have the special advantage of seeing on the slope of the Palatine itself something like an exact model of the early Christian basilicas. We have the central apse with its two side chapels, answering to the tablinum and its two wings in the Roman house. There is the broad nave with its two narrower aisles lined with columns supporting the central roof. We take no account of the choir that has been set into the nave at a later date, as the ruder workmanship of the frescoes clearly shews. We have at the outer end of the nave and aisles a covered portico or vestibule known afterwards as the narthex and the square portico with its colonnade running farther out. That is a fac-simile of the first Saint Paul's with its front right on the Ostian road and the tomb of the Apostle

where it is to day but then seen from the road and occupying the usual place in the apse. The first St. Peter's, apart from the outer building added to the straight walls of the basilica, had the same outline. There were transepts in either case. There were four aisles instead of two, but it was a simple basilica of the early type. The modern St. Paul's has preserved the true type of the Basilica, as St. Peter's has not done, only there are the four aisles instead of the two but the squared portico with its narthex is there. It represents on a grand scale in all its main features the fourth century basilica.

In the limited time at my disposal, taken from other engrossing labours, I have sought to present to you the Christian basilica in its origin and outlines. It may serve as an introduction to you to a most interesting line of study, for it cannot profess to be anything more than that. If you feel, as I do that there are considerable gaps in the evidence, it may stimulate you, as it has done myself, to continue the search, so as to come closer to the various influences that were at work in that early Christian period, of which we long to know still more. I am satisfied that we do not conceive aright the origin of the Christian Basilica, unless we carry with us into it the formative influence of the Church in the house. That gave the associations with a place of meeting, that knit together in one the tablinum and the atrium of the Roman house. The sufferings of the times made these associations peculiarly dear. In such places of assembly the early Christians had heard the voices of Apostles and from them they had gone forth with fresh courage to lay down their lives for Christ's sake. When the better and brighter days came, they would be reluctant to leave that first model Church in the house. Even in its main features they found they had no need to do it, for the building of all others that was best adapted for public purposes, the civil court of justice, resembled nearly in every particular the one that had served them from the time of the Apostles downwards. So grew up the Christian basilica, not out of the brain of Constantine's architect, but out of « the Church in the house », enlarged through the very serviceable basilica, where Roman judges sat and Roman law was administered.

April 3rd. — Mr W. ST CLAIR BADDELEY gave a most interesting demonstration of « The Roman Forum. » The lecturer first spoke of the enormous change which developed slowly but surely in the very first centuries of the Empire, which altered the centre of business from the Forum proper to the ultimate point N-W of the Forum. In consequence of this change, what we know as the old Sacra Via (originally a small path between the Regia and the Sacrarium Streniae on the Velia) was no longer in the road of the triumphs, and before the Empire came to an end was closed up &

obliterated. Mr. Baddeley then referred to the *Templum Sacrae Urbis* and the *Heroon of Romulus*, two buildings of different periods joined together — in fact an architectural monster. *Vespasian's* building is distinctly orientated according to the turn of the *Sacra Via*. The Temple of *Vespasian*, when it was first set up, had a portico and a flight of steps, precisely like that of *Antoninus and Faustina*, dating sixty years later. Next to it was another building, which has now vanished, the Temple of Peace, three hundred yards behind. The great Forum of Peace was so spacious and splendid that it ultimately gave its name to the whole Fourth Region. This *Forum Pacis* with all its magnificence of design was only a link in the great chain of Imperial Fora. *Julius Caesar* was the first to enlarge the space available for business, by building his *Forum Julium*, behind the *Basilica Aemilia* and the *Curia*. The great increase in wealth and consequently in supplies of food and the increase of the population made it necessary even in the time of *Augustus*, to extend the *Forum of Augustus*. *Vespasian* added a third, the *Forum Pacis*. In 97 A. D. *Nerva* found that a block of houses prevented easy access between the *Forum Pacis* and the *Forum Julium*; he bought up these houses and built the *Forum of Nerva*. There now only remained the last and most splendid, the *Forum of Trajan*, which was finished by *Hadrian* in 120 A. D.

The lecturer then referred to the *Templum Sacrae Urbis*, and the marble plan of the city, which was fixed to the back wall. This plan was saved in the great fire of *Commodus* in 191, which did such terrible damage, and was finally checked close to the springs of *Juturna*. *Maxentius* determined to close up the *Sacra Via*, which had been, long before his time completely built over at the top by a gallery, extending from the Arch of *Titus* to *S. Francesca Romana*. One chief reason for closing the *Sacra Via* no doubt was that the shops of rich jewellers, gold weavers, etc. did not care to have the multitudes who frequented the *Colosseum* coming their way. It was better that they should go behind, through the other Fora. The lecturer alluded to the theory held by many Italian archaeologists at the time of the excavations of 1878-79 that *Maxentius* built his great *Basilica* with the idea of making a magnificent *Piazza* and enlarging the *Sacra Via*. This however does not seem probable, as in that case he could have made his *Basilica* front the Forum, instead of which he made its entrance towards the *Colosseum*. Where the porphyry columns stand, there was built out in the 8th century a debased portico, but the real entrance was to the *Colosseum*.

After *S. Maria Antiqua* was destroyed by the falling in of the walls of the Palace of *Caligula*, its *diaconia* was transferred to the new church in the cella of the Temple of *Venus and Rome* — built by *Leo IV*, and called

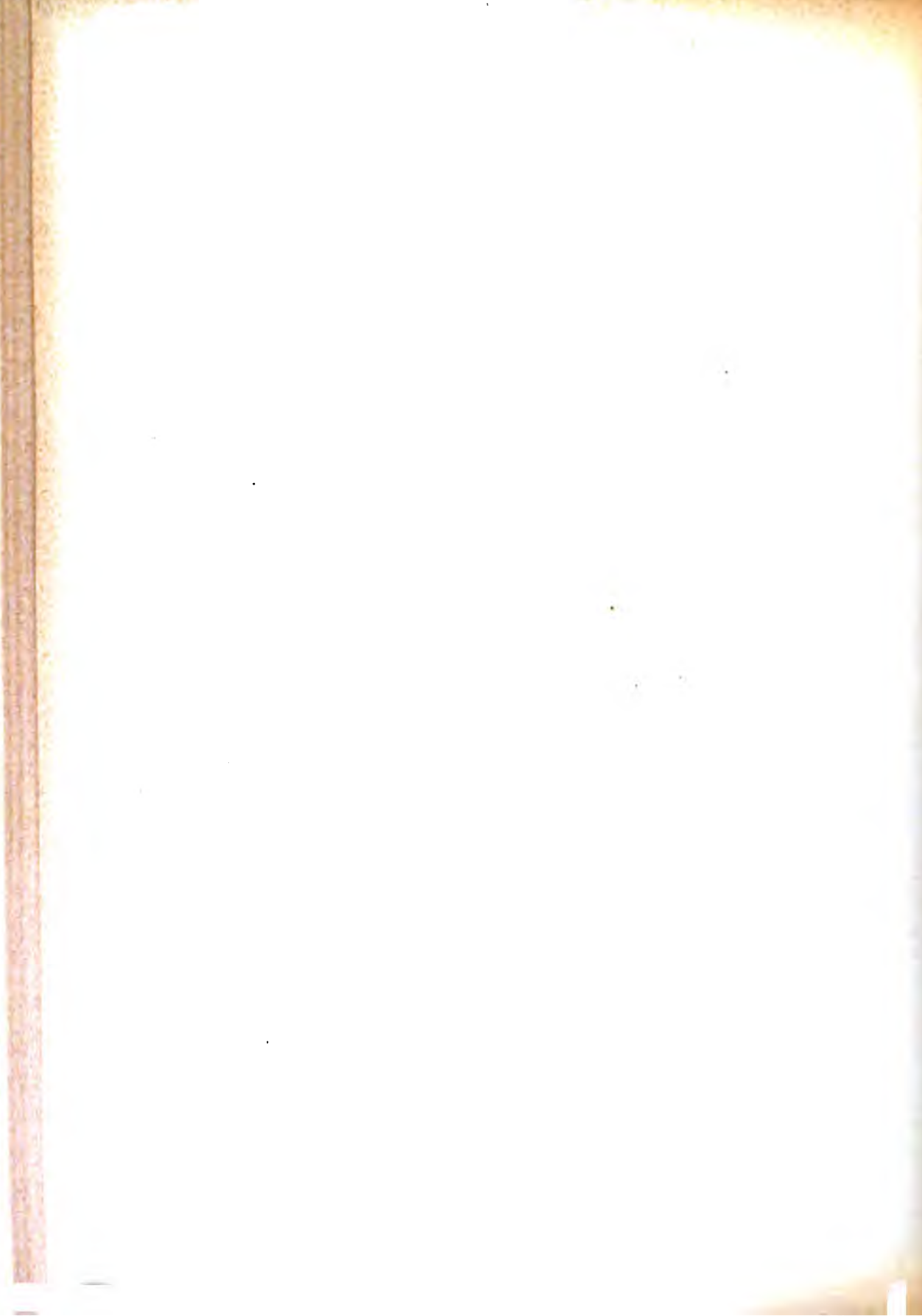
S. Maria Nuova, and afterwards by Paul V, in 1616, changed to S. Francesca Romana, in honour of the saint

Those who hold the theory of the Piazza say that Maxentius took the remains of the Horrea Piperataria, and spread them in a layer seven feet thick, levelling the Sacra Via to make his Piazza. Now in the course of the present excavations, the debris between the modern Sacra Via and that of the first century were found to be of 8th. century church work, and even a great lump of sixth century masonry, which certainly could not have fallen on the Sacra Via of the first century if it had been covered up.

It appears from the Annals that besides the great fire of 233 A. D. under Carinus, there was another at the beginning of the reign of Maxentius, which swept the Temple of Venus and Rome, which had been spared by the fire of Commodus.

Proceeding up the Sacra Via the lecturer showed two wells, one of the Imperial time, and one Republican. In the latter was found a beautiful flute with five stops. In regard to the Arch of Titus the lecturer inclined to the belief that it was moved by Hadrian, because it was right on the line of the Clivus Palatinus, and Domitian would not have set down his arch there, to obstruct the way to the Palatine. The great Temple of Venus and Rome made it seem dwarfed, so it was stilted on to a platform of concrete. On it can be seen at different levels the marks of cartwheels for more than 1000 years.





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The Society exchanges publications with the undermentioned Institutions.

The Society of Antiquaries of London.
Royal Institute of British Architects.
Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology U. S. A.
Cambridge Antiquarian Society.
Oxford Architectural and Historical Society.
Glasgow Archæological Society.
Madras Literary Society.
Kansas Historical Society.
Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society.
Royal Institution of Cornwall.
Peabody Museum, Baltimore.
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Accademia dei Lincei di Roma.
Belfast Nat. Hist. and Philosophical Society.
Museo Nacional Costa Rica.
Royal Society of Victoria, Melbourne.
Royal Society of Antiquaries Ireland.
Owens College Manchester.
Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters.
New-York State Library.
University of California, Berkeley.
Geographical Society of California.

The following serials are received by the Society.

Notizie degli Scavi dell'Accademia dei Lincei.
Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects.
Bulletin of American Geographical Society.

BRITISH AND AMERICAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY LIBRARY OF THE
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ANNUAL REPORT — SESSION 1902-1903.

It is very gratifying for the Committee to be able to announce that the Society continues to pursue a prosperous career, as may be gathered from the following statement:

The Library was, as usual, opened for the use of its subscribers on December 1st, and the Opening meeting of the Session was held on the 13th of January 1903 in the Music Room of the Continental Hotel, under the presidency of His Excellency the Hon. G. von Lengerke Meyer, United States Ambassador to Italy, Hon. President of the Society. He was supported by Sir Rennell Rodd, then British Chargé d'affaires, Vice-President of the Society. The inaugural address was delivered by Sig. Prof. Comm. R. Lanciani, D. C. L. who dealt with the Origin of Rome in the light of more recent discoveries. The audience which was numerous, — being little short of 200 ladies and gentlemen — highly appreciated the learned lecturer's discourse which will be published in the Journal of the Society.

At this, the most important meeting of the Session, it was announced from the Chair that the members of this time-honoured Society, had been granted by the Italian Minister of Public Instruction the privilege of free pass to the Museums and Galleries of all Italy; an event which places the Society on the same footing with other kindred Institutions in this city, and which cannot but have most beneficial and lasting results to the Society's welfare.

In order to comply with certain formalities prescribed by the Italian Regulations as to the said free pass, a meeting of the members was convened with a view to amending the Rules of the Society which had been in operation since 1884. A sub-committee was appointed to consider and bring for-

ward the necessary alterations, and its recommendations were adopted at the general meeting of the Society on the 16th of February 1903, and again amended to do away with certain discrepancies and imperfections, at the closing meeting of the Session on 1st May 1903.

The most important feature of the new Rules is perhaps the provision made concerning ladies who have paid some attention to archaeological studies, and are therefore eligible as members.

The Committee is also glad to announce that H. E. the Hon. G. von Lengerke Meyer, U. S. Ambassador, for several years Vice-President of the Society, and Sir Francis L. Bertie, British Ambassador, have both consented to be the Hon. Presidents of the Society.

Mr Charles C. Morgan, British Consul, who has so much at heart the interests and advancement of the Society, has been elected working President.

The aggregate number of members and associates was somewhat smaller than last Session though, strictly speaking, owing to the access to memberships of several lady-associates, a comparison with former Sessions can hardly be made.

One thing, however, is certain, and it augurs well for the future, viz. that the receipts from members and associates, taken together show a higher figure than that of last Session which is in part due to the entrance fee now required from members.

A comparatively great number of copies of the Journal of the Society was sold, as also single tickets to non-subscribers for attending the ordinary weekly meetings.

The accounts for the year ending April 20th, audited by Rev. Dr J. Gordon Gray and Mr F. A. Searle, show a clear balance in hand of lire 444. 20; the capital invested in Italian Rendita and deposited with the bankers of the Society continuing to be of 5000 lire.

It is with deep regret we record the deaths of Mrs Hamilton Ramsay, and Mrs Searle associates, and Mr J. B. King and Colonel Osborne Chambers, members of the Society.

The last named was one of the senior members as he had belonged to the Society since its foundation in 1865, and never failed, during the long period of his membership to encourage and support the Institution.

If we now review the work done by the Society during the Session, it will be seen that it did not come short of preceding Sessions, though the scarcity of English-speaking lecturers on historical and archaeological subjects is an increasing difficulty which might in future seriously affect the regular course of the Society's proceedings. The more thankfully bound is the Committee to those who generously supported and furthered the scope of the Society by their lectures and demonstrations during the Session.

Thirteen ordinary meetings and three special ones were held of which a list is herewith appended.

At the International Congress of Historical Sciences which was held in Rome early in April, the Society was represented by the well known lecturer and archaeologist Mr. W. St. Clair Baddeley, Hon. Member, and Professor Borge, Hon. Secretary and Librarian of the Society.

The number of books in circulation was as great if not greater than last Session, and as several subscribers asked to have books out of the Library for summer reading, the Committee is glad to accede to the their request provided a deposit is left in the hands of the Secretary proportionate to the value of the books taken.

The following additions have been made to the Library:

By gift:

From the Committee of the British School at Rome: The Papers of the British School. Vol. I.

From the Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society: Belfast and adjacent counties.

From the authors:

A History of design in mural painting by N. H. J. Westlake F. S. A.

The Burning of Bonds under Adrian, by Sir John Evans, K. C. B., F. R. S., V. P. S. A.

Le più antiche civiltà in Italia, by L. Pigorini.

La Battaglia ad « Saxa Rubra » ed il Bassorilievo Costantiniano, by Prof. Alfredo Monaci.

Osservazioni sulla Tecnica e Saggi Monetali antichi, by M. Piccione.

Via Cavour ed i Fori Imperiali: A. Tolomei.

From Miss Briggs: Several Handbooks to Towns in Germany and their Museums and Galleries.

By purchase:

R. Lanciani — Storia degli Scavi di Roma, vol. 1.

Gregorovius. — History of Rome in the Middle Ages (Eng. trans.), vols VII and VIII.

D. Vaglieri. — Gli scavi recenti nel Foro Romano.

A. Gilman. — Rome. (Story of the Nations Series).

Pietro Orsi. — Modern Italy. (Story of the Nations Series).

Mrs. Oliphant. — The Makers of Venice.

On behalf of the Committee.

Reprinted from the Annual Report issued May 1st 1903.

R. H. BORGE

Hon. Secretary and Librarian.

List of Lectures and Excursions.

1. January 13th Prof. R. Lanciani. — Inaugural Address.
2. January 20th Mr T. Ashby jun. — The Object of Archaeology.
3. January 27th Mem Comtesse Gautier. — The Mediaeval Tombs of Naples.
4. February 3rd Dr C. Orton. — The Rome of the Seven Hills and the Servian wall.
5. February 10th Prof. R. H. Borge. — Mediaeval Towers of Rome.
6. February 17th Prof. O. Marucchi. — The Church and house of S. Cecilia in Trastevere.
7. March 10th Father P. P. Mackey. — Sites connected with the earliest period of Grecian History.
8. March 17th Rev. Dr J. G. Gray. — The Sacra Via.
9. March 24th Mr W. St. Clair Baddeley. — The Jews in ancient Rome.
10. March 31st Prof. G. Tomassetti. — Excursion to Caesar's Villa at S. Cesareo.
11. April 7th Prof. O. Marucchi. — The Sepulchre of Pope Damasus.
12. April 14th Mr F. A. Searle. — Demonstration of the Villa of Maecenas at Tivoli.
13. April 21st Mem Comtesse Gautier. — Excursion to Bracciano.

Special demonstrations by Prof. R. Lanciani.

1. March 14th The marble Plan of Rome and its present reconstruction.
2. March 19th The inner working of the great Roman Thermae and especially those of Caracalla.
3. March 26th The Palatine as the residence of the Imperial Court.

SESSION 1902-1903

As referred to in the Annual Report the Opening Lecture of the Session was delivered by Prof. Comm. R. LANCIANI, January 13, 1903, on the Origin of Rome in the light of more recent discoveries. He said:

When the builders of Rome first settled on the Palatine Hill, and protected themselves with a ditch and embankment, could they ever have foreseen that in times to come the walls of the city would extend about eighteen miles, and would enclose an area capable of containing from eight to nine thousand souls?

In the early stages of their history the Romans used to congregate at the sixth milestone on the via Laurentina, at what is now called the Osteria d'Acqua Acetosa, where they celebrated the Terminalia, for that was the actual frontier of the little kingdom towards the South. Could they ever have imagined that in times to come, such Terminalia would be celebrated at the Clyde, the Rhone, the Euphrates and the Nile? Or when they drove their flocks through the Mugonian gate towards the pastoral uplands of the Esquiline, could they have foreseen that in the near future they would exchange the pastoral rod for the sceptre of a king, and instead of being leaders of cattle would become leaders of men? Who were these builders of Rome? Whence did they come? Whose blood ran in their veins? What mysterious strength of mind and body made them grow so fast and so strong, and establish their race all over the world known to the ancients? That Empire still practically lives. We still travel over their roads, we cross over their bridges, we draw water where they first drew it. We still abide by their laws, and are governed by their code, and as we travel in Europe, Asia and Africa, we are reminded at every step of that ancient race who first opened up those lands to traffic, giving order, justice and prosperity.

In the address given by Robert Lewis Stevenson to the Chiefs of Samoa, congregated at Vailima for the opening of the so called Road of Gratitude, in October 1894, I find the following words:

« Chiefs! On this road that you have made many feet shall follow. The Romans were the bravest and greatest of people! Mighty men of their hands, glorious fighters and conquerors. To this day in Europe you may go through parts of the country where all is marsh and bush, and perhaps after struggling through a thicket, you shall come forth upon an ancient road, solid and useful as on the day it was made. You shall see men and women bearing their burdens along that even way, and you may tell yourselves that it was built for them perhaps fifteen hundred years before — perhaps before the coming of Christ — by the Romans. And the people still remember and bless them for that convenience, and say to one another, that as the Romans were the bravest men to fight, so they were the best at building roads ».

No wonder that the problem of the origin of Rome has captivated the attention of historians and philosophers since the Renaissance of classical studies. All the ancient monuments show the old legends, the wolf of the Capitol; the altar which I found in the Forum in 1882, and which is now in the Museo Nazionale; the Calendar found at Cervetri, in which the birthday of Rome is named as April 21st; and many more, little known to the public. On the estate of Prince Colonna at Frattocchie in 1836 was discovered a mosaic in what we now call Florentine work — *Opus sectatum* — which has reliefs of the finding of Romulus and Remus on the Tiber, the wolf, the shepherd and so on. The same scenes are represented on the pediment of the temple of Venus and Rome. This no longer exists but there is a good copy on a reduced scale. This copy had a curious fate; it was found at different times, in two pieces, a mile apart; the upper part which gives the birthday of Rome, is the property of the Pope, while the lower part is in the Museo Nazionale, and there seems no prospect of the two pieces being joined together! In the beautiful Colonna Gardens there is an altar of ancient shape, discovered probably on the site of the ancestral home of Julius Cæsar at Bovillae, the home of the Gens Julia, from which the founders of Rome were supposed to come. A notable feature in these representations is, that the oldest do not show the twins with the wolf, that was an addition of later artists. Some historians have tried to explain this difference in the representations by saying that the twins represent the power of the Consuls, but that is not an idea which can be considered for a moment.

The problem of the founders of Rome has been considered in various ways.

I. The *philological* method, consisting of researches into the origin and significance of early Roman topography, such as the names Rome, Romulus, Porta Romanula, Velia, Velabrum, Tullianum, etc., and connecting

these with what we know of the dialect spoken in the seventh or eighth centuries B. C. by our Etruscan and Latin ancestors.

II. The *historical* method, which takes into consideration the evidence of ancient writings, and weighs its value in the light of modern critical research.

III. The *prehistoric* method, which compares the mode of life, furniture, utensils, weapons of the builders of Rome with such as belonged to other tribes of the early states.

IV. Lastly, what we prefer, the *practical* course; that is asking the sacred ground of the city to reveal its own secrets by direct investigation.

I. The *philological* method. Prof. Ignazio Guidi begins a discourse delivered in 1891, by saying: « All those who have studied the history of the beginnings of Rome are acquainted with the difficulties and the mysteries which shroud the subject, and they know with what diffidence the accounts of Halicarnassus, of Livy, etc., are to be received, and how little faith is to be placed in any of those authors who wrote four or five centuries after the alleged epoch of the foundation of the city. We are told that all trustworthy documents perished in the Gaulish fire, and we have no traces of the times of the Kings.

Without entering into a subject which Prof. Guidi has treated in so masterly a manner, I may say that the traditions of the origin of Rome are generally unreliable, and yet I must confess that all attempts to reconstruct the true history have utterly failed, having no advantage, only the substitution of another system not less uncertain.

The most promising seems to be the attempt to connect and study the manners and language of the people, with the condition and aspect of the place in which these people lived. Guidi pronounces that the names connected with the origin of the city never could have been invented by later historians. We know that our ancestors were not strong in etymology and philology, and it is evident they could never have conceived these names, without having a reason for them.

The *Falatine* was named from the goddess Pales, Palatua of the early times; her priest was called the Flamen Palatuar and her festival Palatualia evidently connected with the goddess of shepherds, Pales, whose festival was held on the 21st of April, and was called the Palilia. The birthday of Rome in later times was kept on the same day, not that there was any certainty as to its being founded on the 21st of April, but that as the day of Pales, that was taken for the birth day of the city. From Pales and Palatua came Palatium, meaning the large enclosure of fold for flocks and shepherds. *Rumon* again meant the river, for in those early

times the streams had no distinct names, but were called simply *Rumon*, river; so *Rome* was the city by the river, a name not given by the inhabitants themselves, but by the neighbours to point out the new village, and the leader was *Romulus*, the man from the city beside the river.

Prof. Guidi points out that ancient gates were named from the place to which the road led, as the *Porta Tiburtina* from the road leading to Tivoli; and so the ancient gate on the Palatine, *Porta Romanula*, was named because the path from it led to the river: *Rumon*. I think this argument is very important and convincing.

Prof. Guidi inquires who were the people who baptised Rome? To what dialect do these names belong? Before the valley of the Tiber was fit for human habitation, there were dwellers above on the crests of the hills surrounding the plain of Latium. The names may have been given by the Latins on the Alban hills, or by the Hernians or the Sabines. The cities nearest to Rome, *Antemnae* and *Fidenae*, were in the Sabine district, and Prof. Guidi finds a philological connection between the names of primitive Rome, and the Sabine dialect. In that dialect the plain seen from the hills was called Latium. At Rieti, the most important city of the Sabine district *Pales* was worshipped; the names *Velia* and *Velabrum* are of Sabine origin, while the *Aventine* comes from the Sabine *Avens*.

II. The *historical* method; — and here we may note at the outset that the ancient writers knew much less than we know now.

Livy begins his history with words to this effect: « What we have heard reported regarding the origin of Rome seems rather a poetical vision than true history. The ancients mingled the human with the supernatural, and even went so far as to give a divine origin to their city, yet if any people in the world could claim a direct descent from the gods considering *Mars* as the parent of the founder of their city, it is surely the people of Rome, who have subjected the entire world to their rule. » — After three centuries of classical historical tradition, there arose in the first quarter of the last century Niebuhr and other German historians, who denied it piece-meal, refusing to give credence to any event in Roman history up to the second Punic War. What did they substitute? Absolutely nothing. Some curious theories were started, such as that the seven kings were not kings at all, but meant the seven hills of Rome — or that *Romulus* and *Remus* never existed, the dual power representing the power of the Consuls. So for the historical method. Now as to *topography*. We have been taught to believe that the walls surrounding the early city (I mean that of the kings, not the Palatine city) were raised by *Servius Tullius*, so that the forty-two fragments which can still be seen were the work of that wise king, who reorganised the Roman community, their religious celebrations,

their political administration; divided the city into four quarters, and surrounded it with a wall.

We believed with Livy that the first attempt at drainage was made by Tarquin, the Etruscan king, the ruler of Rome at the end of the kingly period, who founded the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. The objection now raised is that the architects, masons, stonecutters of that day used a foot of the value of 296 millimetres, instead of 278 millimetres, which is the real value of the foot. The present day critics go about with a rule in their pockets, and on the strength of one or two millimetres difference in the size of the stones, they say that there is no wall of the Kings, no Cloaca Maxima, no Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

We answer first, that no two stones in the Servian Wall are of the same size, if you go to millimetres. And second, that the Etruscans were acquainted with the Attic foot. To prove this we turn to III, the *prehistoric* method. This has been adopted by Prof. Pigorini professor of Palaeontology in the University on the *terramare* in Upper and Northern Italy. The best discoveries were made several years ago in Castellazzo di Fontanellato. This primitive settlement is in the form of a parallelogram, surrounded by a deep ditch and embankment. It is divided into a perfect square, and it is clear that the builders, who probably lived before the founders of Rome, were acquainted with the value of the Attic foot. The ditch is 100 ft wide, and 30 ft deep; the embankment is 100 ft wide and 30 ft high. All is carefully divided with measures. Now the Romans were not builders at the beginning of their career; they despised manual labour; they were hunters and fighters. The people who actually built Rome came from the other side of the river, they were Etruscans whom we know to have been acquainted with the Attic foot.

The great point of the late discoveries in the Forum is the refutation of the argument that all written documents concerning the early history of Rome perished in the Gallic Fire. The ancient writers said: NO — a great many were lost, but not all. Plutarch, in his Life of Romulus mentions an altar on the Vulcanal probably that lately discovered in the Forum, on which is an inscription written in letters of early Greek. What is the meaning of the writing on the *stele* in the Forum, probably we never shall know, but we do know that it was earlier than the Gaulish fire.

IV. The last point concerns the special subject on which much has been published — the discoveries made just before I left the city in May, and others since my return in October. In 1817 some people who were planting a new vineyard on the slope of the Alban hills near Castel Gandolfo, discovered under three different volcanic layers, some solid, some volcanic ashes, the cemetery of an ancient race. The tomb contained earthen jars,

domestic implements, and the bones of the man in a vase shaped like the hut in which he lived. The discovery was certified as genuine by several witnesses. There were many speculations about the find, but the simple explanation seems to be that it was one of the cemeteries belonging to a centre of population on the Alban Hills. This certainty is confirmed by Mr. Ashby in one of his communications to the *Accademia dei Lincei* in which he proves that Castel Gandolfo is on the site of Alba Longa. The people whose cemetery was found lived, died and were buried, while the Alban Crater was still in an eruptive state.

A second discovery was made in 1868 by the late prof. Henzen in the sacred grove of the Arvales at the sixth milestone outside the Porta Portese, in what is now known as the Vigna Ceccarelli. Amongst the events registered in the annals of the sacred brotherhood was one which had long been a puzzle. It stated that after partaking of the social banquets (religious ceremonies) they addressed their prayers to the earthen jars. This curious passage was explained by the discovery on the spot of a set of vases, absolutely identical with those found under the volcanic eruption at Castel Gandolfo.

The third discovery was made within the walls of the city itself during the laying out of the new quarters of the Esquiline, Quirinal, and Viminal. Hundreds and hundreds of tombs were discovered, containing almost the same vases etc., as those found in the cemetery at Alba Longa. As a rule they were a little posterior to that at Alba Longa, judging from the presence of iron in the Roman tombs, which was exceedingly rare at the time when the crater of Monte Pila buried the cemetery, and very soon Alba Longa. These tombs discovered on the Esquiline contained a very curious collection, specimens were removed, and form a most interesting portion of the Capitol Museum, though very few people ever take the trouble of looking at them.

Now we come to the tombs discovered in the Forum. He was a lucky individual, that archaic potter of thirty centuries ago, who moulded the curious vase discovered by Signor Boni at the foot of the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina.

He and his unskilled production have received more attention than a master piece of Corinthian art. He has been the subject of an article in the *Notizie degli scavi*, extending to fifteen pages of text, with twenty five plates. This discovery has taken the public by surprise, and evidently the public has forgotten that a great many such tombs have been found before, and that two halls in the Capitol Museum are filled with their contents. The importance of the new excavations lies in the fact that, whereas all the tombs found before in large quantities were on the outskirts of the city, and may have be-

longed to another settlement, the tombs in the Forum belong evidently to the founders of the city. They are four in number; the first was discovered before I left Rome for the summer vacation, and the last after my return. One of the first two graves excavated in virgin soil was not for cremation, but inhumation. The man was laid to rest with the skeleton whole, and the skull must have been seen by the workmen who were sinking the foundations of the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, because it has been partly cut through by the spade of one of the men who was digging. They paid no attention to it and the tomb was left for us to discover. The other tomb was for incineration. An earthen jar was found containing the cremated bones. This great jar was sunk in a hole on the edge of the swamp which once covered the valley of the Forum. This has been subjected to minute analysis. The swamp was surrounded by a bank of loose earth, the detritus washed down by rain from the surrounding hills. In course of time the bottom of the valley coagulated into solid soil. In the ground are found disintegrated parts of rocks.

The people of that time must have known charcoal, for particles of black matter have been found, and ascertained to be charcoal.

The tombs were found at a level of ten metres above the level of the city, and four metres below the foundations of the temple. The explorations cannot go much deeper, as the soil is so soaked. The covering of the cinerary urn was found broken in three pieces. Two more tombs have been discovered, one that of a child; one of these is for cremation, the other for inhumation. The two systems were carried on at the same time, till inhumation was given up, and only practised by old families such as the Scipios; who were proud of the privilege, and continued to follow the old system. In the hygienic reforms of Augustus the old system was entirely given up; the influence of Christianity caused a return to it. These discoveries were followed by others at the same time in various places. For instance Prince Brancaccio in some works on the via Merulana made discoveries, which are being carefully watched by prof. Pinza.

In no less than three other places outside the walls of Rome have similar discoveries been made. Near Colonna - at Grotta Ferrata - where a vase was found, embedded in the solid stone, with splinters of bone and flint arrow heads painted red, a practice followed by certain tribes; at Sinigaglia on the road between Naples and Rome. No doubt these are of very remote antiquity. At the Vigna Cavalletti at Frascati, the beautiful property on the top of the hill between Frascati and Grotta Ferrata. There in planting a new vineyard there were discovered hundreds of tombs, the description of which in the *Notizie degli scavi* fills 100 pages and has 200 illustrations.

All these finds go to prove one thing, that the race who buried at Grotta Ferrata, at Alba Longa, at Colonna, near the Brancaccio palace, on the Esquiline and in the Roman Forum were but one race, moving in a certain direction, and it is easy to follow the steps of their emigration. They were moving slowly towards the Tiber, for the latest objects are found in the graves nearest to the river.

Now in the first place, it is absolutely certain that the founders of Rome came from the Alban Hills, according to the Roman tradition, which has had so much doubt cast on it by modern historians.

In the second place, the builders of Rome were not merely shepherds, they were hunters and agriculturists. That they were shepherds we know from their worship of Pales, their offerings of milk, the Faun, the Lupercal. They were agriculturists we know from the fact that grains of some corn were found in the tombs. And they were hunters, for traces were found of the skeleton of a cervus elaphus a prehistoric animal.

Probably, in the third place, the reason they fled from Alba Longa and settled on the Palatine Hill was on account of the eruption of the volcano. Comparing the objects found in the cemetery on the Alban Hills with those found in Rome, we see that those of the Roman Forum belonged to a later and more civilized time. Probably the reason why the settlers chose the Palatine was because it was the only hill not covered with woods. We know that the Aventine was covered with laurels; myrtles covered the valley where was the Circus Maximus; the Oppian was covered with beeches and the Coelian with oaks so that it was called Quercetulanus. Only on the Palatine there is no trace of such woods.

Finally we know there was an amalgamation of the various tribes of the Latin race after the first emigration from Alba Longa.

Who then were these people of Alba Longa. This race was called by our forefathers Pelasgic, and it was thought that Alba Longa was one of the Pelasgic settlements. This view cannot, however, still be held, for the recent excavations at Norba have proved that the great Pelasgic walls of the cities which we were taught to believe of mysterious antiquity, are really much later than the foundation of Rome. Norba with its walls was founded four or five centuries after Rome, so the Pelasgic emigration has to be given up.

It is much easier to follow the tradition that Alba Longa was founded as was held by the Gens Julia, by men who came over from the East with Æneas. We can follow them step by step from the day they landed, on what is now the King's beautiful seat of Castel Porziano, and I believe the solution of the mystery will be found here. Another proof that the old tradition is substantially correct.

I was lately spending a few days at the place which colonisation is turning from a desert into smiling country under the hands of Prince Camillo Borghese. He has given strict injunction that everything which is found must be carefully preserved, and in the three days I spent there the peasants came every morning bringing baskets full of various objects. Among these was a sword handle of a peculiar shape. On showing this to my friend Prof. Pigorini he at once said « This comes from the Ægean sea », a proof of the truth of Roman tradition.

A great deal more might be said on the subject, but time does not permit me to say more, only to add that in opening this, the 38th Session of our Society, I feel bound to express the gratitude of all who are truly interested in this fascinating study, to the Italian Government which in spite of many other claims on its attention has always given us encouragement, and has never failed to set aside money which we can claim for our pursuits in the interest of science, interest which touch not Rome only, or Italy, but the world at large.

Sir Rennell Rodd moved the vote of thanks to Prof. Lanciani.

On the 27th January MADAME GAUTIER delivered a lecture on the Tombs in the Churches of Naples. She exhibited between thirty and forty photographs, and quoted Renato Fucini who, in his *Viaggio Pittresco*, says that the « churches of Naples are, especially in works of sculpture, abundant, though little explored mines ».

Many of these tombs are little known to the ordinary tourist, partly because most of the churches do not remain open late, and also because many of them are not easy to find, hidden away as they are among intricate streets and dirty « larghi ». They have also been so much modernised in the 17th and 18th centuries that it is difficult to realise that most of them were founded in the 13th and 14th centuries, the most glorious epoch of Gothic architecture. Some remains of this time may still be discovered by the careful seeker, and fortunately most of the tombs were left untouched when the churches were so cruelly treated, and are rich and rare specimens of the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries, surpassing in quantity, and almost in quality those of any other Italian city.

The tombs in the church of Santa Chiara are the most generally known, being those of the Angevine Dynasty and Court, and are deserving of careful study both for their artistic and historic interest.

A very remarkable and peculiar feature of most of these Neapolitan tombs is that of the « curtain drawing angels », who stand at the head and foot of the parade bed on which reclines the effigy of the departed, and hold up the drapery which hangs over the recess; the variety displayed in these types

is quite remarkable, some are beautiful, some pathetic in their naïve simplicity.

Largely stated we may divide the Neapolitan tombs into two classes; those with the canopied recesses, and those with effigies simply stretched, sometimes sideways, on the lid of a sarcophagus whose front is usually decorated with figures in bas-relief, or roundels with heads of the Madonna and Saints, while the sarcophagus is supported by figures of the Virtues with their different attributes; on some of the sarcophagi angels in bas-relief bear roundels, and in the case of the tombs of two little Angevine princesses, that of the infant daughter of Queen Johanna in S^a Chiara, and that of the little Maria Durazzo in San Lorenzo, the angels carry the baby girls bodily upwards.

It is only in some cases that we can positively name the sculptors of the Neapolitan tombs. There is no doubt that a large number of them were Pisans, or Tuscans induced to come to Naples by the patronage of the Angevine princes, and by the close sympathy and relation of the Republic of Florence with the Kingdom of Naples, but there is also no doubt that before the Northern artists came, the city already possessed a school of her own, and an architect and sculptor known as Masuccio Primo, apparently lived between 1230 and 1305. He was employed by King Robert the Wise and probably assisted the better known Tuscan architects in erecting the principal Angevine churches. He had a friend and associate, Pietro di Stefano, whose son was called Masuccio Secondo and who may well have been the sculptor of those tombs which do not show a direct Tuscan influence. He was almost certainly the sculptor of the Tomb of Pope Innocent IV in the Duomo of Naples. This monument, though much mutilated, is interesting both from an artistic and historical standpoint, as being the portrait of the Pope who was the bitter enemy of the Emperor Frederick II, who offered the kingdom of Naples to Edmund son of Henry III of England, and finally bestowed it on Charles of Anjou, thus bringing in the fatal Angevine dynasty.

Another tomb both beautiful and interesting is that of Maria daughter of Stephen IV of Hungary, and wife of Charles II of Anjou. She it was who brought into the Angevine family that Hungarian alliance and inheritance which was to cause endless bloodshed and wars. She ordered her tomb during her lifetime of Mastro Tino da Camaino or da Siena, and effigies of her children are represented on it; the face of the queen is evidently a portrait, and the tomb is of great beauty. It is in the church of Donna Regina, called after her, and founded by her about 1300 together with the adjoining convent of Benedictine nuns, where she retired after the death of her husband and the accession to the throne of her son, Robert the Wise. — Some more tombs of the Angevine race are to be found in the church of San Lorenzo which

was founded by Charles of Anjou on account of a vow made at the battle of Benevento in 1265, but only finished in 1324. Vasari says that the original architect was Maglione pupil of Niccolò Pisano, but that Masuccio Secondo completed it, and how beautiful the original Gothic church must have been can still be seen by the exquisite arches of the ambulatory, and the vaults and windows of the chapels around it. Here amidst dust and ruin is the lovely tomb of Catherine of Austria first wife of Charles of Calabria, son of king Robert. She died in childbirth in 1323. Here also is the tomb of Charles of Durazzo, the slayer of Andrew of Hungary, slain in his turn by Louis of Hungary, Andrew's brother.

Here is the tomb of Giovanna di Durazzo, daughter of Charles, and her husband Robert d'Artois, who were both poisoned on the 20th July 1487 by order, it is said, of her sister Margaret the queen lest they should contest her right to the throne. The *fleur de lys* appear on most of these Angevine tombs. In the church of San Giovanni a Carbonara is the magnificent monument of King Ladislaus who succeeded his mother, the Margaret just mentioned. The sculptor was Andrea Ciccione, who also erected in the neighbouring chapel the characteristic monument to Gian Carracciolo, the murdered favourite of Queen Johanna the 2nd, sister of King Ladislaus. In this church of San Giovanni are some exquisite Renaissance tombs and altars, and in the adjoining chapel of Santa Monica, which is only open on Sunday mornings, is the fine monument of Ferdinando San Severino count of Saponara by Andrea di Firenze, or the Neapolitan Solario. This tomb shows quite a different style of treatment.

Other interesting monuments of this powerful San Severino family are to be seen in the church of S. S. Severino and Sossio, which is not easy to find, and a romantic and melancholic history of murder and treachery attaches to the tombs of the three young brothers, sculptured by Giovanni da Nola, circa 1500.

By the master of Giovanni da Nola, Aniello di Fiore, are some beautiful tombs of the Caraffa family in the church of San Domenico which is rich in monuments to the old Neapolitan aristocracy.

The church of Monteoliveto is also a perfect mine of beautiful Renaissance tombs and altar tombs, some by Girolamo di Santa Croce (1502-40), and here is the exquisite sepulchre of Maria d'Aragona natural daughter of King Ferdinand I, and wife of Antonio Piccolomini, duke of Amalfi. He had seen the tomb erected at San Miniato near Florence to the Cardinal of Portugal by the Tuscan sculptor Rossellino, in 1459, and ordered the facsimile for his fair young wife of twenty years. Here are no « curtain drawing angels », but when Donatello was commissioned by Pope Martin V in 1427 to make the tomb of Cardinal Brancaccio we see that he continued the tradition,

though he modified the treatment, for the heavenly beings who lift the draperies, and gaze down on the noble face of the dead Cardinal, are more like genii than angels, and are strikingly classical and dignified in expression and pose. This most grand and beautiful tomb is in the little church of Sant'Angelo a Nido, which was founded by the Cardinal.

Among the later Renaissance tombs are some very fine and interesting ones of the great Spinelli family who were and are allied to most of the great houses of Naples. They are to be found in the church of Santa Caterina a Formello, near the Porta Capuana, and are erected to the two brothers, or cousins, Ferdinando duke of Castrovillari, and Trajano prince della Scalea; on either side are medaillons with the heads of their wives, Virginia Caracciolo, and Caterina Orsini Anguillara, while the lateral tombs represent two elderly women, Donna Dorotea, and Donna Isabella Spinelli.

In the little church of La Madonna del Parto under the hill of Posillipo is the late, but beautiful Renaissance monument of the celebrated Neapolitan poet Sannazzaro who himself founded the church. The lovely bas-relief of Apollo and Marsyas, and the beautiful details of the frieze are by Girolamo di Santa Croce, while the semicolossal statues of Minerva and Apollo are by Fra Giovanni Montorsoli, a Tuscan and a pupil of Michelangelo's. In this little church there is also the celebrated picture of St. Michael and *la Diacolina di Mergellina*, and at its feet the effigy of Diomede Caraffa who caused thus to be painted the lineaments of the woman who had betrayed him.

In the church of San Giacomo degli Spagnuoli is the tomb by Giovanni da Nola of the famous Don Pedro di Toledo who governed for many years the city of Naples and made the famous street which is still known by his name in spite of its more recent appellation. He also built the church where the noble effigies of himself and his wife still kneel in eternal prayer.

This cursory notice of but a few of these precious monuments should induce people to visit them more carefully.

On the 3rd Febr. the following lecture was delivered by Dr C. ORTON:

An engrossing subject is this history of old Rome! and in my humble opinion there is no better history of Rome, existing, than that of Livy. He wrote in the spirit of the true historian. In his preface, he says: « whatever traditions report regarding the origin of Rome is to be taken rather as a poetical legend than as true history, but I have no intention either to maintain or refute them. Antiquity is always indulged with the privilege of rendering the origin of cities more venerable by intermixing divine with human energy. »

My object in delivering this lecture is to briefly refer to the earlier walls

and then try to follow more in detail the track of the wall which encircled the summits of the seven hills. The venerable remains of the primitive fortifications of Romulus, says Prof. Lanciani, which we meet with on turning to the West corner of the Palatine are built of blocks of local tufa the work of Etruscan masons.

Mr Parker gives a plate with the wall of the Palatine and the Capitoline hills forming one city, showing the city of the 1st and 2nd period. The 1st city consisted of the Palatine Hill, only the North of which was strongly fortified. The 2nd city consisted of the two hills, the Palatine and the Hill of Saturn enclosed in one wall which must have included the Velia and have gone to the Tiber on the South-West in order to keep it open for the delivery of provisions. The river Almo and the other streams and marshes in the valley added to the strength of the fortress before the great drain, the Cloaca Maxima, was constructed.

The names of the seven hills must be familiar to you all. The *Palatine* the residence of the Shepherd King the first and only king of the Latin race, Romulus, 753 years before Christ

The *Capitoline* Hill originally called the Mons Saturnius, the hill of Saturn which in the time of Romulus was occupied by the Sabines under their king or ruler Titus Tatius.

In the year of the city 147, B. C. 650 Tullus Hostilius added the *Coelian*. To encourage others he resided there himself.

The ancient name of the hill was *Querqual* from the oak woods which flourished upon it.

The *Aventine* lying due South to the Palatine between it and the river was taken possession of at a very early period in the history of Rome but as pasture ground only, for the herds of Numitor, the king's herds. Livy says that after Ancus Martius had captured the old Latin city B. C. 630 he brought the inhabitants and settled them on this hill which was of moderate height about two miles round and covered with all kinds of woods — one part, principally laurels, giving it the name of *Lauretum* — another part called *Murcus* from the profusion of myrtles. The *Pseudo-Aventine*, so called by Nibby, was that part of the hill on which stand S. Balbina and S. Saba both of which occupy sites of what were no doubt the Southern fortresses.

The *Quirinal*, the *Viminal* and the *Esquiline* were now added to the city. Livy is more minute in his description: « For that multitude it was seen to be necessary to enlarge the city. He, Servius Tullius added two hills, the Quirinal and the Viminal. He next enlarged the Esquiline and to give dignity to the place, there he dwelt himself.

We now come to the reign of Servius Tullius A. U. 176, B. C. 576. His predecessor Tarquinius Priscus had added greatly to the population of Rome

and by draining the lower parts about the Forum and the hollows that lay between the hills into the great sewers, had brought into use much land which could ultimately be utilised for building or other purposes.

The 93 years of the rule of the Etruscan Kings B. C. 616 to B. C. 509 were pregnant with great results even apart from the four great architectural and engineering works:

The Temple of Jupiter on the Capitol.

The Temple of Diana on the Aventine.

The gigantic Sewers which to some extent serve Rome to-day.

The Wall which enclosed the seven hills, sufficient for the defence of Rome for many years, and the remains of which after more than 24 centuries enable us to follow pretty closely its track and to give us a clear idea of the position and extent of the city on the seven hills.

Leaving the left bank of the Tiber at a point somewhere between the Ponte Rotto and the Church of St. Niccolò in Carcere it crossed the *via della Bocca della Verità*, along the *Via Bucimazza* to the old *Albergo della Bufola*, S. W. of the Capitoline hill. On this small distance, a walk of five minutes, three gates opened, one leading to the Tiber - the *Flumentana* - one near the *Albergo*, the *Carmentalis* - and the *Porta Triumphalis* - at this time, here was in all probability the most crowded part of the city. The wall then passed by the cliff some remains may now be seen down some steps - below the *Caffarelli Palace* - and again on the zig-zag road leading down from the *Campidoglio* viz. the *via Tre Pile*. The wall then passed where are the foundations of the memorial to Victor Emmanuel to the *Via Marforio* where remains in the houses of 81-c and 81-d were only lately to be seen. In this part of the wall was the *Porta Ratamena* opening on the *Via Lata* - *Via Flaminia*, the road to Dover, on one side of the street is the Tomb of *Bibulus*.

Our itinerary must be by the *Via Bocca della Verità*, the *Piazza Montanara*, out of which is the *Vicolo della Bufola*, the *Via Montanara*, *Tor de Specchi*, *Giulio Romano*, *la Pedacchia*, *Via San Marco* and *Via Marforio*.

The wall now went by the South side of where is now the Forum of Trajan by the *Via Tre Cannelle* to the rising ground on the Quirinal now *Via Nazionale* where in the street a portion of the old wall can be seen discovered in 1875, and in the *Palazzo Antonelli* n° 158 - the only gate ever seen in a good state of preservation - the *Porta Fontinalis*. This district was celebrated for its many springs. The wall now ran to the left, in the *Colonna gardens* - remains were found under the Temple of the Sun - and some part is still existing in the upper terrace of the present garden - to the *Via Dataria* towards the present Royal Palace leaving the round Tomb of the *Sempronii* near which would be the gate named *Porta Sanqualis*, of course outside the wall, which was found when excavating in the Quirinal gardens

under the present Royal stables, taking a North-West turn to where is now the Via del Lavatore, Via in Arcione, past the new tunnel by the Via Rasella, to the Via Quattro Fontane where was situated the Porta Salutaris under the present Villa Crawshay N° 143.

From the Via Nazionale we have to walk below the Colonna gardens by la Pilotta, Via dei Lucchesi to Via Dateria out of which turn to the left by the Vicolo Scanderbeg and then to the right to reach the Via Rasella.

From the Via Quattro Fontane the wall passed under the Palazzo Barberini - (Excavations in the 17th century) by the Via S. Nicolò di Tolentino to the Villa Spithoever in the Via Finanze where remains of the old wall are still to be seen. Nibby leads us through vineyards and the gardens of Santa Susanna now a badly kept cabbage garden.

From the Via Finanze the wall runs in a northerly direction until it reaches the Via della Porta Salaria. Our walk is by the Via Flavia inside the wall, for Signor Rossi here in the gardens of Sallust, where the Via Aureliana crosses the Via Flavia in 1869 discovered a quantity of human remains which had been buried within the walls probably during some siege of Rome.

We have now arrived at the most northern point. Nibby, between the Tiber and the point of junction of the Via della Porta Salaria and Via Nomentana i. e. Via Venti Settembre counts his 4624 steps 4400 yards make 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles. My walk along the same track takes 45 minutes.

From the Porta Collina at the junction of the Via della Porta Salaria, the Via Venti Settembre and the Via Goito commenced the great Agger so graphically described and depicted by Lanciani from his own personal observation during comparatively recent explorations. It passed due South beneath the East end of the Treasury buildings by the Via Macao, Via Volturmo, Via Porta San Lorenzo and at this point in the Goods Station may be seen a grand mass of the old Servian wall and the ruins of a gate the Porta Viminalis. The Station itself stands on the border line of the Quirinal and the Viminal hills.

We now have to pass in front of the Station and turn to our left the Viale Principessa Margherita. On the sixth street to the right is the Via Mazzini and a few yards by this street brings us to the Piazza Fanti - the Acquario Romano - where the most picturesque portions of old wall in Rome are to be seen especially from the South side; the Via Mazzini leads to Via Carlo Alberto and it was at this particular corner in the year 1876 that the discovery of what Lanciani calls « revolting particulars » was made. It seems that under Republican rule and on the occasion of a stupendous mortality (Livy) the portion of the huge moat which skirted the cemetery of the Esquiline was filled with corpses thrown in

as if they were carrion. In building the foundations of a house at this corner, the architect deceived by the presence of a solid bed of Tufa on the Northern half of the ground began to lay his masonry and to fill up his trenches to the uniform depth of twelve (12) feet below the level of the street when all of a sudden the Southern portion of the ground gave way and one half of the area fell through into a chasm of 30 feet deep. The North wall rested on the embankment of the Servian Wall. The ditch had been filled with corpses, its length was 160 feet, 100 feet wide and 30 feet deep and Lanciani estimated that not less than 24,000 bodies could have been there. A few more blocks of stone stand out from the wall at n° 45 of the Via Carlo Alberto from which street we turn sharp to the right - Via di S. Vito, where we find the Arco Gallieno - the site of the Porta Esquilina.

Beyond the last fragments visible in the Via Merulana, we lose sight of the fortifications, although their course and the site of the gates Querquetulana, Coelimontana and of a third near the Piazza della Navicella can be distinctly traced from discoveries made in times gone by.

The fragments alluded to in the above sentence refer to the two blocks of about seven stones each which formed part of a house belonging to the sisters of Charity, and which are preserved evidently most carefully in a nondescript kind of a building in the Via Leopardi situated between the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele and the Via Merulana along which street we now take our way on the outer side of the wall - leaving the Sette Sale on our right until we come to the Church of S. S. Pietro e Marcellino.

An important point in our itineray and also in the track of the wall. Now a gate becomes a matter of great importance! We may have a wall of some extent without a gate but a gate without a wall adjoining would be an absurdity. By the side - N. side of S. Pietro - runs the Via Labicana towards the Coliseum and at about 140 yards below the Church, Prof. Lanciani places the gate - the Porta Querquetulana - Nibby says there must of necessity have been a gate between the Esquiline and the Coelian hills - Festus derived its name from the Bosco di Quercie - the Oak wood which covered the Coelian hill and which was « within » the wall and according to Pliny, it was one of the oldest gates of Rome. Pursuing our way by the Via Merulana we come shortly to the Via di S. Giovanni in Laterano to our right and at a short distance down this street to the Hospital of S. Giovanni.

From the Church S. S. Pietro e Marcellino according to Nibby the wall went by the Hospital S. Giovanni to the junction of three ways - Via di S. Giovanni - Via S. S. Quattro Coronati and the Via S. Stefano Rotondo.

St John the Lateran and the Baptistry were left outside the wall and there was a great foss between, which, in fact, was not filled up until the year 1875. Somewhere near the junction of these three streets was a gate the *Porta Coelimontana*. In the great map by prof. Lanciani it is shown crossing the *Via S. S. Quattro Coronati* some distance away and above the present Church. Nibby says the gate called *Coelimontana* by Cicero and by Livy was on the highest point of the *Coelian*. It is recorded that this gate was struck by lightning A. U. 558. Although there are still no remains to guide us we cannot be far wrong in our track for at the *Piazza della Navicella* by the gates of the *Villa Mattei* we have the position of another gate assigned where the *Aurelian* wall approaches in close vicinity to its older relation. The gate of *Aurelian* wall was the *P. Metroni* but the name of the gate in the *Servian* wall is doubtful although it has had the name of *Ferentina* given to it owing to the national assembly of the *Latins* which was held in this district on the 13th day of October in honour of the Goddess *Ferentina*. The wall from this point turns to the right and runs under the brickwall below the *Villa Mattei* to the garden of *San Gregorio* and the *Porta Capena*!

Our itinerary is by the dreary *Via di S. Stefano Rotondo*, *Via Navicella*, *Via S. Sisto Vecchio* by the side of the little stream the *Marana* to the *Appian* way where we turn to the right towards the city until we come to the *Osteria* n° 1 *Via di San Sebastiano*.

In the gardens of *St Gregory* in the valley between the *Coelian* and the *Aventine* hills not far from the Southern end of the *Circus Maximus*, *Mr Parker* in the years of 1866-1867 and again 1876, excavating at his own expense as he was at that time allowed to do, came upon the old wall and what he believed to be the site of the *Porta Capena* famous as marking the beginning of the *Appian Way* and over which passed the *Aquæduct* carrying *Aqua Appia*. *Herr Jordan* says that the course of the *Via Appia* was East of the present road from the Tomb of the *Scipios* up to the height of *San Gregorio*, as is proved by the remains of the road in the garden of *San Sisto* and tombs found under the *Coelian* on a line in direction of *S. Gregorio* so that the gate would be half way up the hillside! Whether *Herr Jordan* knew better than the excavator himself, I cannot say, but the grand old blocks of the old wall are there to be seen to-day in the wine cellar of the *Osteria della Porta Capena* n° 1 *Via di San Sebastiano* by which means the site of the gate may be determined!

From the *Porta Capena* the wall ascended the hill towards the old Abbey of *S. Balbina* leaving the ruins of the Baths of *Caracalla* under the hill to the left or East side. The wall went on the further side of the buildings from the Baths i. e. to the West, running under the house, for in *Prof. Lanciani's* big Map, the buildings are called the *Domus Cilonis* and

the Church at the Baths end is called S. Salvatoris in Balbina. There was an agger in this part of the track, which now crossed the Via Aventina from which issued Via Ardeatina wheron Prof. Lanciani places a gate, the Porta Nœvia to the North and East of San Saba i. e. on the side above the via di P^{ta} S. Paolo. According to Mr Parker both S. Balbina and S. Saba occupy the sites of what were no doubt the southern fortresses. The wall now descended to the lower ground remains seen at the junction of the via S. Saba and the via di Porta S. Paolo and here on the via S. Paolo itself where it bifurcates, one way going to the gate the other towards the Monte Testaccio, the finest specimen of the wall in existence according to Prof. Lanciani is still to be seen, because it shows the restoration of Camillus in B. C. 367 resting on the original structure of Servius. Prof. Lanciani saw it completely exposed to view. There is another fragment to be seen in the garden nearer the cliff in the vigna Maccarani-Torlonia, some stones of which were removed by the Padre Secchi, the Astronomer to the observatory of the Collegio Romano. The wall again appears against the cliff of the Aventine at the Arco di S. Lazaro and again under the convent of S. Sabina where they were laid bare in 1856.

There is no trace whatever of Servian fortifications on the opposite side of the Tiber. Four gates opened in the wall between the Porta Collina and the river, viz. the Nœvia — the Porta Rudusculana on the Via di Porta San Paolo from which issued the Via Ostiensis, the Porta Navalis on the Via di S. Maria Aventinese facing the Porta Ostiensis and the Porta Trigemina in the Via Marmorata by the Pons Publicius facing the river.

Was there a defensive wall between the Pons Publicius and the Pons Fabricius? Several of the old writers (even Livy) and some modern ones seemed to think that the width of the Tiber and its rapid stream rendered this unnecessary but when the foundations for the new embankment were being dug the old fortifications came to light. The Servian wall existed to the end of the Republic. In the time of Augustus it was used as foundations or supports — the Aggers or embankments as promenades or public walks, while the ditches were filled up and turned into building lots. In A. D. 69 the gates had disappeared. In A. D. 270 every trace of the old wall had nearly vanished and Aurelian had commenced to build the wall which — no doubt with restorations — is so great and interesting a feature of the Rome of to-day.

Feb. 17th. — Demonstration in S. Cecilia by Prof. MARUCCHI.

The celebrated S. Cecilia suffered martyrdom under Marcus Aurelius in 177. She was buried in the Cemetery of the Appian Way. According

to a tradition, based on the Acts of S. Cecilia, the church occupies the site of the house belonging to her husband Valerian, where she suffered martyrdom. Bishop Urban had the house transformed into a church, as was the case with the house of S.S. Giovanni e Paolo. It was first a little private church, and afterwards a public one. The first mention of it occurs in the Acts of the Roman Council in 449, where we find the signature of a priest of this church. In the biography of Pope Vigilius, the *Liber Pontificalis* relates that he was surprised when officiating in the basilica of S. Cecilia, on the « *Dies natalis* ». Some have understood by this « *dies natalis* » the anniversary of his consecration as Pope, but in reality it was that of the feast of the Saint (Nov. 22nd 528). At the end of the sixth century, S. Gregory the Great fixed the station for the second Wednesday in Lent. In the ninth century, the church was in ruins, Pascal I. rebuilt it, and at the same time restored the neighbouring convent, consecrating it to S. Agatha and to S. Cecilia.

To this restoration belongs the mosaic of the apse, which we shall see later. The *Liber Pontificalis* also relates how the same Pope in 821 found the body of S. Cecilia in the crypt of the Cemetery of S. Calixtus, and how he transported it to Trastevere, with that of S. Valerian, formerly deposited in S. Praetextatus, and then in S. Calixtus. To reconstruct a new church, it was necessary to destroy the ancient house. The bathroom was preserved, and turned into an oratory, where can still be seen the pipes which conducted water and hot air. In 1599, Cardinal Sfondrato, in the course of some restorations, opened the sarcophagus under the altar, and saw the body in perfect preservation. After several other restorations came the splendid one made by Cardinal Rampolla, which we shall now go to see. We shall first examine the mosaic of the upper church, and afterwards descend to the lower one, where are visible traces of the ancient house of S. Cecilia, and of the primitive church. Many of the inscriptions now in the subterranean church do not belong there, but were brought from the Catacombs with the relics of the martyrs.

After giving this short introduction in English, Prof. Marucchi took the party into the church, and the rest of the demonstration was given in Italian.

The present Church covers the area of the ancient house. The level is the same as that of the church of Pope Paschal I. The most important parts are the *Apse* and the *Confessio*.

The *Apse* belongs to the church of Paschal I but the apse which we see is not the entire apse of his time. It was mutilated in the restorations of the 18th century, but we have the entire design copied by Ciampini in his important work « *Vetera Monumenta* ». In this he gives the designs of the

mosaics in the ancient churches of Rome. From the design of Ciampini we know that above the arch was represented the Virgin enthroned, with the Infant Jesus on her knees, and on the right and left the ten wise virgins, with their lamps lighted, five on each side; the four and twenty elders of the Apocalypse, and the two mystical cities Bethlehem and Jerusalem, and below six doves on each side. In what remains, there is above the monogram of Paschal I. Pas-cal as we find it in the mosaics of S. Prassede and S. Maria in Domnica. Below is the divine Hand issuing from the clouds, and holding a crown, symbolising the crown of martyrdom, the reward of the saints.

The same idea is found in much more ancient mosaics, as in some of the fourth and of the seventh century, in the oratory of S. Felicità.

Under the Divine Hand is the figure of the Saviour, of the Byzantine type. He gives the blessing with his right hand in the Greek manner. On the right of the Saviour is the Apostle St Peter, then the titular saint, S. Cecilia, and beside her Paschal I whose square nimbus indicates that he was then alive. John the Deacon in his *Life of S. Gregory*, says that the square nimbus was the sign of living persons. We have here, therefore, a true portrait of Paschal I. He holds in his hand a model of the church, and offers it to the saint; a very usual conception, to be found, for instance, in S. Maria Antiqua, where the deacon Theodotus presents to the Virgin a model of the Church. Here S. Cecilia embraces Paschal, as though thanking him for having reconstructed her basilica. Above Paschal there is the mythological bird called the phoenix, an ancient Christian symbol of the resurrection.

The symbol is of particular importance in the church of S. Cecilia, because in her acts we read that she caused to be buried in the Cemetery of Praetextatus, on the Appian Way, her husband Valerian, and her brother-in-law Tiburtius, who had been put to death before her. On the sarcophagus was sculptured a phoenix, symbol of the resurrection, so the artist here would seem, in placing the phoenix above Paschal I, to have been inspired by reading the acts of the Saint. The other personages are, on the left hand of the Saviour S. Peter and S. Paul. It is important to observe here that the figures of S. Peter and S. Paul are of the conventional types, found in all sculptures, on sarcophagi, in paintings and in mosaics. The two apostles have always the same physiognomy. S. Peter has a short-white beard, and short curly hair. S. Paul has a bald head, and rather long beard. In the oldest paintings of the third century in the Catacombs, in the Cemetery of Domitilla, and in the Museo Sacro of the Vatican are found the same traditional types. S. Peter carries the keys, S. Paul has a book, as the preacher. Next to S. Peter is a noble youth, probably Va-

lerian, the husband of S. Cecilia. Next to S. Paul is a female Saint, either S. Agnese or S. Agatha, probably the latter, as the convent was dedicated to her. The saints are in the midst of trees, palms and flowers, all symbolical of the mystical garden of Paradise. Below is the favourite scene of the Lamb with the twelve sheep, and the two cities of Jerusalem and Bethlehem.

Below is a long inscription, speaking of the restoration of the church by Paschal I. It says that the church adorned with splendid marbles (the word *metallis* so used means *marbles*) was founded by Paschal; that from the ancient church which had become too small, he had formed a new edifice, transporting thither the bodies of the martyrs which formerly reposed in the Catacombs (in cryptis) « Rome triumphs adorned with their sacred relics ».

The inscription is important, as confirming the statement of the Liber Pontificalis that Paschal I brought the bodies of S. Cecilia, of Valerian, Tiburtius, Lucius and Urban, from the Catacombs.

The altar, though much later, occupies the position of the altar in the early church, rising above the Confessio. Of the first altar some remains have been found.

The present altar is of the style called Cosmatesque, dating from the 13th Century. Pompeo Ugonio has read the inscription, and the name of the artist « Hoc opus fecit Arnulphus, » and the date 1283. The tabernacle is of the 13th century.

The altar has been partly restored by Cardinal Rampolla, who has also restored the decorations of the walls, the Cathedra, and the seats of the choir.

Of the early Church very little remains, beyond the apse and the altar, and some pictures which adorned the portico. We know that the portico was adorned with beautiful frescoes of the 12th century, but these were destroyed in some of the restorations, and now nothing is to be seen of them in the portico. In a Codex in the Barberini library — that splendid collection which has now, by the generosity of Leo XIII been added to the Vatican library — there are copies of these frescoes, representing the story of S. Cecilia's life and martyrdom. One of them was saved, in 1800 by Partenio, a learned Jesuit a lover of the sacred memorials of Rome. He took it from the portico and placed it in the interior of the church, where we shall now go to see it.

This small relic of the frescoes in the portico saved by Partenio as I have said, was believed to be of the 9th « Century, the time of Paschal I. » And I believe that in most of the guide-books, you will find it attributed to that century, whereas it must be assigned probably to the 12th. It represents the appearance to Pope Paschal I of S. Cecilia.

The Pope had gone to search for the body of S. Cecilia, in the Catacombs of S. Calixtus. He went into the crypt of the Popes, knowing that the body of S. Cecilia was buried in the near neighbourhood, but he could not find it, which shows that the Catacombs must then have been abandoned, and desolate. He therefore returned very sorrowful. When he was assisting in the holy office, at the basilica of S. Peter, seated on his Episcopal throne, a sweet sleep came upon him, and S. Cecilia appeared, and told him, as he says in a beautiful letter to the Roman people, that when he was in the crypt of the Popes, he was so near to her « that they might have talked together ». He thereupon returned to the Catacombs, and made further explorations, which resulted in his finding the sarcophagus containing the body of S. Cecilia, in that niche which you all know, and he conveyed it with great pomp and solemnity to the church. The fresco represents the Pope on his throne, and S. Cecilia appearing to him.

We will now descend below, to the Confessio.

We are now below the apse, in the Confessio of Pope Paschal I. which he built when he transported hither the bodies of the martyrs. This Confessio, or lower church is in the form of a hemicycle, meant to imitate in miniature the galleries of the Catacombs within the walls of the city. In S. Prassede there is also a corridor of this form, and in S. Valentino, on the Via Flaminia the walls have niches to contain lamps, lighted in honour of the saints. The same architecture is to be found in both these churches. In the church there were two altars - the altar at the Confessio and the high altar. At the former is celebrated the « *Messa letta* », at the latter high mass « *Messa solenne* ». An interesting inscription here speaks of the holy martyrs Tiburtius, Valerian and Massimo, and of their festa on the 16th April the day dedicated to them in the Calendar. This inscription was anterior to their transportation, probably it is of the 6th century, showing that while their bodies were still in the Catacombs, the church here existing (long before that of Paschal I.) celebrated their festa.

The altar is of a much later period. It was dedicated by Gregory VII. the famous Hildebrand, the greatest Pope of the Middle Ages, on the 3rd June, 1080.

Passing into the new crypt, we find a new Confessio, restored by Cardinal Rampolla. Behind the « fenestrella » of the altar are three sarcophagi; the highest contains the body of S. Cecilia; the one below those of S. S. Massimo, Tiburtius and Valerian; and the third, those of Popes Lucius and Urban. There are thus the bodies of six martyrs together. The sarcophagus of the saint is not the primitive one. In 1599, when Cardinal Sfondrato examined the body, he replaced it, not in the original

sarcophagus, but in that which we see. He found the body well preserved, and in the attitude which has been represented by Maderno in his beautiful statue, which the Cardinal commanded him to make. The position is exactly that of the body as seen by the sculptor. Cardinal Rampolla did not have the sarcophagus opened, fearing the action of the air on the remains. In the course of his researches, some fragments have been found of what may have been the original sarcophagus. Around the altar is very elegant decoration, all due to the munificence of Cardinal Rampolla. There are symbolic figures, and angels in stucco, with Valerian, Tiburtius, Massimo, and the two female saints, S. Agnese and S. Agatha.

On the opposite wall is the beautiful statue of Aureli. It represents S. Cecilia in the act of pronouncing the celebrated words: « *Fiat cor meum et corpus meum immaculatum, ut non confundar* » the prayer she may have uttered in this very place, in her own house.

Passing into the corridor, we find some remains of the old altar of the basilica, not the original, but that of Paschal I — some columns which formed the *tugurium* — also remains of the *Plutei* or balustrade, enclosing the *Schola Cantorum*, as may be seen at S. Clemente. There the *plutei* are even older than those of Paschal, being of the 6th century, in the time of Pope John II, 535.

The part in which we now are extends under the pavement of the basilica. Here we can see, as in the house of S. S. Giovanni e Paolo, the old level with remains of the earliest constructions. Remains of three epochs can be seen: 1) the Republican, 2) the Imperial, about the second or third century, and 3) the Decadence, in the fifth and sixth centuries. Here, as in the house of S. S. Giovanni e Paolo, the house was not a public building, but a private dwelling.

We now pass into a hall, the « *Sala nobile* » of the house of S. Cecilia, or it may be the family chapel. Here are some remains of pilasters belonging to the early house, or it may be to some neighbouring building.

The principal hall has been transformed into a small Museum with interesting inscriptions, and important sarcophagi. Many of these inscriptions, as has been said before, do not belong to this place, but were brought from the Catacombs with the relics. In the centre is a monument of the greatest interest, the fragment of a sarcophagus, which was found by Cardinal Rampolla fastened to the wall. On taking it down, it was found to have on the back a piece of sculpture representing the Good Shepherd. It is in the good classical style, the shepherd wears the classical tunic. At his feet are the sheep, and two trees on each side. It is not Pagan, but evidently represents the Good Shepherd. It has been assigned to the 2nd century, and

it is possible that it may have been part of the original sarcophagus of S. Cecilia in which her body was brought from the Catacombs. On the other side is an inscription, recording the translation of the body of the Saint by Paschal I. From the form of the letters it is plain that it belongs to the 12th century not to the 9th, as has been supposed though it may have been copied from an earlier one.

Around the walls are various inscriptions. Amongst these we may notice one in the beautiful letters of Pope Damasus, the epitaph of a woman « Priscia naigne deposita XIII. Kalenda ». We know that Pope Damasus only placed his inscriptions on the graves of the martyrs, or of some noble matron. We conclude, therefore, that Priscia was a noble Christian matron, who was a benefactress of the church.

There are other very interesting inscriptions, but it would take too long to examine them all.

There are also two Pagan sarcophagi, probably made use of by the Christians when there was a cemetery above ground, around the church. On the one is represented a banquet, of the Dioscuri; on the other a marriage scene.

Beyond this hall, we enter the interior of the house and here we can see part of the ancient house of the Republican time, a very ancient column of tufa standing in its original place. Here we look down on the level of Rome in the Republican epoch, while we are standing on the Imperial level. Around are some amphorae of the classical period, and an unknown bust, found in the excavations, and thought to be that of Demosthenes.

In the wall of the Imperial epoch was found a niche closed up, and within was a piece of archaic sculpture, representing the goddess Minerva, and two Bacchantes. From the form of the niche, it appears to have been an ancient *lararium*, or domestic chapel, such as is to be seen at Pompeii. It was probably closed up when the Pagan proprietor of the house became a Christian.

We see in the walls specimens of *opus incertum* and *opus quadratum*, and pass some pavements of black and white mosaic, on the way to a place containing cylindrical wells. This was probably the storehouse, and here grain was kept. This confirms the idea that we have here a large and handsome house, belonging to people of good position.

We now reach what was the real entrance, under the portico. Only a fifth part of the house has yet been explored. In concluding this brief lecture and short visit I would remark that the excavations due to the munificence of Cardinal Rampolla have confirmed our knowledge that there was here the house of a Roman patrician, which was incorporated with and partly transformed into a church, thus confirming the tradition

of the Acts of the Saint. In these ancient Roman traditions there is always a foundation of truth, and they do not merit the scorn with which they have been treated by some critics.

March 10th. — Sites connected with the earliest period of Grecian History by the Rev. FATHER P. P. MACKEY O. P.:

Of course in speaking of religion, Almighty God Himself taught us his worship, and confided the ancient mode of it to his chosen people; but when we consider the perfection that man has been able to give to his own intellect, how every tendency is trained to work in the order of knowledge, and in the actions of practical life — this, almost without exception, has come to us from the ancient Greeks.

Afterwards it passed through the civilization of Rome, and outside this, scarcely anything has been received the most part of our culture, the most valuable knowledge of human life, apart from its religious notions, is derived from this source. Hence there is a wonderful interest in investigating the life and surroundings of these two peoples, the Greeks and those of the Roman Empire. In the present day there is abundant investigation made of the remains of antiquity all over the inhabited world; but in many places we can only wonder what were the peculiarities of it. We find Lake dwellings, but we know nothing of the history and daily life of those who inhabited them. In the sites consecrated by tradition in Greece and Italy, we *know* what they represent; we are familiar with the beliefs, ideas, poetry, actions, and in a very great measure with the mode of living. Hence in visiting the sites belonging to these nations, we are enabled to give play to our imagination. The record is so clear, the task so fascinating, and it becomes even more interesting because of the light it throws on the inside growth of what is not yet ended, and still forms the principal part of modern culture.

To begin with: Ulysses was the central figure of the first place we visited, as he deserved to be, for he was this to the ancient Greeks themselves.

It was surely tempting to investigate what Ulysses considered the most beautiful « of all the lands that heaven o'erspreads with light » so Ithaca was chosen for a rest of several days. They were actually spent not in Ithaca — for the substantial reason that no ship could be found to approach it at this period of the year, but in a neighbouring island, mentioned by Homer as one of those, surrounding it, the island of Same, now called Kephallenia, whose monuments go back to the most remote antiquity. In this island are many of the cities known as Pelasgic, built in the polygonal style, and our first resting place was one of those mentioned by Homer, the city of Same, the capital of the island. We arrived at nightfall, unexpected,

but had no difficulty in being received. It is a little village of thirty houses, every one of which is a shop, and every one, as occasion offers, is an inn. There is a territory of forty miles square, and this is the centre of the whole district. When there is any gathering of shepherds, this is the only place where they can be provided with everything they need.

To our astonishment, we were received by the landlord's daughter, who spoke very fair English, which her father considered a useful accomplishment for this little village. She received us, and we passed the evening pleasantly with our host, and at 7 o'clock next morning began our exploration of the old Pelasgic city. It was sheer up a precipice that we had to climb, by a narrow winding path, with remains of fortifications all the way, though it was not till the very top that the real ruins are discovered. For their antiquity no age can be fixed, perhaps 1500 B. C. down to the time of the Macedonian Kings, and even to the times of the Romans. The first notable ruin on which we came was the Greek foundation on which had been built a monastery of the Greek Church.

We examined the remains, and, then went on to the city of Same, where there are glorious remains, belonging — it is said — to the time of Ulysses, when this was part of his kingdom. There are examples of the very highest interest of the Megalithic Pelasgic building, which cover about a mile. The wall is in some places nearly thirty feet high, with gateways and porticoes.

We paused for our rest inside a Cyclopean hidden door, now brought to light. In the shadow of the old tower we were able to examine the whole of the kingdom of Ulysses, the island of Ithaca, and those which crowd around it. Besides these remains, there are admirable constructions of the later Greek historical city, which was all but impregnable, till the Romans came, and successfully conquered it, and then till the time of the Turks, it had peace. Descending to the village, and resting on the terrace in front, we found an admirable spot for contemplating from below the island of Ithaca, and the territory of Ulysses. It being the month of August, the sea was a bright sparkling blue, and though we were three miles from the island of Ithaca, the whole scene was so clear that we could fully determine each spot, and recognize the scenes of the events narrated in the Odyssey. We could see the spot where Ulysses landed, the place where was the palace, full of the suitors, all as described by Homer, and in the sea midway between our island and Ithaca was the island where the enemies of Telemachus had laid an ambush to kill him before he reached home — a danger which he escaped by returning another way.

Further on a point in our own island of Kephallenia closed the view, and this point has an interest of another kind. It is called Cape Phiskarde. Robert Guiscard, the great Norman Conqueror of the South of Italy, the re-

lation and comrade of our William the Conqueror, established his sway in Calydon, and conquered Greece. He died at this spot, and was buried there, and it bears his name to this day, changed from Guiscard to Phiskarde.

Now we will take a leap, and find ourselves in another part of Greece.

We landed at *Missolonghi*, a modern town, and, as you all know the spot where Byron died.

We visited the garden, celebrated in connection with the siege, and saw a statue of Lord Byron, which is not much of a work of art. But it was not for this that we had come to Missolonghi; it was only a sleeping-place on our way to the towns most famous in the early times of Greek legend, *Calydon* and *Pleuron*. On every side here in Rome, on ancient sarcophagi and on basreliefs, we see representations of the boar hunt, in which the boar was slain by Meleager, with Atalanta at his side, and all the heroes of the period gathered round. This spot too is described by Homer.

« Where Calydon on rocky mountain stands,
Once fought the Ætolian and Curetian bands,
To guard it, those; to conquer, these advance,
And mutual deaths were dealt with mutual chance. »

Here is Aracynthos, the most picturesque of all the mountains of Greece, the very home of Cynthia. The Peloponnesus is separated from the North of Greece by a narrow Gulf, not more than a mile wide. On the North is the mountain of Aracynthos; on the South, that of Erymanthos, the mountain most imbued by the Greeks with poetical myths. Both have ridges rising very abruptly; both ranges are from thirty miles in length; both are fashioned in a succession of crags, wooded to the top, and filled with game. Here the ancient Greeks delighted to place the goddess Diana hunting on these mountains with her company of nymphs, passing from crest to crest. It is impossible to describe adequately the beauty of these ranges as seen in the light of day, and in that of the rising moon. As the moon tipped each crest, it was easy to imagine Cynthia herself passing from one to another. On the plain below stood the two rival cities of Calydon and Pleuron. In Calydon was born, and reigned as Quen, Althaea; here was born Meleager and his sister Alcyone. They and their city united with the city of Pleuron to destroy the boar which Diana had sent, and they collected all the great heroes, the sires of those whom we know in the poems of Homer. Thither came Theseus, Laertes the father of Ulysses, Nestor himself in his youth, as he loved to recall in his later age; and when the boar was killed, the cities began to fight.

These cities we wished to explore; a morning sufficed for the one, and an afternoon for the other, the distance between them being about ten miles.

The city of *Pleuron* is a climb of three quarters of an hour up a precipitous path. The walls still exist in the entire circuit of the city, and in various places they are from fifteen to twenty feet. The gateways are most massive, some of the best preserved in Greece. There is a theatre within the walls and various buildings have been discovered, and most strange of all, what the people call the prisons. Whether they were prisons or cisterns has not yet been decided by modern science.

There is a long cleft, forty feet in depth and fifty in length in the rock, lined with masonry, and divided into corridors, all in as perfect preservation as when it was left. The roof is gone, but there are the dividing walls between. It was certainly admirably adapted for prisons.

Travelling in August has this inevitable disadvantage, that the fatigue is very great. In the hours when one generally arrives at the ruins, from 11 to 12, the sun is very hot. There are no trees left on this part of the mountain of Diana so that no shade is to be found but by creeping under the walls. It becomes necessary to abandon many things because one does not feel courage for the undertaking. This was a site where one would most willingly spend an entire day walking from spot to spot, from the theatre to the agger, and from the palace to the prisons. But after two or three hours, one feels that the rest must be left for another visit to Greece.

Completely exhausted, we withdrew to the town and to our lodgings for a rest in the middle of the day, but by four o'clock we were ready to visit the city of *Calydon*, still more enshrined in the memories of the Greek and Roman poets. On these two cities so solemn and serious a writer as Strabo almost becomes poetical and enthusiastic. He says that in times of old these cities were the greatest ornaments of Greece. This was, no doubt, due — besides their tradition and history, — to their exquisite position on *Aracynthos*, the mountain of Diana.

We were more fortunate in our time for visiting *Calydon* than for *Pleuron*. The day was declining, and the varied lights of sunset gave a new beauty to the view. The city is built at the spot where the mountains come down on the Gulf of Corinth. A river flows from the mountains into the Gulf; pine trees come into view lower down, and every thing combines to make the effect in the highest degree romantic and poetical.

There again the walls occur, and for four miles they can be traced all round, though there are not many spots in which they are still high. We visited all with the greatest interest, and ended our inspection at the spot where a large terrace was built to support the temple built by Augustus in honour of Diana and Apollo.

The temple is gone, but the terrace is there in all its massive magnificence.

But these were not the only two spots visited from Missolonghi. We visited with ease the river *Acheloos*, the most famous of Greek rivers. It was produced — as the Greeks said, « it was born » — with 2999 other rivers. Of the 3000 *Acheloos* was the first and principal. The Greeks declared it was the ruler of all the fresh water to be found in Hellas. It was a mighty god, and it was the boast of families, as it had been of the demigods before, to be descended from the river *Acheloos*. The *Acheloos* was the father of the Sirens, and he was turned into a river by his weeping for their loss as they came to the coast of Naples. It was associated too with the feat of Hercules in the seizing of the Bull, and when he had successfully broken off one of its horns, it turned into a horn of plenty. It was indeed a great river in the memories of the Greeks, and we were determined to visit it and the wonderful city which lay beyond. We made, therefore, for *Acheloos*, and in doing so passed beyond the range of the ordinary visitor, to places where the advent of a stranger was an event, and where no provision was made for him. There is one town, *Aetoliké*, the last where visitors may be expected. The coast is most picturesque. There are numbers of islands, about fifty or sixty, some very large and some very small, and our journey was among fifteen or twenty of these islands, passing into the lagoons, where a cause way has been made, and in the centre is the city of *Aetoliké*, famous for the defence of its independence. At last we reached the *Acheloos*, and crossed the ferry, and landed at a place called *Katechi*, where there is a convent and a Byzantine Church built by *Theodora*, wife of the Emperor *Justinian*. This was a place of refuge granted to the widow of *Ali Pasha* after his death, when the independence of *Macedonia* and *Albania* was secured. A Colonel of artillery provided us with every thing for our journey, and invited us not only to take refreshment on our return, but to stay with him. This is the case in every place in Greece, when you come within the sphere of persons able to offer hospitality. We got one horse and a man to go to the City of *Aeniadae*. When the *Macedonian* kings conquered Greece, this was one of the strongholds of *Acarmania* and *Ætolia*. Philip of *Macedon* fortified it as one of his posts on the W. coast of Greece.

We had to pass through a swamp and climb a hill. At last we reached the ridge on which the city stands. It is needless to repeat the description of the different ruins. Each has its own charm, but in description the same words must be used. We visited the gates, of different proportions, colossal entrances to the city, and small exits for the soldiers in time of siege. We saw the remains of theatres and porticoes. When we reached *Katechi*, we found that the hospitable Colonel of artillery had provided an abundant meal, and when we departed he came, as in the olden time, with all the community to see us off.

We reached Missolonghi that night, and so finished for that year our visit to the territory of Acarnania, leaving fifteen or twenty cities of equal grandeur unvisited.

We stayed a short time at *Corinth*, to visit the spot where Pegasus was born. Those who have visited Corinth know that there is modern Corinth, old Corinth about five miles distant, and Acro-Corinth, which is a three hours' climb above it.

This was the spot where — if anywhere — Pegasus was born. The place identified with his birth is the well-known spring of *Pirene*. I will not weary you with details of so frequented a place as Corinth, but will simply say that we successfully reached the spring. On the highest summit is a small plateau, in which is sunk a hole twenty feet deep. At the bottom is the well from which Pegasus sprang. At another place we were to have visited, as you shall hear later on, the spring which gushed out from his hoof, as he sprang into heaven. This spring of Pirene is extremely curious, but there is no way of seeing it unless one goes down. The approach is by a ladder placed there 250 years ago, and some of the rungs are missing, and some are rudimentary. Considerable care is needed in making the descent; all the more because the water at the bottom is so marvellously clear that there seems no change between the transparent water and the transparent light, till you can touch the water with your fingers.

While at Corinth we visited the site of the Isthmian Games, which gave to St Paul material for his writing to the Corinthians that wonderful allegory of the strife in which « all strive, but one receive the crown ».

St Paul was writing to the Corinthians of that which was at their very gates, the great enclosure for the sacred games.

From Corinth we visited the mountain of Kithaeron, *Mount Cytherea*, the great hunting place of gods and heroes, still covered with forests abounding with deer, wolves etc. Here on this very range it was that Actaeon came on Diana at the pool, and was turned into a stag, and devoured by his own dogs. On this spot Oedipus, king of Thebes, was exposed by his parents to keep him from coming to Thebes to fulfil his destiny. And most important of all, this mountain was consecrated to the worship of Bacchus, or Dionysus. In Thebes was the place of his birth; his mother was Semele, daughter of Cadmus King of Thebes. With regard to the processions of the Bacchantes on this mountain, I have copied a passage from a modern writer which gives an admirable description. « This festival was observed every year along the slopes of mounts Cythæron and Parnassus. The spirit of the celebration was one of wild and ecstatic violence. It was held in vintage time, and the devotees — chiefly women — wandered over the mountain ranges, clad in fawn skins, with serpents in their hair. They

rushed along in various stages of delirious frenzy, clanging cymbals, blowing flutes, and pretending to hunt wild animals, tearing them to pieces and devouring the raw flesh ».

For such orgies no better spot could be chosen. There are ten miles of wooded ranges, filled with wild animals. There the women worshippers of Bacchus could satisfy to the full their ecstatic delirium. This was a very interesting and a very laborious journey, and very long. There is nowhere to sleep between Athens and Thebes, fifty or more miles. We made our midday rest near the Pass (the very spot crossed by the Bacchantes in going from Cithaeron to Parnassus) in a little khan or small tavern, where we had shelter from the sun.

After taking some needed rest and refreshment we set out to explore the city of *Eleutherae*, which disputes with Thebes the honour of being the birth-place of Bacchus. There remain the walls of the fortress. It is small, but excellently preserved, the walls almost intact. It is not very great in extent; we visited each spot, and returned to the khan before the horses were ready. As evening was drawing on, we climbed up to the top of the Pass, from which the view is beautiful on every side. We descended to the plain of *Plataea* so famous for the battle of Epaminondas. Thebes is a great name, and we expected to find some sort of a corresponding greatness in the place. But this Thebes is not the city of the seven gates. The site of the earlier city lies outside the present one, in a spot chosen by Cadmus. Here it was that he sowed the dragon's teeth, and the Thebans sprang up. Here was born Semele; and here came the earlier personages of the heroic age. Afterwards it became the city of Oedipus and Antigone. We looked for the ancient remains. The site is full of interest, but the ruins are so much concealed by other constructions and by rubbish that there is scarcely anything which answers to the ancient city.

I should like to tell you of one of the objects of our visit there, *Mount Helicon*, of singular interest to all lovers of Greek myth for here the muses were born.

I should like to have spoken to you of mount Olympus, but that must be deferred to another occasion.

March 17th. — The Rev. J. GORDON GRAY, D. D. read the following paper on *The Sacra Via*:

The subject, which I have been led to choose for discussion on this occasion, will have seemed to those who know it best a somewhat pretentious one for any one but a Boni or a Lanciani to handle in the present state of our knowledge with respect to it. It is not so long ago since Comm. Boni himself, in giving a demonstration in the Roman Forum before members

of this Society, began by declaring that the *Sacra Via* was one of the most difficult problems in the Roman Forum. And yet he is the man of all others that has in his hands the elements for its solution. But for the falling in of the Campanile of St. Mark's we should have had in our possession his official reports on the House of the Vestals, the *Sacra Via*, the Basilica Emilia, a/ the Church of S. Maria Antiqua, the Rostrum, the Vulcanal, as we already have had his *Stele*, his *Sacrarium* of Vesta and his *Sacrarium* of Juturna. On the authority of the honourable De Martino, a well known Italian deputy, it can be affirmed that « we are now in the position of re-constructing from the summit of the *Sacra Via* to the Capitol, and from the Palace of the Caesars to the Basilica Emilia, topographically, chronologically, scientifically the august area, on which has been enacted the political life of Rome from the most ancient times down to those of the Empire. »

While that is undoubtedly true we are in the position of waiting still for the true re-constructor to set up under our eyes, stone upon stone, the splendid structure, which his singular skill and incomparable patience have worked out. All that we have is the merest outline of results. So much it is necessary to say in introducing, at such a time, the subject announced, lest more should be expected from me than the circumstances can possibly warrant. The most, that I can profess to do, is to give a brief summary of our past knowledge of the *Sacra Via* and place side by side with it the outline of recent discoveries in regard to it, so far as they have come within my reach.

One of the first things that needs to be well understood by us is the actual length of way, to which the term « *Sacra Via* » applies. It is the opinion of those most competent to judge that, strictly speaking, we should limit it to the portion of the celebrated way that leads up from the point where the Forum ended, between the Regia and the Temple of Faustina to the summit of the Velia, in a line with the present site of the Arch of Titus. Any one placing himself to-day a little towards the Northern end of the Arch will see at once where « The Summa *Sacra Via* » touched the highest point of the Velia, before ever the Arch spanned it. The summit was manifestly lower at the earlier period than the later by several feet. And the Arch itself cannot have been where it is now, if it was actually on the *Sacra Via*. It is quite possible to see the means taken to set the Arch on a higher level answering to the adjoining platform, which was prepared by Hadrian for the double Temple of Rome and Venus. The precise line of the *Sacra Via* lies before us, gradually deflecting from the Maxentian Basilica, where we come up opposite to its vestibule and passing under the platform of the great double Temple of Hadrian. Recent excavations have shewn that it did not pass over the Velia in the line of the central axis of these Temples. Its line was considerably more to the South but stopping short by one fourth of the

distance between the Church of *S. Francesca Romana* and the Arch of *Titus*. There can be no longer any doubt that from the Temple of *Faustina* to the ridge, on which the Arch of *Titus* stands, though at a somewhat lower level, ran the *Sacra Via* as known to the poets, the statesmen and military leaders of the earliest Imperial period. It was down that very descent, may we not say on these magnificent lava blocks (?), that *Horace* walked when he describes in his IX *Satire* his sufferings at the hands of a loquacious and impertinent acquaintance of the most casual sort: « I was accidentally going along the *Via Sacra* », he wrote « meditating on some trifle or another as is my custom and totally intent upon it. A certain person, known to me by name only, runs up and having seized my hand, with a how do you do, my dearest fellow? » *Horace* then describes how he tried in vain to shake him off. At length he tells us that « they came to *Vesta's Temple*. » That seems to suggest that the celebrated shrine was actually on the line of the *Sacra Via*, but all that it need imply is that they were just at the point, where they were fully in view of it by that very road, which leads off from the *Sacra Via* to the left to-day.

If we thus limit our conception of the true *Sacra Via* to that comparatively short portion of the famous way, beginning at the *Velia* and coming down to just where the *Regia* ends, we find the explanation of the term « sacred » as applied to it. All, that was most bound up with the religious life of the times, had its centre there. At the very summit of the way was the house of the *Rex Sacrificulus*. As one descended the slope, the *Domus Publica* was passed on the left, where the *Pontifex Maximus* had lived, until his functions had been absorbed by *Augustus*. The house had then passed over to the *Vestals*. The *Regia* itself was the great centre, where was transacted all the business connected with the religious services, not only in the various temples of the *Forum*, but throughout the City. Just a little way beyond the *Regia* was the Temple of the *Vestals*, and behind that again the *Sacrarium* of *Juturna*. There was no piece of road in Rome or outside of it that had such associations of a religious character, in close contact with it, as this that connected the *Regia* with the *Velia*. It was pre-eminently their *Sacra Via*. And yet the term is found applied more or less to the whole line of road from the *Sacellum Streniae* in or near the *Carinae* on to the *Arx*.

The exact site of the *Sacellum Streniae* is as yet unknown. It was a small shrine, somewhere on the lower slope of the *Esquiline*, sacred to the goddess of new year's gifts. The quarter of the City in which this shrine stood, is spoken of as the *Carinae*, a name given to it on account of the keel-shaped houses of the better classes, or as we would say now-a-days, houses with gables, a form of Roman house so unusual as to suggest the application of the word keel to it.

At or near the Sacellum, according to Boni, there was a wood of laurel, out of which the augurs, on new year's day, brought fresh leaves. The first part of the way led from this shrine through the declivity, where afterwards stood the Colosseum, up the slope to the Summa Sacra Via on the higher ridge of the Velia. That was the first section of the great road, coming out on the ridge more towards the centre of the space between the Arch of Titus and the Church of S. Francesca Romana.

The middle portion of the Sacra Via, from this highest point of it on to the Regia, continued on through the Forum on its Northern side, skirting the Basilica Emilia, dividing the Forum from the Comitium and then in its third section passing up the slope of the Capitol, somewhere near the site of the Arch of Septimius Severus, between the Temples of Saturn and Vespasian, on to the great Temple of Jupiter, where the augurs used to meet the processions and give forth their oracular sayings. The recent discoveries, which go to prove this more Northern line of the Sacra Via, through the Forum, are about to be given to us by Comm. Boni. Thereafter we shall have to give up the old line of the Sacra Via that used to be traced from the end of the Faustina Temple across the Forum in front of the Regia, past the steps of the Temple of Castor and Pollux, across the Vicus Tuscus and along the whole Northern side of the Basilica Julia. After the setting up of the Heroon of Julius Caesar this cross-section of the Sacra Via, according to the old idea of its track, had to be advanced so as to form the boundary of the Forum on the side next to the Temple of Vesta and the Regia.

While we are yet waiting for the full evidence as to this direct line taken by the Sacra Via from the front of the Basilica Emilia along the whole of the Northern side of the Forum, we have been told by Comm. Boni what enabled him to find its true direction. It was the discovery of the course of an early drain, running under the pavement and one of the 16, which he has found in the Roman Forum. There have been also discovered portions of the old pavement itself in front of the Basilica Emilia, which leave no doubt as to its direction.

What we used to suppose was the original level of the Sacra Via in front of the Heroon of Romulus and the Basilica of Constantine has now been proved to be no other than a portion of the Triumphal Way, that was set in order for Charles the Vth in the beginning of the 16th century. At a lower level the actual stones of the original Sacra Via have now been laid bare, all the way up the slope of the Velia from the North-West corner of the Basilica to the point, where they pass under the great platform raised by Hadrian for his Temple of Rome and Venus. One has only to look at their great size, their polygonal form and the careful way, in which they have been laid,

to be assured that he is standing on a very early section of the celebrated road. The only other section of the way, which can at all be compared with this portion recently brought to the light, is that, with which we have been familiar for some time, on the *Clivus Capitolinus*. It is the most perfect piece of basaltic pavement that has come down to us. It would seem to owe its excellent state of preservation to the fact of its having been covered by the steps of the Temple of Saturn after one of its re-constructions. The *Clivus* of the *Sacra Via* to the *Velia*, as now revealed to us, is not far behind it. But it is at the actual summit of the way on the *Velia* that we find most light thrown on its direction and on its relation to other well known roads. The branch road, which led up to the *Palatine*, can now be most clearly traced. It might well have been the main road that gave access both to the *Domus Transitoria* of Nero and the *Flavian Palace*, possibly also to the *Domus Augustana*. In the direct line of it there may yet be found some trace of the *Porta Mugonia*. The excavations, in the upper part of the slope, have not yet revealed any older road than the paved one that branches up from the Arch of Titus, whose pavement we trace again leading up to the *Lararium* of the Palace of the *Flavii*.

Quite near the Arch of Titus we can see how the *Via Nova* came up from behind the House of the Vestals and joined on to this *Palatine* road, branching off from the *Sacra Via* and became from that point the *Summa Via Nova*. The actual site of the celebrated Temple of Jupiter Stator, above the Arch of Titus and facing in the same direction, appears now to have been ascertained. Any one, who is familiar with the old maps of this section of the *Sacra Via*, not going further back than 1877, when Mr Nichols published his valuable work on the Roman Forum, will see at once how much our views have become modified. The *Via Nova* is set down as coming up from the *Sacra Via* just opposite the spot, where the celebrated necropolis has been found, past the end of the *Atrium Vestae*. The Temple of Jupiter Stator is represented as being on the opposite side of the *Sacra Via* from the *Heroon* of Romulus, with the House of Tarquin behind it and the *Mugonia Gate* and the grove of the Vestals still further back, but on the line of the *Via Nova*. What will bring out perhaps more strikingly than anything else, how even such able investigators as Mr Nichols were groping in the dark as regards many points, until the spade had done its work, is the place given by him to the Arch of Augustus. Every one knows it now, as on the side of the *Heroon* of Julius Caesar, next to the lane leading through to the *Juturna Fountain*. No one blames such men for having fallen into mistakes of that nature from stray allusions in the classical authors. The lesson to be gathered from it is one of caution in our theories in regard to the still uncertain sites.

There was an Arch, which stood on the Sacra Via, just where the Clivus to the Velia must have begun, near the Heroon of Romulus. Fragments of it have been discovered. It was erected in the year 633 U. C. (122 B. C.) in honour of Q. Fabius Maximus, the victor of the Allobroges, the ancient inhabitants of Savoy. It must have been a well-known object at the foot of the Clivus Sacer throughout the great days of the Republic and into the early imperial period. It had no great proportions, for Crassus the orator used to say of Memmius, « he thought himself so great that he could not enter the Forum without stooping his head at the Arch of Fabius » (Lanc. R. and Ex.). These words of Crassus certainly suggest that the Arch stood at the entrance to the Forum on the side of the Regia. And that quite coincides with one of the recent discoveries of a paved way between the Regia and the Heroon of Julius Caesar. The area, occupied by that Heroon, was taken from the Forum in the time of Augustus, so that it was perfectly possible for one to enter the Forum passing through the Arch of Fabius.

If we take our position at that Arch of Fabius, where the Sacra Via proper may be said to have begun, it is possible for us to look along on our right to the Temple of Vesta, the Vicus, leading to the Juturna Fountain, could have been seen before the mass of the Heroon of Caesar obstructed the view, and the Regia itself is just at hand. To Romans of the Republican and Augustan ages that must have been the most sacred spot in Rome. On the other side of the Regia, between it and the Atrium Vestae, there was a Vicus rather than a Via, which passed down at an angle from the Sacra Via past the Temple of Vesta, under the Arch of Augustus, by the steps of the Temple of Castor and Pollux, across the Vicus Tuscus and along the Basilica Julia. Even so recently as 1897 Prof. Lanciani, in his *Ruins and Excavations of Rome*, has traced the direction of the Sacra Via along this route between the Temple of Vesta and the Regia. Even had the road been much wider at this point than it is, it turns out that no evidence has been found of the polygonal blocks of the true Sacra Via. The direct route therefore through the Arch of Fabius into the Forum must be considered to be the true one.

As we take our stand there at the Fabian Arch and look up the Clivus Sacer, what buildings can be taken as having lined the slope on each side in the early Imperial times? No doubt that is a far easier question to put, than it is to answer. Very probably it will be found that the very position of the pre-historic Necropolis on the edge of the way is but an additional confirmation of its actual line. Such is the supposition of Comm. Boni in his article in Harper's Monthly Magazine of the current month. He bases it on the well-known fact that the Romans buried their dead from time immemorial along the extra-urban roads. He adds the further fact that some noble fa-

milies erected along the upper portion of the Sacred Way monumental Tombs, which remained there till a comparatively late epoch. Then there are those prison-like cells which line the road a little nearer to the Heroon of Romulus. The Heroon itself we do not need to take into account, as it came in only at a considerably later date. Opposite it on our right there have been found « portions of an Imperial building with pierced walls, which would seem to show it to have been a guard-house. » Those cells on the opposite side of the road are in keeping with this and suggest that there we are at the guarded entrance of the Forum.

As to the buildings, which stood on the ascent after we pass the Heroon of Romulus, there seems to be a difference of opinion, with no exact data as yet for a decision. The *Horrea piperataria*, or store-houses for the preservation of spices, are supposed to have been somewhere on this slope where the road leads off to our left and the ruins of the great Basilica of Maxentius begin. On the opposite side other *Horrea*, or grain-repositories are placed, but the dates for such buildings do not answer to the early Imperial period. Prof. Lanciani in his *Ruins and Excavations* occupies the upper part of the Clivus on the right with the jewellers' and goldsmiths' arcade, or the *Porticus Margaritaria*. More light is needed to be thrown on this part of the Clivus and there is only one man that can do it. We wait Signor Boni's full presentation of the facts.

As we move up towards the summit of the Clivus we can see just exactly where it passed over and down towards the spot, occupied afterwards by the Colosseum. It is made quite plain to us that the crossing of the Velia was at a lower level than afterwards, and also that the direction was almost in the line of the main axis of the Colosseum. The Arch of Titus spanned it in that very line and must have been taken down and lifted to the side at a later period. Hadrian's Temple of Rome and Venus is generally admitted to have been the cause of these important changes. Anyone looking along the basement of that great platform as well as the under-structure of the Arch can see that a common cause was at work. The same kind of material is found all along. The special elevation of the platform, on which the double Temple stood, is attributed to the celebrated architect Apollodorus of Damascus, the designer also of the magnificent Forum of Trajan. It was carried out so as to command the Sacra Via and also afford sufficient room for the scenery and machinery used in the amphitheatre. On the Colosseum side of this extensive ruin it can easily be seen how well it served the purpose of storage. Looking down from it towards the Forum one cannot but be struck with its commanding position.

The actual removal of the Arch of Titus from one site to another need not greatly astonish us, as there is evidence that it was taken down

and set up again within the past 100 years, the actual date being 1822, when it received the strong casing of travertine that knits it now together. As is well known, the only parts of the original arch that remain to us form the inner lining of pentelic marble with its two classic reliefs. Much interest is now centred round this Arch, because of further discoveries, which are supposed to be at hand. « Behind the Arch », says Comm. Boni, in that same article to which I have already referred, « I have begun to excavate one wall of the Temple of Jupiter Stator, built in fulfilment of a vow made to Jupiter by Romulus, when praying for help to enable the Romans to stand their ground against the Sabines. The classical writers place it near the Mugonia Gate of the Palatine, at the highest point of the Nova Via near the highest point also of the Sacra Via and within the limits of the fourth region ». To this Prof. Lanciani adds the further fact that « in precisely this position do we find it in the famous pictorial bas-relief of the Haterii, exhibited in the tenth room of the Lateran Museum ».

The discovery of the actual site of Porta Mugonia must be at hand. As far as I could gather from a visit to the spot on Friday last the celebrated gate of the original City has not yet been traced. Its site is of special importance in connection with the Sacra Via. For Comm. Boni seems to believe that the Summa Sacra Via originally descended the Palatine slope from the Porta Mugonia, and he refers to « the beautifully laid polygonal blocks with which it was paved, upon which signs of rust left by the sliding of car-wheels may still be detected. Some pieces of the ample kerbstone that flanked the Palatine slope have also been found in position ». If he can find other evidence on this point, and who shall say that he will not after all the recent confirmations of his hypotheses, then it will be established that the Sacra Via in its oldest period came down the slope of the Palatine along the ridge of the Velia, down past the Regia between it and the Heroon of Romulus and Temple of Faustina, straight through the Forum, past the celebrated Lapis Niger, on to the Vulcanal Rock, of which Boni says: « The early founders of Rome had hewed that altar of Vulcan which constitutes the most venerable monument of Rome, of Italy and possibly of the Aryan world ». That will form an additional reason for the extension of the term Sacra to the Capitol end of the famous way and will entitle us to say that it first took its rise there, near the shrine which is identified with the compact or covenant between Romulus and Tatius. The prolongation of the Sacra Via from the Vulcanal to the Arx and Capitol is perfectly intelligible, as the Capitoline became nearly as important a part of the growing City as the Palatine itself. Certainly the Sacra

Via, even in its latest history, must have ended on the summit of the Capitol at the approach to the great Temple of Capitoline Jupiter.

It is not so easy to determine with certainty the point, from which it began in the best times of the Empire. We have said at the outset that the Sacellum Streniae has been usually taken to be its starting point, somewhere on the lower slope of the Esquiline. When the Colosseum came to be built, it must in that case have passed round the Esquiline side of it up the slope of the Velia, at a point almost equally distant from the pedestal of the Colossus of Nero and the Meta Sudans, through or beside the Arch of Titus, until the full view of the Palatine and Capitoline, with the Forum lying between, broke on one's view. A magnificent road it must have been, whether we think of its marvellously fitted blocks of lava in regular polygonal form, or the memorable buildings that lined its course.

But chief among its associations from first to last were those of a religious character. All the most prominent monuments of the ancient Roman worship were found along its route: the Sacra Regia, the Aedes Vestae, the Fons Juturnae were either along it or in its immediate vicinity. The greatest Roman of them all had his Temple Tomb as it entered into the Forum, the Comitium and the Forum alike skirted it, if we take the line of it supported by the most recent excavations. The tomb of the very Founder of the City was in the line of it. The ashes of their farthest back progenitors lay close to it at its most important point. Not only are we now in a position to follow the exact route of the great triumphal processions of the close of the Republic and the beginnings of the Empire as we have never been able to do before, but we are brought closer to the religious and civil life of the great Roman people in their best days. With good reason the last and greatest of Rome's excavators may claim that « the Sacred Way of the Romans which some modern critics were content to exhibit as it was till recently an ignoble traffic-scored mediaeval road-way of roughly rounded stones, running in front of the mighty Basilica of Maxentius, dedicated to Constantine the Great, now lies before us as the symbol of the corporate civil life of Rome, running through the Forum as a river through a lake, resuming at the exit its initial course and name. »

May we not add that it links together all the great elements in the Roman religion and gives to them a unity that we had not seen so manifestly before, bringing new light to bear, as Boni concludes his article on the Roman Forum in *Harper's Monthly*, on « the inner life of the great people, who so long ruled the ancient world and who in household, in temple and burying ground had ever present a deep sense of the unbroken harmony and unity underlying the ceaseless transformations of the Universal Energy ».

March 24th. — Mr W. St CLAIR BADDELEY delivered a lecture on the Jews in ancient Rome, of which the following is an abstract:

The connection of the Jews with Archaeology here, is an indirect one, and must remain so. They have not, that is to say, contributed aesthetic or architectural features to the monuments of Rome. We have no statues, pictures, or buildings, to which the student can devote attention as representing the Hebrew element in the development of Roman Art. We only see Jewish connection with Art indirectly, and through the medium of Christianity. But « Christianity » is of course, primarily a Jewish fact, just as Buddhism is an Indian fact. The literature of early Christianity is not of European origin — it is a series of sacred books forming the Bible, such as no European race has ever produced or ever will produce; the sacred books of the Jewish nation were imported with the people themselves into Rome, — Rome which was to be the cradle of Christianity born of Palestine. In this sense Christian art is indirectly Jewish art, because it is inspired by conceptions and ideas which are due to Hebrew inspiration, and illustrative of Hebrew genius, of its organised religion, far elevated above any of the formless polytheisms of the old Latin races, which, to us, at this distance of time, merely excite our wonder that they could have secured so long a lease of life among intelligent people, — so lacking in vertebration do they appear. The parting between Judaism itself and Christianity came about; but the inspiration of both remained transformed, however it may have become essentially, not of Greek or Latin, but of Jewish, origin. Differing, and separating more and more widely with the lapse of centuries, both yet have this central original bond of union; and both at the end of nearly 2000 years have survived struggles and persecutions which nothing but devotion to infinitely sacred ideals, could have enabled them to do.

I have therefore thought that the subject of the early Jews in Rome is one which, while of course interesting, might be treated a little more fully than we usually find it in our books, and deserving of a lecture before this Society.

The year 167 B. C. presents us with a convenient date, remarkable for a very critical juncture in the affairs of the Jewish people. Antiochus Epiphanes (Epimanes — i. e. the madman) having been driven out of Egypt by the Romans while laying siege to Alexandria, determined to vent his chagrin upon the Jews in Palestine. He had refrained from no atrocity, in order not only to subjugate the people, but to extirpate their religious rites and to supplant them by Hellenic polytheism. The firmness and solidarity presented by the Jews under their brave Maccabean Prince, Judas, after great struggles, succeeded in driving the invader out. He died raving mad in 164. The temple and Sion were purified by national expiatory sacrifices, the inde-

pendence of the Hebrew people joyfully proclaimed, and the worship of Jehovah was restored. Unfortunately for the Jews, after this success, in order to secure the future of their national integrity, they felt it necessary to seek Roman friendship. Accordingly, an embassy was sent to Rome in order to effect a treaty. No sooner was it signed than Judas Maccabeus fell in battle. His brother and successor, Jonathan, sent a fresh envoy to Rome to have the former treaty confirmed. As the Romans were a strong people with large appetites and the Hebrews were a small earnest people, with dangerous neighbours, the wise-heads on the Capitol must have quickly divined the significance to the Republic of this « friendship ». The strange thing was that the Jews apparently did not. The chief event to the Romans, and doubtless also to the inhabitants of Palestine, was the fall of Carthage (B. C. 146). Another embassy to Rome on the part of the Jews, headed by Simon Maccabeus, emphasises their desire to keep close to their all-powerful ally. Simon ruled as a Pontifex Maximus in the Holy City; he was High Priest, as well as Prince, of the Jews; and while Rome was now digesting Egypt and Carthage, under Simon's son, Hyrcanus, and his grandson Hyrcanus II, the people of Samaria, — the domestic rivals of the Jews, — were compelled to submit to hard conditions from them. The Romans not unwillingly, re-confirmed the former treaties of friendship, and Jewish settlers no doubt were admitted in the Capital. We have no valid reason indeed for doubting that it was at this early period in the 2nd Century B. C. that Jewish merchants found favour in Rome, and a Jewish mercantile community became formally established there.

Now it is usually said in Books about Rome that the Jews in Rome owed their original settlement there to the Israelite prisoners brought thither by Pompey after the sacking of Jerusalem, B. C. 63. But besides its manifest unlikelihood we have substantial literary evidence to point to the contrary; — evidence, moreover, showing that the part of Rome in which the Jewish, and perhaps every other alien settlement, was located, — was situate beyond the Tiber — i. e. in *Trastevere*. And to that I shall return immediately.

Here the lecturer stated the causes of the first Jewish rupture with Rome and the loss of Israelitic independence.

Aristobulus, deprived of his sovereignty, was carried prisoner of war, with his son Alexander, and many more of his party, — to Rome; while Hyrcanus was given nominal authority without either real power or even the name of king. The national liberties were gone; the Independence had lasted barely 100 years; and henceforward the struggles of the descendants of these vanquished Princes of the Asmonean dynasty to regain power, was the main (though not the only) source of the future troubles of the sons of Abraham.

Now it is out of these very events that we can derive our weightiest evidence of the length of time the Jews in Rome had been *there* settled, and proof that it must have been a very considerable one. Lucius Valerius Flaccus who had acted with Pompey in Asia, and had lately been Governor of the province of Asia Minor, — was impeached in B. C. 57. by D. Lelius and others, for having during his Governorship, received bribes and misappropriated various public monies. Among the charges against this Warren Hastings, a principal one was to the effect that he had taken the Aurum Judeorum from several Jewish communities there — that is the Temple-tribute of half a shekel of two drachmas. Cicero, the most polished twister at the Roman bar, together with his former rival, Hortensius, — undertook the defence. Both were then living on the Palatine. One part of the « Pro Flacco » Oration, successful, as it proved, enough to make us feel quite sure that Flaccus was down-right guilty.

If Pompey had only five years before brought the first Jews to Rome, with Aristobulus, Cicero could not have adverted, as he has done, to their taking part in public assemblies, for that indicates that many were free-born (*ingenui*) and enjoyed full rights of Roman citizenship, although they were precluded the right of addressing the assembly and could as yet possess no land in the Capital. It is, moreover, manifest that the defender of Flaccus alluded to the fast-knit fraternity and organisation of the Jewish settlement in *Trastevere*, a people who had already thoroughly adapted their customs and habits at least, to the laws of Rome. We are shewn therefore, that the Roman Jews were already a large and influential community, consequently long-established there.

But we gather still more! Cicero evidently thinks them good game to attack, and well worthy of his polished weapons. They swarm at the Aurelian Forum (some plebeian place of assembly, the site of which has not been accurately determined), — the advocate has to reckon with their evidence and that of their friends: they surround the Judge's chairs: he says, he fears they may drown his voice, — so he speaks low to secure a proper hearing! — Could any evidence more patently declare to us the condition and numbers of the Jews already settled in the capital of the world? We may also rest assured that, owing to Pompey's late war with them, numbers had emigrated and had found their way to this vast all-absorbing centre, with its multiplicity of ideas and interests, and above all, its toleration in respect of alien religious cults. It is true that Pompey had desecrated their Holy of Holies by entering it; and since then, Gabinius had robbed some of the treasures from its cellars, but Pompey had, all the same, taken care that the national religion should not be interfered with, and this must certainly have inspired confidence in them. At Rome both emigrants and prisoners

would be far better off than among the contemptuous Greeks or the jealous Egyptians. In any case the more serious of the children of Israel must have perceived only too clearly that, like the Carthaginians, like the Etruscans, like the Greeks, — that their country and its inhabitants were being absorbed into the growing bulk of the far-reaching Cosmopolitan monster.

They, too, were to take upon themselves this same « cosmopolitanism » ; to take it as a virus, the more vehemently in proportion to the strength of their strong-set hereditary character.

They were destined, as it were, to settle down into parasitism, flourishing in dense groups among the joints of the monster, and now and then causing him a climax of irritation, with singularly fatal results to themselves.

That they flourished however, and obtained both from Julius Caesar and from Augustus privileges well worth having, is shown by the fact that in the reign of the latter their numbers were reckoned at above 9000, or two thousand less only than their numbers here to-day, and that they were permitted to reside in all parts of the Empire and of Italy. Further, the lamentation of the Hebrews at the funeral pyre of Caesar is described as having been the most demonstrative of all.

As however, we do not hear of them under Hebrew names, it is legitimate to conclude that they had already adopted the custom they still observe, of taking place-names. When we hear of a signor Pisa, signor Milano, professore Perugia, we know at once, that the individuals so designating themselves, are Jews. And this, I venture to think, should throw light upon the often vexed question as to the significance of the name which occurs in Horace's 5th Satire, (i. v. 100) that is of Judeus Apella.

If we look across the page of History we shall find that the spokesman of the Alexandrian Jews received by Caligula A. D. 37, in the Lamian Gardens, was called Philo Judeus, and that Dante's Hebrew friend and enthusiastic admirer in Rome, was Giuda Romano — otherwise Judeus Romanus. Judeus Apella, the superstitious, wonder-loving individual referred-to by Horace, probably hailed from the town of Abella, now Avella — renowned then for its excellent apples. In its very neighbourhood I have encountered Hebrew *commis-voyageurs* bearing the very similar names of signor Avelino and signor Aversa. Abella and Apella are indeed identical, the P. and B. interchangeable as in Poplicius and Publicius of old. Possibly Judeus Apella was a fashionable fruiterer like Solomon, or an apple grower with whom Horace and his friends had dealings as well as jokes!

But, although Rome had proved tolerant of Jewish beliefs and customs, it is evident that the Jews were not permitted at first to gain over Italian proselytes. As far back as B. C. 139, the Procurator Peregrinus ordered a

number of Jews to leave Rome within ten days for having disobeyed the regulations in this matter.

Mommsen says « even at this time the predominant business of the Jews was trade. The Hebrew trader moved everywhere with the conquering Roman merchant then, in the same way as he afterwards accompanied the Genoese and Venetian; and capital flowed in on all hands to the Jewish, by the side of the Roman merchant ».

Throughout the reign of Augustus, as the book of the Acts of the Apostles testifies, the Jews lived in enforced peace under their Roman masters, and we hear of nothing taking place in Rome itself to interfere with or interrupt their status and religion there, although we may be sure that the old dissensions between orthodox and unorthodox, between Pharisee and Sadducee, which was barely controlled from violent outbreaks in Jerusalem itself, was also faithfully reflected among the community in Trastevere.

When however, we come to the Life-time of Christ, — to the reign of the second Emperor Tiberius, — we find the Jewish Prince Agrippa a guest of that Emperor in Rome, and the intimate friend of Drusus, the Emperor's second son.

After the fall of Sejanus, Agrippa (who had carefully avoided falling into the nets of that intriguing statesman) nevertheless fell into disgrace with Tiberius, owing to a derogatory and ungrateful remark respecting that Emperor's too-long lease of life, which was overheard by a charioteer who was driving Agrippa and the young Caius Caligula. He was placed under guard and remained so for two years; but he was released by Caius in A. D. 37, and the new Emperor presently nominated his friend to be king of a portion of Judea, that is seven years after the date of the Crucifixion.

At this time, the Jews in Rome are well accounted for by the writings of one of their own nation — namely Philo Judaeus, who presently arrived in Rome on an especial embassy.

The first audience accorded the envoys by Caligula took place in the gardens of Agrippina, on the site of S. Peter's. After the Jewish embassy had saluted him obsequiously, he sent his officer to them to say he would receive and hear them on an early occasion, and at once went off like a rocket to Puteoli Thither they followed the Emperor, with great trouble and expense endeavouring to gain over his freedman, Helicon, who required assiduous bribery. A messenger now informed them that orders had gone forth for a colossal statue of the Emperor, destined to be put up in the Holy of Holies, at Jerusalem itself. On his return to Rome, while his Palatine Palace was rapidly rising, he resided on the Esquiline in the Villa formerly belonging to Maecenas and surrounded by the magnificent Lamian Gardens. Here, while giving orders for various improvements to be made, he received the

Deputation. There he showered abuse upon them, making everything Jewish a butt for his foolish witticisms.

Among other things Philo reminded Caligula that his predecessors had respected the Jewish nation and their religion in all times, and not only in Rome, but in all the Roman Provinces.

From this intimate testimony it is clear that hitherto the Jews had attained an eminent status in Rome, and had lived peaceably under the Imperial laws.

But, four years later, A. D. 41, with the advent to the throne of Claudius, a new and perilous trouble threatened the peaceable residence of the Jews in Rome. No doubt, the success, as it were, gained to their cause with Caligula, had made them not a little proud, and possibly rather scornful, of their local enemies! If so, this pride was truly a precursor of the inevitable fall. Factions, long-threatening, began to break out between the Jews in Rome.

In a short while, the conflicts grew so notorious, that the Magistrates felt called upon to refer the matter to the Emperor. Claudius, thereupon, issued an edict forbidding certain assemblies of the Jews: bidding them abide by the Laws, and not despise other religions. Over those who actually raised sedition, hung the threat of instant expulsion. The Jews were not expelled from Rome as a body: neither then, nor later. Now, in the light of this rebuke and Imperial edict, let us turn to the services of Christian evidence!

If we look now in the Book of Acts, c. xviii, verse 2, we find a curious piece of evidence regarding the Christian Jews in Rome. « After these things Paul departed from Athens and came to Corinth, and found a certain Jew named Aquila, born in Pontus, lately come from Italy: because that Claudius had commanded all Jews to depart from Rome: and (he) came unto them; and because he was of the same craft, he abode with them, and wrought: for by their occupation they were tent-makers. And he reasoned every Sabbath and persuaded the Jews and the Greeks. And when Silas and Timotheus were come from Macedonia, Paul was pressed in the spirit, and testified to the Jews that Jesus was Christ. And when they opposed themselves and blasphemed, he shook his raiment, and said unto them: — « Your blood be upon your own heads. I am clean: from henceforth I will go unto the Gentiles: » and he departed thence, &c.

I think, in conclusion, that if we think a little over the course of the events sketched in this lecture, we shall be able to form a fair notion of the condition of the Jews in Ancient Rome, and perhaps be able to be more just to the merits of this law-abiding, and later most shamefully-persecuted people, than it seems usually possible to be.

On 14th April the late lamented Mr SEARLE conducted the members over this so called Villa situated on the left bank of the river Anio.

Attention was drawn to the great extent of the buildings which for 200 yards follow the river bank rising with massive buttresses to a great height. Then the arch which covered the ancient « Via Tiburtina », the Cortile with its numberless columns and the temple of Hercules Victor with its beautiful Mosaic pavement (now alas destroyed!) were inspected.

Copies of many of the inscriptions found by Professor Galli and recorded in the « Notizie degli scavi » January 1887, were shown, all bearing witness to the purpose the building served. It was the Club-house of the Herculean or Tiburtine Augustales. The cippi of these locally dignified « Libertini », which once lined the corridors, have found a resting place in the Museum of the Terme in Rome, while the headless statues in the attitudes of Grecian orators and philosophers are scattered about Tivoli.

In early records a mystery was attached to this building and it was called the Palazzo Vecchio. In the 12th century the church and convent went by the name of S. Giovanni in Votano. In the 16th century the architect Pirro Ligorio gave it the name of « the Villa of Maecenas » under the impression that Horace's nineteenth ode in the III book was addressed to Maecenas here, instead of Maecenas in Rome.

The building had no resemblance to « a Villa » and two inscriptions found here and now in the Museum of the Pio Clementino show it was a public place and that the arching over of the Via Tiburtina was done by the aediles at the expense of the town.

Mr Searle then led the company to another site on the right bank of the Anio and a mile higher up, just opposite to the great fall which Horace calls the « praeceps Anio. »

Here were shewn the ruins of a villa of the age of Maecenas.

This he thought might be the Villa to which Seneca refers in « de Providentia », III, 9.

« Mero se licet sopiat et aquarum fragoribus avocet et mille voluptatibus « mentem anxiam fallat, vigilabit in pluma. »

About two hundred yards off is the building once a « Nymphaeum » then altered to a dwelling, which has always been associated with Horace and which meets the description of Suetonius :

« Vixit plurimum in secessu ruris sui Sabini aut Tiburtini, domumque « ejus ostenditur circa Tiburni luculum. »

The intimacy between Maecenas and Horace may be studied in the following passages :

Epodes, I, IX.

Odes, book, I, od. I, XX.

» II » XII, XVII, XX.

» III » VIII, XVI, XXIX.

Epistles, book I, ep. I, VI, VII, XIX.

On the 21st of April the Archeological Society visited Bracciano, and MADAME GAUTIER read a paper concerning the history of the Castle and adjoining country.

The Castle which has been so well and judiciously restored of late years by Prince Odescalchi, was thoroughly visited, and great interest was shown in the frescoes discovered a few years ago on the side of the arch leading to the principal courtyard, and which was closed up and used as a chapel till quite recently.

These frescoes painted in 1491 by Antonazzo romano, pupil of Melozzo da Forli, represent incidents in the life of Gentile Virginio Orsini who was then Lord of Bracciano, and who employed Antonazzo and his scholars to ornament the castle.

In the first fresco, Gentil Virginio is represented on his white charger at the head of a troop of seventeen horsemen, all, like himself, in rich armour, while behind them come infantry also armed cap a pied, and in the back ground other troops of horsemen are seen descending the hills, and crossing the valleys. Virginio as *condottiere* of all the army holds in his right hand the *bâton de commandeur*. All the details of the armour, and of the horse's trappings are very interesting and instructive.

This scene represents Orsini at the head of the Aragonese army of King Ferdinand of Naples, at Bracciano, on the 27th October 1489. The following scene represents Virginio receiving at his castle of Bracciano his nephew Piero dei Medici who came to Rome in November 1487 with his mother (Clarice Orsini, sister of Virginio) to bring Maddalena his sister as bride to Franceschetto Cibo, son of Innocent VIII. Piero appears as a youth of some sixteen years, and his dress as well as those of his courtiers present the characteristics of the Tuscan costumes in the last half of the xv century. The cardinal who stands behind Virginio is Cosimo Orsini, and the boy close by him is Carlo, Virginio's son. It is thought that Antonazzo has represented himself in the personage, last of Piero's suite, who is partly hidden by the cornice of the window.

The interior of the castle was also richly painted by this Mastro Antonazzo and the pupils whom he brought down with him from Rome in 1491, and although many of the frescoes have partly perished, and others

were hid under the laths and plaster of the 18th century, enough has been recovered and restored to give us a very good idea of its original condition. The designs of arabesques, wreaths of flowers and dancing children alternate with the bears, the roses, the spur, and the eel or waved band (significative of Anguillara) which are all heraldic devices of the Orsini, while the balls of the Medici, and the lion holding the pear between his paws of the Peretti, recall the alliances with these powerful families.

The twelfth hall contains series very curious frescoes probably by a pupil of Antonazzo, recalling somewhat the style of Pisanello. The subjects are mostly mythological, but also are taken from the mediaeval legend of the « Fontaine de Jouvence », and in one of them is represented the beautiful fountain called Sepali, and erected at Viterbo in 1279 by Orso Orsini when he was Podestà of that city.

The castle was originally built by Napoleone Orsini in 1470-80, perhaps by the same architects who had just constructed the Palazzo di Venezia at Rome: Giacomo da Pietrasanta, Meo del Caprino, and Giovannino dei Dolci; the external walls and fortifications were added later by Paolo Giordano Orsini in 1560-70.

The site of the keep was occupied up to 1449 by a fortress erected there many years previously by the powerful Lombard family of the Prefetti di Vico, to whom the place then belonged but from no early remains having been found on the spot, it is probable that there was no settlement there in classic times in spite of its commanding position above the lake. This was called Lacus Sabatinus by the ancients, and like to many other lakes in the neighbourhood of Rome is the crater of an extinct volcano. Its circumference is some twenty miles, its breadth about six.

The investigations of Monsieur Desjardins of the French Archeological School in 1859 have led to the conclusion that the ancient town of Sabate was on the site of the modern village of Trevignano where ruins of Etruscan and Roman masonry may still be seen. Indeed all along the shores of the lake are remains of walls and reservoirs presumably belonging to the villas which stood thickly along its shores, for it was easily approached from Rome by the Via Clodia which branched off from the Via Flaminia soon after the latter had crossed the Tiber — by the Ponte Milvius — now Ponte Molle.

The celebrated Baths of Aquae Apollinares — at Vicarello — a corruption of Vicus Aurelius, are close to the lake about 6 miles from Bracciano. The remarkable votive offerings found there in clearing out the springs in 1852 prove that these waters which are still used, were known from the very earliest times, and an interesting account is given of them in Professor Lanciani's « Ancient Rome ».

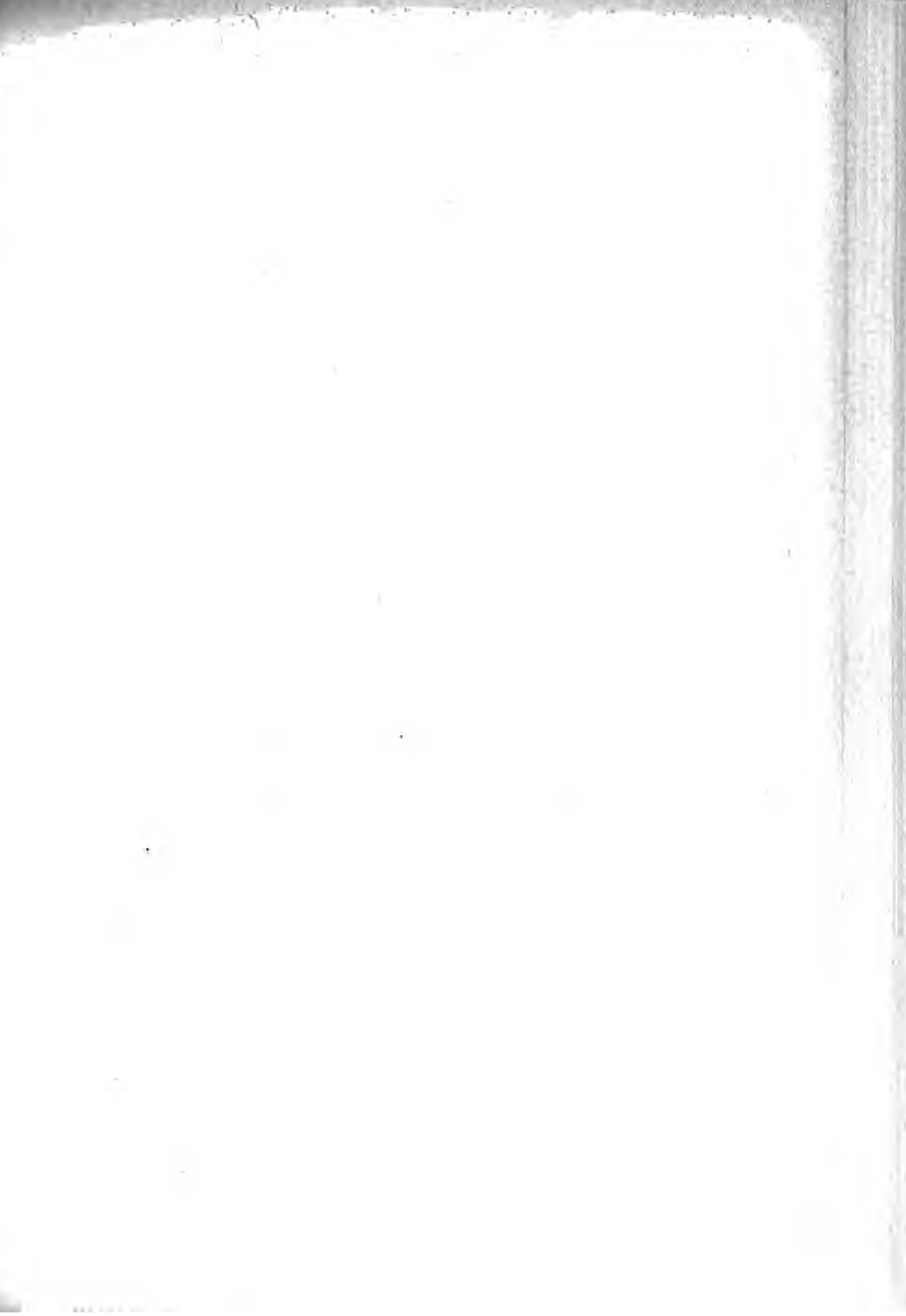
At San Liberato near the foot of the hill of Bracciano, on the way to Trevignano have been found inscriptions proving that here was Forum Clodii, and also a beautiful villa belonging to a lady named Mezia, and called Pausilippon because the lovely situation resembled the landscape of Posilippo near Naples.

Other Roman remains of Baths, and the foundations of a circular temple, sacred perhaps to Esculapius, are said to exist in the neighbourhood of Anguillara, the town which stands so prettily at the other end of the lake, on a projecting angle of ground. From this position some authorities would derive its name, while others suggest that it comes not from « angularum », but « anguillarum », not from angles but from eels for which the lake is famous, and that the waved cross beam in the Orsini escutcheon would thus represent the eel of Anguillara. It gave the title of Count to a branch of the Orsini family, and came into their possession in 1492 by purchase from Franceschetto Cibo.

The earliest mention of Bracciano is in a document of 1232 when it belonged to the ancient family of the Prefetti di Vico, from them it passed to the Orsini, and after the death of Flavio the last duke of Bracciano, it was purchased by Prince Livio Odescalchi in 1696. In 1803 the property was sold to the Marchese Giovanni Torlonia, but with « jus redimendi », and in 1861 it was redeemed by Don Livio III Odescalchi and has ever since remained in the undisturbed possession of this celebrated Roman family.

Since publishing the Annual Report, last May, the Society was bereft of two more Members and valued friends.

We announce with profound regret the deaths of Mr. Frederick A. Searle of S. Antonio, Tivoli, a senior Member, who during his long connection with the Society never let a Session go by without lecturing or demonstrating before its subscribers, and if his papers, chiefly on the antiquities of Tivoli which are now scattered in our Journals were collected, would make a most interesting handbook to the ruins of that city; and of Mr. William Lambé B. C. S. late Hon. Secretary of the Society who also contributed to the advancement of the Institution by his various gifts and donations. He died suddenly at Perugia on the 12th of last May.





JOURNAL
OF THE
BRITISH AND AMERICAN
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF ROME
WITH LIST OF MEMBERS

Session 1903-1904

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Distributed to the Members of the current Session.  
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ROMA
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THE BRITISH AND AMERICAN
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF ROME
ESTABLISHED 1865.

ROME — 72, Via S. Nicola di Tolentino — ROME

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The Society exchanges publications with the undermentioned Institutions.

The Society of Antiquaries of London.
Royal Institute of British Architects.
Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology U. S. A.
Cambridge Antiquarian Society.
Oxford Architectural and Historical Society.
Glasgow Archæological Society.
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Royal Society of Antiquaries Ireland.
Owens College Manchester.
Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters.
New-York State Library.
University of California, Berkeley.
Geographical Society of California.

The following serials are received by the Society.

Notizie degli Scavi dell'Accademia dei Lincei.
Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects.
Bulletin of American Geographical Society.

BRITISH AND AMERICAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY

OF ROME

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ANNUAL REPORT — SESSION 1903-1904.

The Session now closing has been a very successful one. For the first time after a number of years, the subscriptions and entrance fees from members and associates, and interest from the capital invested have been sufficient to cover all expenditure without any aid from outside, viz. without the yearly donation which used to be generously contributed by the late President of the Society, and the special lectures which it had been customary for some time past to have every year in aid of the Society's funds. This highly satisfactory state of affairs has been chiefly brought about by the recognition of the Society on the part of the Italian government to whom the Committee cannot but feel extremely thankful.

The Library was as usual opened for the use of its subscribers on December 3rd, and the first meeting of the Session was held in one of the large saloons of the Hôtel Continental on the 12th of January 1904, His Excellency the Rt. Hon. Sir Francis L. Bertie, G. C. B. British Ambassador to Italy, Hon. President of the Society, being Chairman.

The inaugural address was delivered before a large and appreciative audience by Mr. H. Stuart Jones, M. A., Director of the British School of Rome, who dealt most successfully with the fascinating subject of the « Ara Pacis Augustae ».

Twelve more weekly meetings were held during the Session, of which a list is herewith appended; and it is gratifying to remark that attendance thereat was much more numerous than for many years past. Only the number of single tickets sold to non-subscribers was smaller than last year.

Seven new members have been elected, three failed to pay their subscriptions, while the number of Associates continues to be nearly the same

of last year, viz. 54. Subscribers are therefore again requested to point out to their friends here, in Great Britain and in America, the advantages offered by the Society.

The accounts for the year ending April 30th, audited by the Rev. D.^r J. Gordon Gray and D.^r W. Fenwick, after payment of all liabilities, show a balance in favour of the Society of lire 234. 40; the capital invested in Italian 5 per cent, being 5000 lire.

The Society has derived much encouragement and advantage from the assistance afforded by its English-speaking friends who kindly delivered lectures and gave demonstrations before the Society during the Session, and has again to express its high appreciation of their valued services, as well as of those Italian savants who have so obligingly given their assistance and whose names are appended to this report.

It is with deep regret we have to chronicle the death of Capt. C. Crammond Dick for many years a member and a warm friend and supporter of the Society. The sad event took place at his villa at Cannes last autumn.

The Journal of Proceedings for the Session (Vol. III, n. 6) is now in preparation and will be published next November.

The following additions have been made to the Library during the Session:

By gift:

From D.^r Chas Orton: Carlo Fea: *Acque e acquedotti di Roma*.

From the authors:

Comm. G. Boni: *Bimbi Romulei; Dalle origini; Quadrantal; Il metodo degli scavi; ecc. Aedes Vestae*.

R. W. N. Cryan: *Wanderings in Crete and Thessaly*.

From Miss Briggs: *Handbooks to Germany*.

By purchase;

R. Lanciani: *Storia degli scavi di Roma*, vol. II.

On behalf of the Committee.

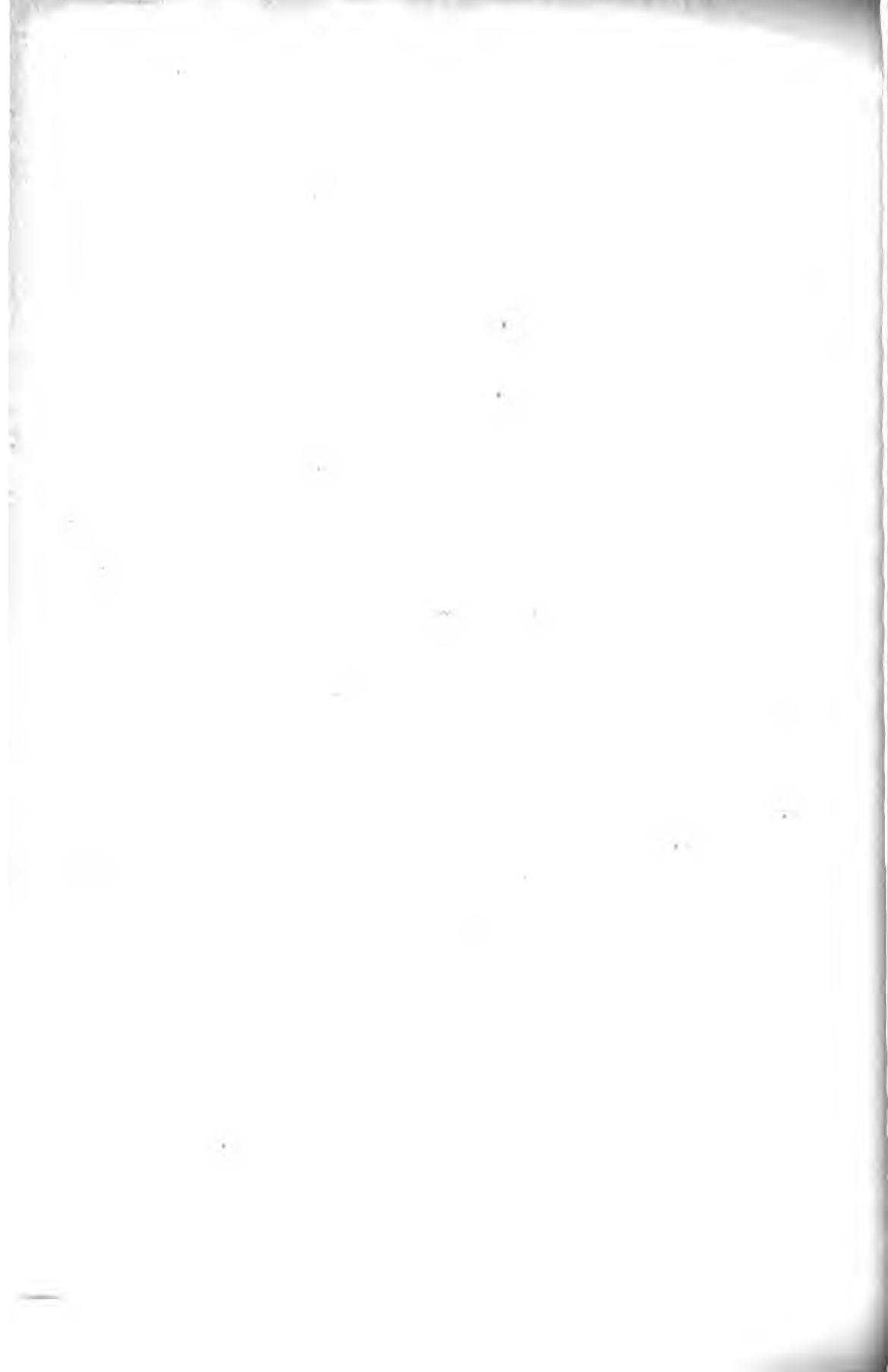
Rome, 26th April 1904.

R. H. BORG

Hon. Secretary and Librarian.

List of Lectures and Excursions.

1. H. Stuart Jones Esq. — The Ara Pacis Augustae.
2. T. Ashby jun. Esq. — Roman Villas in the Campagna.
3. Comm. G. Boni. — The Sepulcretum.
4. C. Orton Esq. M. D. — The Waters of Rome.
5. Rev. J. Campbell Wall. — Mosaics in the Christian Basilicas.
6. W. St. Clair Baddeley Esq. — Dante's Emperor in Rome.
7. Ing. M. E. Cannizzaro. — San Saba.
8. Rev. J. Gordon Gray, D. D. — First Christian Oratory in Rome.
9. Contessa Gautier (née Hamilton). — The Tombs of Rome.
10. Rev. Father P. P. Mackey. — A journey in Thessaly.
11. Prof. W. F. Smith — Rome as seen by Rabelais.
12. Prof. G. Tomassetti. — Excursion to Albano.
13. Sig. G. Gatteschi. — Excursion to Hadrian's Villa near Tivoli.



SESSION 1903-1904

The opening Lecture of the British and American Archaeological Society was delivered on Tuesday, Jan. 12th 1904 at 3 p. m. by H. Stuart Jones Esq. M. A., Director of the British School. The chair was taken by H. E. the Rt. Hon. Sir Francis L. Bertie G. C. B., H. B. M.'s Ambassador to the Quirinal.

His Excellency briefly introduced Mr. Stuart Jones, who said:

Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen; before beginning to discuss the subject of my lecture, I wish to express, in the fewest possible words, my gratitude to the British and American Archaeological Society for the honour they have done me in inviting me to address the first meeting of their 39th Session. When I knew of the invitation, I selected a subject which I thought would interest the members, because it is a subject which at the present moment is attracting attention as one of the newest discoveries in Rome. I also hoped to illustrate my lecture with a magic lantern and slides, but this was found to be impossible, and I have to ask your indulgence that I cannot illustrate it otherwise than by photographs, which I fear will not be visible to every one and by two copies of a volume of plates representing the panels, which will be passed round in the course of the lecture.

I will now begin at once to discuss the subject of the lecture, the Ara Pacis Augustae. *See my MS. notes on the Ara Pacis, Vol. 104-III.*

In the summer of the year 13. B. C. Rome was eagerly awaiting the return of the Emperor. For three years the capital had been without a sovereign; the Court and Society without a centre. In 16. B. C. Augustus had left for Germany to repel the invasion of the Germans. The conquest was an easy one, and did not include any very striking success. Germany was subjugated, and the hill tribes of Spain were driven back. Tiberius and Drusus were successful in the campaign in Eastern Switzerland and the Tyrol, celebrated in two of Horace's finest Odes. In the moment there was peace, and Augustus set his face towards Rome. The 2^d Ode of the

Fourth Book of Horace reflects the feelings of the moment; Augustus passing with his train of German captives along the *Sacra Via*. The honours of a triumph had been offered to him in B. C. 19, but declined. In 13 B. C. on the morning of the day fixed for his public entry, Rome awoke to find that the Emperor had returned during the night. His first act was to lay a wreath of laurels on the altar of Jupiter Capitolinus. Augustus would accept no personal distinction, it was therefore decided to raise an altar to Peace. It was voted on July 4th which became a permanent festival in Rome.

Now as to the religious significance of the act. Rome was then the living centre of Greek genius, which at that time showed itself in the worship of pure abstractions. Thus there was a Temple of Concord near the meeting-place of the Roman people; and in the market place itself were statues of Peace and of Hope. The Empire infused a new spirit into these abstractions, conferring on them a new epithet — *Augustae* — which may be translated by « Favoured of heaven ». The old gods of Rome became incorporated into that new divine order which was the Empire. The form of the recognition of divinity was not a temple, but an altar; the primitive tradition thus coming down to the age of Augustus. The old sites were always consecrated by an altar. There was the *Ara Maxima* of Hercules, the *Ara Consi* of the Circus Maximus, and the *Ara Martis* in the Campus Martius. Greek influence is shown in the temple beside the early altar. With the establishment of the Empire, the altar again became the favourite form. Besides the Altar of Peace, there were raised in the reign of Augustus an altar to the Fortune, the *Providentia Augustae*, and another to *Spes, Ops*.

Nor is this preference to be attributed wholly to the calculated antiquarianism of Augustus; it is to be found also in the great Hellenic worship in the East of which the most famous example is the altar of Pergamos.

We will now turn to the history of the discovery of the *Ara Pacis*.

It was erected in the Corso, then the *Via Flaminia*, 35 yards to the East of the Solarium, now the obelisk of Monte Citorio. The *Ara Pacis* took three and a half years to complete, and was dedicated in B. C. 9, on Jan. 30th, which was henceforth kept as a festival in the Roman Calendar. We read of it in Ovid, in the records of the Arvales Brotherhood, and in the Calendar of the time of Claudius. After this we hear no more of it till the 16th century. In the fourth century the church of S. Lorenzo in Lucina was built, and it was there that Damasus was elected Pope in 366. Within the graveyard attached to this church the altar stood and was probably destroyed in the building of the church. The Cemetery was partly excavated in 1872, when tombs of the 8th century were discovered. It was not till the 13th

century that the palace was erected by Hugh of Evesham, titular Cardinal of S. Lorenzo in Lucina. The church and palace were altered and enlarged in later years, and the building now occupying the space from the Via in Lucina to the Piazza of that name was called Palazzo Fiano, from the fact that until lately it was the property of the Ottoboni, Dukes of Fiano. In laying the foundations fragments of the altar, or rather of the enclosing wall came to light, but were not preserved. In 1584 Cardinal Andrea della Valle sold five reliefs, three of them certainly belonging to the Ara Pacis, to Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici, when they were walled into the garden front of the Villa Medici, and were sadly defaced by a restoration in stucco.

In 1568 a letter from Cardinal Ricci of Montepulciano, the agent of the Medici, to the Grand Duke Cosimo, describes ten large slabs of which eight were for the Grand Duke, and two to be kept in the palace. The number of pieces excavated is thought to be eighteen.

Of these the greater number were sent to Florence, where they are to be seen in the Uffizi. One is in the Vatican, where it can be seen in the Cortile Belvedere, others were in private collections, and one is in the Louvre.

To facilitate transit, the panels which were decorated on both sides were by the Cardinal's command sawn in two lengthwise, the outside being figures, and the inside festoons of fruit and flowers and ox skulls. Fourteen years later, one of these fragments was set up in the Gesù having on it the funeral inscription to Monsignor Poggi.

No more discoveries were made until 1859, when it became necessary to strengthen the foundations of the Palace, when one important slab was found, and several of the ornamental designs. These were set up in the vestibule of the Fiano Palace.

In 1898 Prof. Pasqui found an important fragment of the head of Mars; further excavations revealed the plinth, and the core of the altar and the steps.

In 1894 Prof. Petersen had worked out an ingenious restoration from the excavated fragments, which has turned out to be correct in a number of particulars, though of course not in all. In 1902 the Italian Government decided to undertake the necessary excavations to determine the question of the Ara Pacis, and Prof. Pasqui and Sig. Cannizzaro were entrusted with the direction of the works.

I will now describe the monument as it has been restored to light.

In the centre is the altar on a platform approached by five steps. Only the tufa constituting the foundations has been discovered and a few fragments of the marble facing. Only a metre from the lowest steps, leaving a very

narrow passage, is a wall of solid marble surrounding the altar. It is not quite square, rather rectangular 11 1/2 metres on its longest side, parallel to the Via Flaminia, 10 1/2 metres on its narrowest side. Two doors, 2 1/2 metres wide, give entrance on the East and West. This was a surprise, for we thought naturally, as Petersen had done, that there would be but one entrance and that from the Corso, whereas the principal entrance is on the further side. On one point we have got no light. Petersen supposed the whole monument was surrounded by a colonnade, enclosing the inner precincts. There is no indication of this colonnade, and the probabilities are greatly against it.

One of the most remarkable facts revealed by the excavations is, that as early as the third century the level of the Campus Martius had risen so much that it was necessary to build a brick retaining wall, from which seven steps descended to the level of the Ara Pacis. There is no sign of closing by a door — the open doorways may have been significant of the safety Peace brings with it. On the threshold of the Eastern entrance is one of the *tabulae lussoriae*, used in playing games, of which specimens may be seen in the Basilica Julia and in other parts of the Forum. In the Museo delle Terme a part of the Ara has been reconstructed, showing the wall resting on a marble plinth — this is visible *in situ*. The marble wall was crowned by an entablature.

On the outer side of the wall are two bands of decorative work of unequal width, the lower being deeper than the upper. There are two ornamental pilasters at the extremities and on each side of the door. The inner band is composed of festoons of fruit and flowers, with skulls of oxen and the *patena* introduced among them. Of the two bands on the outside facing of the wall, the lower is a composition of symmetrical vegetable ornament of a conventional form. Springing from the central group of acanthus leaves, the stems go turning and returning, and ending in flowers and palmettoes. A considerable part of this ornament has been reconstructed from fragments now in the Palazzo Fiano. In each the symbolical swans are found perching on the flowers that spring from the acanthus. Small lizards and frogs are seen creeping between the flowers from branch to branch. Prof. Lanciani has a theory to account for these creatures. He goes upon the story told by Pliny that the architects of the Portico of Octavia, Saurus and Batrachos, not being allowed to sign their works, put these creatures instead; and he finds here, in the lizards and frogs the same significance.

I fear, however, that this theory is untenable. Saurus and Batrachos lived in the 2^d century B. C. and were therefore not contemporaries of Augustus. Also Vitruvius gives us the name of the architect, Hermadorus.

The story of Pliny, I hold to be a tale told by a cicerone to explain the lizard and frog. These, as a matter of fact are common in decorative sculpture. There is a capital in the church of S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, which furnishes the same story as the Portico of Octavia.

With the reliefs of the *upper* band, the difficulty of reconstruction begins. In the 16th century there were discovered eight large panels, four belonging to one procession, and four to another. The difficulty lay in the direction. There was no evidence to show at which side of the altar the procession entered. It was supposed that it entered toward the Corso, but recent excavations have shown that it must have entered on the West, and proceeded in that direction. Another fragment belonging to the frieze is a slab found in 1859, and now in the Terme. It represents the sacrifice of a sow. At the right stands the altar, shadowed by an oak tree; at the left on a hilly eminence are two seated divinities, whom Petersen suggests are the Penates of Rome. The sacrificer in another slab recently discovered is not Augustus, but some bearded figure evidently ideal, for beards were not worn in the Augustan period. It may personify the Senate of Rome, who decreed the altar. One of the slabs found in 1568, and preserved at Florence, has a beautiful figure of a seated goddess holding two children in her lap. She is seated on a rock, at the foot of which oxen and sheep are grazing. There are two figures of nymphs, one on a swan, the other on a sea monster. This divinity has been interpreted as Tellus, the Earth Goddess, celebrated by Horace in the « *Carmen saeculare* » written only four years before the Ara Pacis was begun. Two panels walled up in the Villa Medici and badly restored represent the oxen being brought to the sacrifice, and the act of sacrifice. To this belongs another fragment discovered in the present century representing a head of Mars, and another Deity supposed to be Bonus Eventus, Good Luck. From the movement, these slabs must have occupied a position in the upper side on one of the doorways. There is a difficult question about the two pairs of panels, and which side they occupied. It seems as if the Villa Medici slabs occupied the West wing, that in the Museo delle Terme on the West front, balanced by the relief of the Earth Goddess. Passing these debateable questions, great historical importance attaches to the processional frieze. In the first place the question arises, what is the procession represented? Does it represent the progress of the Emperor and Senate in B. C. 13, when the altar was voted and the site chosen? Or the procession when the altar was dedicated in B. C. 9? Or the annual sacrificial ceremony, which we know from the Ancyra monument took place at the Ara Pacis? I think the most probable conclusion is that the procession is strictly ideal, and that no special moment was thought of in selecting the figures.

The less interesting frieze is that on the North front. We will consider that of Augustus and his family later. The Northern shows the magistrates, the Senate and people of Rome. Here the heads have mostly been lost, while in the other they have been a modern restoration. The loss is not so very great; the procession is not specially interesting.

Passing from the line of togged figures, we come to the South front, where we have Augustus and the great dignitaries of the hierarchy, and Augustus and his family.

In the recent excavations fragments have been found belonging to the part in front of Augustus — the lictors and a figure with the toga over his head whom Petersen calls the *Rex Sacrorum*. Almost at the head is Augustus himself, the full face being given. He walks between two Consuls. Augustus is represented as possessing perpetual youth. He was then more than fifty. He wears on his head the *Apex*, or closely fitting cap with the spray of olive which was distinctive of the *Flamen*, the priest probably of the Divine Julius. He is wreathed with laurel, as befits the priest of the first and greatest Emperor.

Behind Augustus are three more of the priests, two wearing the *Apex*, and possibly the third.

Behind them are two more priests with the *Apex*. Then there is a freer space, and then a young attendant carrying the sacrificial axe, the sign of the *Pontifex Maximus*. After this comes the most fascinating and difficult series of portraits. It is exceedingly difficult to determine who they are. In the first place, we must ask, who would naturally be there? We should, of course, expect to find Livia, the consort of Augustus — but who else? when the *Ara Pacis* was being decorated, the designated heir of Augustus was Agrippa, his son in law, and after him Caius and Lucius, his grandsons. After them came his two stepsons, Tiberius and Drusus, Tiberius married, without children; Drusus married, with two or three children. While the *Ara Pacis* was being constructed, Agrippa died, and his widow was married to Tiberius, so we are not sure that Agrippa would be represented. It has been supposed that an elder figure, with veiled head, represents Agrippa, but it does not resemble his statue in the Vatican.

The suggestion of Bendorff is that this is an ideal representation of Julius Caesar, which would give an ideal touch to the whole procession. If so, the ideal figure would represent the divine Julius, with the toga over his head as *Pontifex Maximus*; and the child clinging to his skirts would be Caius Julius Caesar, the son of Agrippa, and the second heir to the Imperial crown.

On the other hand, if we choose to believe the veiled figure to be Agrippa, the child would still be his son, but there would be a special ap-

propriateness in supposing it to be a younger Julius, who is clinging to the skirts of the great Dictator.

After these come two figures male and female, probably representing Tiberius and his wife, Julia or Vipsania, we can hardly say which. Of the group in the centre, a slim youth with a sword hilt half concealed by his toga or robe of a General, may be Drusus. The military costume reminds us of the brilliant series of campaigns which he was carrying on beyond the Rhine when the Ara Pacis was constructed. The two boys, one in front and one behind, would be his sons Germanicus and Claudius. Among the family group following the last is the figure of a lady who may be one of the nieces, Antonia or Marcella. A male figure, possibly the grandfather of Nero, and a girl, one of his daughters, Nero himself being too young to be represented.

This is as far as we can be certain of the portraits, and perhaps rather further.

Now let us consider the place these reliefs occupy in the history of art. This was the highest achievement in sculpture of the Augustan age. Roman art introduced new elements into what it had borrowed from Greece. The Greek genius underwent a change from what it had shown itself in the great centres of Hellenic culture, Alexandria, Antioch, Pergamos, Rhodes. It lost its individuality, but maintained its mastery over technique while it lost the striking features of the great age. This is seen in the altar of Pergamos and the Laocoon. As a reaction against the bizarre, they began to reproduce and imitate the works of the great period of Pheidias. The spirit of art had vanished, but the old mastery of technique was not lost, witness the decorations from the house in the Farnese gardens, and the silver from Bosco Reale and Hildesheim. The workers of the Augustan age borrowed from the higher art. The Augustan works were carried out by Greek workmen. The two systems of ornament can both be seen — the older conventional Greek classical, and the naturalistic.

These two elements can both be seen in the Ara Pacis. On the outer facing of the wall we have the conventional classical acanthus, then there is the naturalistic element, the festoons and flowers show a technique which has the traditional mastery as shown equally in clay, silver or stucco... Greek art lost something in its transportation to Roman soil. In the splendid statue of Augustus from Prima Porta, with the symbolical reliefs on the cuirass, in the silver vases of Bosco Reale, and in the friezes of the Ara Pacis, the art of Rome has risen to the height of its opportunity — but there is a difference between the joyous carving of the Parthenon and the solemn movements of the Ara Pacis — the difference existing between the joyousness of the Attic race, and the gravity of the ruling race of Rome.

The lecturer concluded by quoting some lines from Virgil, where the words applied to the triumphs of the Emperor can be applied also to those of the Imperial art.

Sir Francis Bertie moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Stuart Jones for his interesting lecture.

January 19th. — Roman Villas in the Campagna, by T. ASHBY Jun. M. A.

Dr. Oxtenham, in introducing Mr. Ashby said « It has always been the custom in this Society for the lecturer to be introduced, however well known he may be. I have the pleasure of introducing Mr. T. Ashby, as I have done before on more than one occasion. Mr. Ashby is so well known that his name is sufficient assurance that what he says in his lecture will be well worth hearing. Without more delay, I will ask Mr. Ashby to deliver his lecture.

Mr. Ashby said: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, — what we know of the Roman Villa is chiefly of the Villa of the Imperial period, as to the origin and development of the Villa during the Republican period, our knowledge is exceedingly small. This knowledge has been summed up by Herr Schmidt in an article on Cicero's Villas in a German publication. The villas all preserved the same character, and from the descriptions given by Cicero in his correspondence, full of interesting details, we can draw a clear picture of what a Roman Villa was.

The word *Villa* may first be dealt with. It comes from *vicula*, the diminutive of *vicus*, a village, and so means a little village, a small hamlet, and then a country house. It is connected with our English word *wich* or *wick*, with which we are familiar, as in *Norwich*, though it does not altogether correspond to it. The idea of the Villa was not confined to Rome. There were villas near Athens, large country seats, but the villa never became an absolute necessity to health and comfort with the Greeks, as it did in the latter end of the Republic among the Romans. No doubt this can be accounted for by the fact that on the Campagna the estates were cultivated by large proprietors, and worked with gangs of slaves, who were a source of danger in the country. The decay of the small farmers, as Mommsen brings out, brought about the decay of the Roman republic. There was also a decrease in the population, owing to the number of able bodied men engaged in the Punic Wars. Corn growing became unprofitable on account of the Government imposts. The Campagna became a desert from these reasons. Besides the decay of the Campagna consequent on the cultivators ceasing to work on their own estates, we must remember that the Romans considered Rome unhealthy. Cicero says « Romulus chose a place abounding with springs, a healthy spot in a pesti-

lential region ». He says *healthy*, but nevertheless we find altars to the Goddess of Fever in no less than three places, the Palatine, Esquiline and Quirinal. Also Rome was noisy and dusty in summer, and the inhabitants were glad to escape from it. Horace speaks of the impossibility of sleeping till dawn. He says « If you desire a pleasant rest and sleep till the first hour of the day (i. e. till the dawn) and to escape the dust and noise of the whole city, go to Ferentino » — which seems to have been his idea of an out of the way little town. The reception of clients began at day break and the unfortunate clients had to start and dress in their heavy togas before dawn, so as not to be too late to salute their patrons. No doubt the Romans had a real love for country life and scenery, of a sort. The sea side especially pleased them, and from Civita Vecchia to Sorrento there was a chain of Roman villas, beautifully fitted up, the remains of which can be seen by those who follow the ancient coast line and connect it with the modern one. Sometimes the sea has eaten into the land, as at Porto d'Anzio, but at Castel Porziano and Castel Fusano the shore line is left half a mile inland, behind a high range of sandhills, from behind which one can hear the noise of the sea. Half a mile inland are the remains of Villas. The Romans also loved the Alban Hills, the mountain slopes about Tivoli and the upper valley of the Anio but not mountain scenery. Nero's Villa at Subiaco (where was found the headless statue of a youth, now in the Museo delle Terme, over whose attitude there has been so much dispute) or the site of Trajan's villa between Subiaco and Alatri is not a common choice. 3000 ft above the sea, stands what is called the Palazzo di Nerone, but which probably belonged to Trajan. Friedland a German writer, says the ancients' feeling for nature included: (1) religious worship; he shows how springs, caves, groves, had each its nymph or dryad; (2) interest in historical sites, as can be seen at Hadrian's Villa, with its Vale of Tempe, Canopus, etc. and (3) sight seeing. We read of people travelling to the Atlantic to see the tide ebb and flow, as it never does on the Mediterranean; also of visits to Lake Avernus. He also says that a genuine love of country life characterised the older and simpler Roman generations.

Love for nature in her most pleasant moods characterises the Italian race. Mountain scenery was to them repulsive and terrible. Livy calls it « fearsome. » Mountain climbing is, of course, a purely modern amusement, but even walking up a high mountain, for the sake of a view, was very rarely undertaken, except in the case of mount Etna. Even that mountain was more often ascended for the scientific interest of its volcanic phenomena than for the view.

It is true that Hadrian ascended Etna to see the unusual spectacle of the sun rising out of the sea from so great a height — but this was an ex-

ception. The modern feeling for wild and rugged scenery was not only unknown to the Romans, but to the Mediæval mind as well; indeed it is a very modern idea. Dr Johnson's dislike of the scenery of the Highlands may illustrate it to us. This explains the choice of sites by the Romans.

It is difficult to say when the regular fashion of *Villeggiatura* began among the Romans — that is, the fashion of going away for a change, as distinct from going away on business. One of the earliest dates of the owner of a Villa is 150 B. C. when Marcus Junius Brutus stayed at Píperno, and Tivoli and the Alban terraces came with great favour. It was not long before the name *Albanum* was used to signify a villa in the Alban district, not the town of Albano. Albano was not the precise successor of Alba Longa, which was probably in the neighbourhood of Castel Gandolfo, certainly not where Albano stands. There was no town on the site of Albano till the time of Constantine. There were Villas, Imperial and otherwise, and a station of the Pretorian Guards, who were on duty at the Imperial Villa at Castel Gandolfo, but there was no town until the time of Constantine.

With regard to the villas of the last century of the Republic, we get interesting and valuable data from the numerous correspondents of Cicero. A work on Cicero's own villas has been put together by Herr Schmidt. He was in possession, at one time or another, of no less than seven. It may be well to look at them shortly one by one.

(1) The first and oldest was near Arpino, in the valley of the Liris. The villa and the estate on which it stood were inherited from his father and grandfather, and in it Cicero was born. His father enlarged it, but at the time of Cicero's birth, it was still in the humble condition in which it had been inherited from his grandfather. The site is on the delta of the Fibreno, between Arpino and Sora. No remains are extant, but we can reconstruct it from the intimate descriptions given by Cicero in writing to his brother Quintus in 54 B. C.

Quintus was then away on the campaign in Gaul, but his brother writes to him about the property. We have interesting details as to building operations, roads being made, vaults built and walls plastered and decorated with paintings. The great charm of this Villa of Cicero was the steady flow of water. There are streams on each side, and close to it the river Fibreno falls into the Liris. From a letter of Cicero to Atticus, we gather that he built himself a *nymphaeum* on the walls of which were painted trees and foliage. Such a place is familiar to us here from the room in the Villa of Livia, at Prima Porta, where the paintings represent trees, foliage and birds, and from the Auditorium of Maecenas in via Merulana.

(2) Next comes the Villa at Formiae, 57 B. C., in which he was murdered. The villa and tomb are shown. As to the villa there is no certain basis for its identification.

(3) The Villa at Tusculum, built in 68 B. C. The site has been disputed. It may have been either close under the Citadel of Tusculum, a little villa above the Rufinella now considered to be that of Tiberius, or lower down close to Grotta Ferrata, or on the spot where are now the Abbey buildings. It is stated that it received water from the Aqua Crabra. Now Fontana, in his great work on the aqueducts says that the springs of the Aqua Crabra were so placed that they could be turned into the aqueduct of the Aqua Julia, which was sometimes fraudulently done - fraudulently because the water of the Aqua Crabra was thought worse than that of the Aqua Julia, and also because it was reserved for the use of the villas at Tusculum. - So it is most probable that the source of the Aqua Crabra was higher up in the valley.

There are two arguments in favour of the old view that Cicero's Villa was on the height of Tusculum. One is a remark of the Scholiast on a verse of Horace's, where he speaks of the shining white villas high on the hill of Tusculum. The Scholiast says Cicero's Villa was on the hill — a very vague description. The other argument is that brick stamps with the name of Tullius have been found in the Villa now called that of Tiberius. Notwithstanding the name of Tullius, it is doubtful if they belonged to Cicero's Villa, for at that period his cognomen would also have been mentioned, and also the archaic spelling with a single *l* points to an early period. It is really impossible to say which of the several villas really belonged to Cicero.

(4) The villa at Antium on the coast, where Cicero possessed a house in 60 B. C. In 45 B. C. he sold it to Lepidus, and bought another on the promontory of Astura (5) eleven kilometres East of Nettuno. Here he retired on the death of Tullia. On the promontory are the remains of a little villa, and a solitary tower now occupied by the Custom House officers. — He had also villas at Cumae, Pompeii and Puteoli — but these are too far away to enter into this discussion. It thus appears that Cicero, at different periods of his life, had seven villas in different parts.

Of Pliny the younger we read that he had two villas — one at Città di Castello, of which we read that it had sleeping rooms for all times of the day. On the S. side it was laid out in terraced gardens, and it had a cryptoportico — that is, an underground gallery, lighted by windows in the sides. Here there could always be found coolness in summer. The cryptoportico in the Palace of Caligula on the Palatine is a well known instance.

Pliny's other Villa was at Laurentum. The remains of a Villa cor-

responding to the description of Pliny exists. It is called « Casa di Plinio », evidently a corruption of Plinio, the remains appear to belong to an earlier time than that of Pliny — they are chiefly vaults supporting the palace. It had the atrium, peristyle and triclinium projecting over sea, with a magnificent view on the coast stretching from the mouth of the Tiber to Anzio.

There were smaller rooms for his own use, with bathing apparatus, and beyond a view tower. The remains of the Villa are actually preserved.

Villas were of two kinds, (1) the Villa Rustica, or farmhouse, (2) the Pseudo-Urbana, or country seat. We have not enough remains of the *Villa Rustica* to say much about it. It is very rare to find such remains of early villas in the Campagna Romana, though they must exist and excavation would probably be easy. The remains of Villas in the Campagna generally date from the time of renewed prosperity brought in by Hadrian all over Italy, but especially round Rome. Numbers of Villas dating from that period remains. This was also a time of revival for the country towns, such as Gabii, from the interest that Hadrian took in it. A Farmhouse was excavated in 1893-94 close to Bosco Reale. It has become famous for the discovery of the silver treasure now in the Louvre, but this was purely accidental. It was hidden there by a man who had fled with it. His skeleton was discovered near it. A full description of the place is given in recent works on Pompeii, especially in Prof. Mau's book. It had a wide entrance for carts and a courtyard. The kitchen was the most important room. It had an opening to let out the smoke. Here we have the origin of the *Atrium* in the roman house. It meant the *black room* from the natural accumulation of soot. In process of time the hearth was transferred to the kitchen proper, while the atrium remained. The original hole which let in the light became the Impluvium — light came from windows in the *Alii*, or wings. Then there were sleeping rooms for the slaves — wine presses, ecc. The proprietor had the upper part of the house — Similar villas are found at some distance. In the Roman Campagna no such villas have been discovered. The excavations made by the brothers Lugari at the 4th mile stone of the Via Appia have brought to light a villa of the more luxurious kind. Another much older of the first century A. D. has been discovered, but the excavations are not yet complete.

In Roman Villas in England it is not so common to find them built round a central courtyard. The S. side is usually open, to let the sun get in. At Silchester however the villa is built round four sides, with a central space, in the way characteristic of villas in Italy. Of the later Villas of Imperial times we have Hadrian's Villa, the Sette Basi Villa of the Quintilii, of Gordianus, Torre degli Schiavi and so forth.

So far we have spoken of Villas built on level ground. Those on the hill-side were supported by artificial terraces. The Alban Hills and Tivoli furnish several examples of these Villas, with a platform on which the Villa rests. In the Villa of Quintilius Varus the hill side is not steep. On the top is a long rectangular area on which the palace stands.

Of the Villa of Pollio nothing remains, but it must have been of a similar character, as are those around the Lake of Albano. In the district of Tivoli we have many examples of polygonal masonry. Such work is not necessarily prehistoric. At Norba the Government excavations have brought to light a wall of what was formerly supposed to be prehistoric or cyclopean masonry, beneath which have been found objects belonging to Roman times.

It is easy to see how this style began. Suppose the first man building a wall. He puts a heap of stones together. Then he would discover that put closer together these would take less room, and he would smooth the edges as to get them into closer contact. If his material was hard, he would not make it square, but would leave it polygonal. This style is used also in late times as being the easiest way of working with limestones. I have observed it in embankments on Swiss railways.

The favourite sites for Villas were Tivoli, Preneste and Albano, the latter commanding a splendid view. At Tivoli since the 16th century every Villa has its traditional name, often mistaken, from relying on local tradition, or inscriptions which have been forged or if genuine give no real indication of the proprietor of the Villa in which they are found. Water pipes are of great value, but very few have been found in Tivoli.

Great care was taken to have a proper water supply. If the great aqueducts would not be tapped, a special aqueduct was employed. Or the water was collected in enormous water tanks. Some of these great reservoirs are still to be seen.

These short discursive notes, disjointed as they are, may be of use to those who wish to try and reconstruct the Campagna as it was, a beautiful garden filled with villas. The works for draining the Campagna may turn it again into a garden, — if so, now is the archeologist's last opportunity, since cultivation would disturb and restrain his free and unquestioned rambles.

January 26th. — The Sepulcretum, a lecture delivered by Comm. G. BONI.

Ladies and gentlemen — Some three years ago, when I had the honour to conduct the members of the Archaeological Society along the slope of the Sacred Way, I expressed my firm conviction that at some point of the Way it would be possible to discover an early Latin or pre-Romulean

burial-ground. This conviction led me to investigate closely the nature of the soil, and to make an attempt to discover the where-about of the pre-historic tombs. At first, the results were discouraging. I could find little or no trace of the tombs which I believed to exist, and but for the obstinate persistence of the conviction I should have abandoned the quest. It is not easy for me to say precisely how the conviction formed itself in my mind. It was slowly growing during many years' work in the Forum, and gradually developing from hints, suggestions and particular indications offered by the stones and earth which form the great book of the Forum, whose pages I am trying to decipher.

Partly too, it arose from the perusal of the chief ancient authorities on that special point — the topography of the Forum in early times. This confirmed my idea that the Forum as known and represented by these Roman writers was not the historic old Forum — that we had not explored the real Forum, the centre of ancient Rome. From the Empire back to the Republic, and from the Republic back to the Kings, and from the Kings back to the earliest Latin epoch, there has been a deposit of the bones and ashes of those ancestors whose departed spirits the Romans constantly worshipped. The strata of the earth bear witness to the succession of epochs; the strata of myth and tradition point to religious changes. Here in the Forum, at scarcely two hundred paces from each other, lie the mediaeval tombs of S. Maria Antiqua, those of S. Adriano, and the pre-historic burial ground founded, as nearly as it is possible to compute, two millenniums earlier.

Theories and suppositions spring easily from any study of such a site, but no thoughtful observer would consider them proved till supported by positive evidence, such as is supplied in the Forum every year by the soil itself, and by the monuments hidden and preserved below it. My object has only been to get at the truth concerning what was the past life of the Forum, or in the words of Livy, penned twenty centuries since « So to set our minds as that it shall be possible for us to investigate what was the life, and what were the customs of the early Romans, with what manner of men at home or on the battlefield, the Roman power came to the birth and waxed strong ».

Since my search for the primitive burial ground along the slope of the Sacra Via proved fruitless, I turned to the spot where the Sacra Via enters the Forum proper. Here in a stratum of clay, 8 ft below the present level of the Forum, enclosed by the foundations of the temple of Antoninus and Faustina, I came upon the first traces of the Latin Sepulcretum. This site of the Sepulcretum shows no trace of woody vegetation or of alluvial deposits. It is a gradual descent sloping towards the marshy bed of the Forum, and round towards the Esquiline without showing signs of a path. The position of the Sepulcretum is that defined by the funeral rites of the

Aryan epoch — that persons should bury their dead in ground sloping to the West, towards still waters, having connection with a permanent stream. Such is the character of the ground sloping from the Esquiline to the marsh of the Velabrum at the base of the Palatine, which connected it with the Tiber. This ancient custom of having still water near a burial ground, probably meant peace to the souls of the departed, suggested by the tranquillity of the spot.

The relatives returned every year to salute the dead and dug pits to contain the vases, into which they poured wine, corn and beans.

These pits, some with the remains of roast corn, have come to light in the Sepulcretum.

The first sign of the tombs existing was given by the colour of the earth, which was more sombre than that of the surrounding soil. We could not make the slightest excavation till we had studied the ground, noticed the rapidity with which it absorbed water sprinkled on it and had ascertained the resistance offered along various points to the insertion of a wooden rod. The wooden blade indicated the presence of objects hidden. Owing to the edges having been worn away in ancient times, it was impossible to distinguish the upper borders. A few centimetres below the surface, the difference between the tomb and the surrounding earth was explained by the discovery of a cremation or well tomb, filled up with the ashes of the funeral pyre. The graves for inhumation were more difficult to distinguish; they had been filled up with the same earth as was used in making them. Twenty-five graves have been found in all. They are:

- (a) Cremation, with a cinerary urn;
- (b) A skeleton;
- (c) A well tomb;
- (d) A ditch;
- (e, f) infants' graves — then traces of dwellings of the 5th and 6th century B. C. after the Sepulcretum had been abandoned;
- (g) a child's grave with an oaken coffin;
- (h) a ditch grave, with a pre-Romulean jar on the side of it;
- (i) a child's oaken coffin;
- (j) an adult's grave;
- (k, l, m, n, o, p) ditch tombs;
- (q, r, s, t, u, v, w, x, y) cremation or well tombs.

It will thus be seen that there are eleven very ancient cremation or well tombs, three graves of adults and the rest infants; the latter by far the most recent from about the 8th century B. C. after which the Sepulcretum was abandoned.

I propose to describe the grave tombs (g) and (i).

(g) This is a later tomb. It is trapezoidal in shape. The tufa slabs form the roof, while above that are small blocks of tufa to mark the place. 8 vases were found in a hole near the opening, resting upon the roof. No remains of funeral rites were found in the mould at the base. It had been tunnelled by insects, showing that the vase had once held liquid offerings of honey, or milk, or perfume. The oak coffin was a rich dark brown — the trunk hollowed out. The child's head was turned to the widest part. The mud was so tenacious that great care had to be taken. From an examination of the bones and fragment of the skull, Dr. Roncali judges it to be a child of about 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ years. A small object like a spear head was found — evidently a toy, but serving to determine the sex of the child. Of the vases there were various kinds; terracotta fluted, some with a wheel pattern of a light chestnut colour; a drinking cup, with two holes for hanging it on the wall; a ewer of light yellow clay, decorated with three spiral waves and bands. In the Boston Museum there are three of the identical dimensions, imitating Corinthian vases, and of the 8th century B. C. A cup in brown terracotta incised, with a white substance; a cup like an inverted acorn.

(i) This is the tomb of a little girl, rectangular in shape, with a trapezoidal slope; a stone roof as in tomb (g). On the ground to the depth of three ft being emptied, three slabs of tufa were found, inclined like a roof. Originally this stone covering must have protected the vases containing the remains of the funeral feast. On the outer slope was found the thigh-bone of an adult, broken by violent blows from a hatchet or other tool. The bones of the skeleton in (i) had been injured by the heavy tufa slabs. Some flat beads were found, green and brown, — little beads, one next the other, in such a way as to show that they were originally on the front of the tunic, from the neck to the waist. There was a belt of copper sloping in front, with a silver pendant, which has wholly disappeared.

On the neck and shoulders were other little glass beads, blue, black, white and dark enamel with white decoration. Also some fragments of a bronze object, which was like a fibula. An ivory armlet stained by contact with the oak coffin. These may have come from Felsina where Professor Cappellini found in a cave two deposits of elephants' teeth and bones, belonging to the Pleiocene age — but it is more probable that they came from the East with the glass beads. In the stone roof of tomb (i) were ten vases, one of red terra cotta with the inside edge fluted; a shallow cup decorated with red bands; a cup with the dog-tooth pattern, of excellent work. These contained black thick mud, and some vertebrae and bones of fish. Bits of metal were also found, belonging to iron utensils, such as the handle of a pot — the remains of such utensils as the elder Cato wished to be used in preparing the

pudding of eggs, honey, flour and cheese, a return to archaic simplicity. There were found the bones of fish which Dr. Vinciguerra conjectures from the vertebrae column to have been the great mullet, the most common kind of cephalid.

The red terra cotta has a glaze on it, showing fine baking. Inside was a yellow substance crushed into powder, resembling some that was found in the House of the Vestals, it seems to be combustible and has a resinous odour; a basin was found full of dark mould, tunnelled by insects and with yellow scales, which could not be identified. We hope in time to discover what it was. An earthen vase contains seeds of grapes and grains of wheat. The grape seed is smaller than those which are grown now in the Campagna Romana. Vines were very early cultivated, Dionysius of Halicarnassus says that the King of Latium refused to pay tribute of the vintage to the Greeks on the ground that he had already paid to Jupiter of his grapes. A law was passed prohibiting the pouring out of wine on the funeral pyre and directing that it should be used exclusively for sacrifices. Another edict forbade one drinking except at sacrificial ceremonies; this goes back to the times when the fruit of the vine was specially dedicated to heaven. The skeleton in tomb (1) is pronounced by Dr. Roncali to be that of a child of four years old, judging from the flattened form of the skull, the shape of the forehead and other signs. It was of the Mediterranean race. The Roman plebs had originally a round head, but in later years when they became degenerate, we find the narrow forehead. This burial-ground testifies to various races and to different funeral rites; some had cremation, some burial in tree trunks and others in vaults of stones.

They were, there can be little doubt, at first men of the Aryan race, large and vigorous, with heads like the Roman patricians. We find the different funeral rites of cremation and interment, pointing to very different races. The oak coffins are about the 8th Century B. C. The cremation tombs certainly earlier.

In determining the question of date, we must study the magnetic inclination by observing it as fixed in the clay at the moment of baking.

Since 1576 the magnetic inclination of the earth has changed ten degrees, D. Folgheraiter found by experiments with the bases of layer (α) the cinerary urn and two others, that they had the North magnetic inclination at the base, and the South at the top, proving that they were baked in an upright position, the little ovoidal vase must have been baked upside down, as it has the South magnetic inclination at the base, and the North at the top. « Such would have been, he says, the magnetic inclination in the first century A. D. while it would have had no value at all in the 6th century and a negative value in the 7th century B. C. Admitted that the magnetic

inclination varies periodically, we must go back at least to the 13th century B. C. to find for it a value equal to that which I have deduced from the magnetism of the vases which I have examined ».

Further studies will permit us perhaps to determine the law of change, registered by the coercive force of terracottas, and even to know the age of each tomb of the Sepulcretum. It would be unwise to attempt absolute prediction, it would be equally unwise to neglect anything that may throw light on a sufficiently difficult question, requiring the closest attention and careful examination from every point of view.

On a future occasion, I hope to offer to the Archaeological Society the results of further examination and study in and about the Sepulcretum. What has been already discovered is a significant preface to the book of the Forum, and opens up vistas of the prehistoric Roman past which, but a short time since, we thought would remain for ever shrouded in impenetrable obscurity — the past whose actors Virgil sung and Livy described, may when properly examined, disclose to us things yet older than the Roman city.

February 2nd. — The Waters of Rome. A lecture by CHAS ORTON M.D.

The choice of the site for the foundation of Rome was, in all probability, due in a much greater degree to the plentiful supply of pure and wholesome water which then existed in the district of the Palatine Hill, than upon the flight of birds.

Cicero not given much to say anything particularly pleasant of any-body seems to have rendered a certain amount of praise to the Founder of the City for having chosen a place so richly supplied with springs.

Richly indeed they must have been supplied for with the help of the waters of the Tiber the Romans not only managed to exist but to increase in numbers and power. Besides the numerous streams, Prof. Lanciani shows in his map on the Hydrography of Rome some twenty or more springs to which I allude later on. There were wellshafts and cisterns — rockcut cisterns which still exist on the Palatine possibly for the collection of rain water. Both behind and in front of the House of Germanicus are large cisterns of this kind connected by a channel running beneath the house. These cisterns for rain water are a common feature in the country houses of England in the present day.

With regard to the Tiber as a source of supply I will briefly only allude to, for it is a subject worthy of deeper study and more able treatment than I can bring to bear upon it, suffice it to say that it had the reputation of carrying wholesome waters and in the earlier times this might have been quite possible especially if we remember the wonderful purifying properties of quick

running streams. The upper reaches of the river were not crowded by a dense population. The Romans knew early and practised the use of settling ponds — possibly they knew the use of water sterilized by boiling, but they were not in any case likely to take the river water just at the mouth of the Cloaca. Again, the early extension of the population was away from the Tiber creeping gradually up by the Quirinal as far North as the old Porta Collina near to the present Porta Salaria and Porta Pia, by the Viminal, Esquiline, and Coelian on to the Aventine where it again neared the river. Here to the North the people must have depended on the spring supply.

Some of these springs no doubt bore the names by which they were known in later times. Other springs doubtless existed whose names have gone wrong — changed I mean, perhaps to be called after some celebrated name — the Sallustian springs for example — an important source even in our own time — some of which the name gives no clue — a lost spring such as that of Apollo.

Some of the old names are familiar: Egeria, Juturna, Tullianum, the Camoene, Mercurio, Lupercal. I am keeping at present, on the left bank of the Tiber. Here, then by these springs on the 21st April 753 years before the Christian Era was Rome founded! By these springs she grew and grew until she had enclosed most of them within the wall of her sixth king Servius Tullius. The kingly period passed and a Republic became established. The form of government changed but the old springs kept on as usual and for another two centuries bubbled and burst forth and helped on the growth of Rome. For 441 years through her birth and childhood were her wants supplied by her springs, her wells, her cisterns, and her yellow Tiber. The immense importance of this supply cannot to my mind be overestimated. It has been dwarfed and overshadowed by and lost sight of in the presence of the still greater supply by magnificent structures, the mighty aqueducts, the ruined remains of which form so grand and glorious a feature in the Campagna, the admiration and the wonder of the World of to-day. Let us pause however for a minute and take a glance at some of the actors and their works before the advent of the great waters from a distance.

Substitute some other name for Romulus if you will, but the Palatine Hill is left and part of the old tufawalls of Roma Quadrata are still to be seen. Numa Pompilius and his Nymph Egeria in her grotto have disappeared but the water of the spring still flows on and his communings with the Nymph which I take to be with his own soul for the good of the people over whom he was called to rule led to the laws which guided the Vestal Virgins and other observances appertaining to the religious life of Rome which lasted far into the Christian Era.

The original hut of the Vestals, built by Numa, perished during the in-

vasion of the Gauls in 390 B. C. In 394 A. D. the gates of the Temple of Vesta were closed and the mysterious fire which had been kept burning for a thousand years extinguished. To Ancus Martius is possibly due the honour of building the 1st bridge over the river, the Pons Sublicius built only of wood. The construction of the harbour at the mouth of the Tiber, Ostia. The great temple to Jupiter and the Cloaca Maxima still wonderful to behold commenced under Tarquinius Priscus. The wall of Servius Tullius which enclosed the summits of the Seven Hills of Rome evidences of which in good preservation are to be seen in many parts of the City. Under the Republic growth went on. In 510 B. C. the Campus Martius was made public. In 455 the first tenement houses were built. In 386 the substructures of the Tabularium still there. In 367 the 1st Temple of Concord by Camillus.

Now there appears on the scene a man whose name will last as long as Rome itself. Appius Claudius Caecus, foreseeing that roads to and from Rome were necessary if she were to go on increasing in size and power and glory, he constructed the road to Capua which afterwards extended to Brundisium — the Appian Way. The population had increased in the lower parts of the City by the side of the river, where there was no spring water and possibly the pestilence which years before had been persistent had somewhat influenced him be that as it may. He gave the then Romans a lead by constructing the first aqueduct and bringing a plentiful supply of good water for the benefit of the poor of those who were most in need of it. The lead, and such a lead having been given, it surely could not, and in fact was not, difficult to follow — and Roman aqueducts and Roman roads became in following years the order of the day, for neither were confined to Rome. Wherever the Roman soldier went (and he travelled far afield) he could mostly return by a long straight road.

Aqua Appia, I. B. C. 313. — Here then in the year 313 B. C. was the first of those great works by which Rome became so abundantly supplied with water. The source of the Aqua Appia was 8 miles from Rome and the aqueduct was nearly wholly underground.

Additional springs were added by Augustus and called Aqua App. Augusta.

Anio Vetus, II. B. C. 270. — The second aqueduct was begun in B. C. 272 forty years afterwards and completed in 270 B. C. The source was in the hills above Tivoli some 43 miles from Rome. Its specus to be seen at Porta Maggiore. Channel and large cisterns were discovered when making the streets Principe Amedeo, Carlo Alberto and Napoleon III. A branch subdividing this water was built by Augustus.

Aqua Marcia, III. B. C. 144. — The third aqueduct built by order of

the Senate, the other two being restored at the same time. It came from about 38 miles from Rome near Arsoli and its level high enough to supply the Arx on the Capitol. The Aqueduct ended at the Porta Capena and was then distributed over the Coelian. Its specus is to be seen below those of Aqua Julia and Aqua Tepula at the Porta S. Lorenzo. A short branch was added by Augustus called the Aqua Augusta which according to the inscription on it doubled its supply B. C. 5. This water was exceptionally pure and cold, as it is to day.

Aqua Tepula, IV. B. C. 127. — The Tepula was the next aqueduct a mile and half from the 10th milestone on the Via Latina.

Aqua Julia, V. B. C. 33. — The fifth or Julia from near the 12th milestone of the Via Latina. This aqueduct and the two former were carried on the same arches to Rome where they separated. They were rebuilt B. C. 33 by Augustus. The ruins of the once magnificent Castellum of the Aqua Julia built by Severus Alexander exist in the modern Piazza Vittorio Emanuele and goes by the name of *Il trofeo di Mario*.

Aqua Virgo, VI. B. C. 33 to 19. — This the sixth aqueduct was the work of Agrippa, the supply according to Prof. Lanciani reaching Rome on June 9th 19 B. C. It came from near the 8th milestone on the Via Colatina fed by a spring which was first pointed out to some distressed soldiers by a girl; hence called Virgo. The main object of this water was to supply the Thermæ of Agrippa, the first Thermæ opened in Rome B. C. 21 (Middleton).

It is the same pure cool water which supplies the City at the present time, a rival now as then to the Aqua Marcia, for Pliny states that the Marcia is at least as good as the Virgo, for although the Virgo is cooler to the touch, the Marcian is cooler to the taste and several people have told me that the Trevi is the water to drink during the Summer Months. I cannot say, but there is a well preserved piece of the specus which carried the old water towards the Pantheon at no 12 in the Via del Nazareno off the Via Tritone. The tops of four arches are just visible. An inscription records that it was rebuilt by Claudius A. D. 52 after injury done to it by Caligula. A road passed under this part which accounts I presume for its preservation or its restoration or both.

The water was distributed from 18 Castella or reservoirs to the Regioni 7, 9 and 14.

Aqua Alsietina, VII. — The 7th aqueduct brought in by Augustus from near 14th milestone of the Via Claudia to supply his Naumachia or water circus. I cannot conceive why such a wise prince should have brought to Rome such a discreditable and unwholesome water as the Alsietina, so says Frontinus. The level was the lowest and its waters not fit to drink.

Aqua Claudia, VIII, Anio Novus, IX. — Both aqueducts for these waters were begun by Caligula A. D. 38 and were finished 14 years afterwards by Claudius A. D. 52. The source of the Claudia was at the 38th milestone of the Via Sublacensis from two springs; that of Anio Novus from four miles beyond. In the inscription over the Porta Maggiore the length is given as 45 and 62 miles which means the length of the specus or channel itself and not the distance from Rome. Both waters were to a great extent carried on the same arches, the most lofty of all the aqueducts. The Claudia was the water used for the Imperial table. A branch went from the Porta Maggiore by the Villa Wolkonsky, the Lateran, the church of S. S. Giovanni and Paolo, to the S. Bonaventura on the Palatine. The Anio Novus was the largest of the Aqueducts but its waters were not always clear.

Those were the nine aqueducts described by Frontinus who from A. D. 97 to A. D. 106 was the Curator Aquarum with the rank, I imagine, of a Minister of State for he had previously been a Governor of a Roman Province, which in this case was one in which some of us are still interested, viz. Britain.

Aqua Trajana, X. A. D. 109. — Three years after the death of Frontinus another Aqueduct was made by Trajan, the source being from a number of springs near the Lacus Sabatinus now di Bracciano. Its termination a magnificent Castellum on the Janiculum, on the right bank of the Tiber. In A. D. 537 it was cut by Vitigius. It was restored by Belisarius, injured again, repaired by several Popes, and from A. D. 1611 has been and is known as the Acqua Paola still supplying the fountains in front of St-Peters and others on the Trastevere.

Aqua Alexandrina, XI, A. D. 226. — The last water brought into Rome by Severus Alexander to supply his enlargement of the Thermae of Nero, near the Pantheon, and then called Thermae Alexandrinae.

Source near Gabii 14 miles from Rome. This water like the former still supplies Rome under the name of Felice.

Prof. Middleton says the whole number of separate aqueducts never exceeded eleven, the others being branches. Prof. Lanciani with queries as to the amount of water brought in mentions three: Marcia Severiana, by Septimius Severus, A. D. 196, Marcia Antoniniana, by Caracalla, A. D. 212 and Marcia Jovia, by Diocletians, A. D. 305. The whole bringing in a supply per day of 1,747,311 cubic metres.

These first five aqueducts supplied Rome with an abundance of water until close upon the Christian Era. The supply moreover until the time was purely for legitimate purposes, i. e. for drinking, for personal cleanliness and for domestic uses generally. The supply at this time was simply

immense. Most of us, at least the English portion, would say that Rome was certainly well provided with water at the present time. In 336 B. C., I quote from Lanciani's book, the supply to Rome from these five aqueducts amounted to 793,793 cubic metres per day and its present supply (1897) to 298,210 c. m. The *Acqua Trajana* or *Paola* is excluded in both calculations. The latest official supply, still excluding the *Paola*, is 189,600 cubic metres as against 793,793. From the year 312 B. C. to the end of the Republic or nearly so, many great works of usefulness were carried out besides the first five aqueducts, the paving of the *Via Appia*, the *Basilica of Porcia*, of *Fulvia*, of *Sempronia*, the *Porticus of Aemilia*, of *Cecilius Metellus*, the *Regia* rebuilt, the *Emilian bridge*, the *Fabrician bridge*, the road to *Etruria*. The days of prejudice by the old Republicans against the construction of a theatre in stone chiefly from a dread of introducing the luxurious habits of the Greeks were passing away. We have the first stone theatre built by *Pompey* in 55 B. C. At its opening 500 lions and 20 elephants were slaughtered. We get the *Basilica Julia* and a new *Forum*, that of *Julius Caesar*, and after the tragic death of that truly great man we enter upon another stage of Roman history — the *Augustan period*.

After the battle of *Actium* *Augustus Caesar* became sole ruler of the then known world. He became surrounded by some of the finest intellects of that or of any other time. His buildings, restorations and repairs, statues of marble and bronze, everything he touched was done on a scale of magnificence hitherto unknown and amongst the most magnificent structures raised during this and succeeding reigns were the *Thermæ*.

The *Thermæ Agrippæ* were the first public baths of Rome opened in B. C. 21, said to have been of enormous extent and of great splendour. It was specially to supply these *Thermæ* that *Agrippa* constructed the aqueduct which brought to Rome the pure cool water of the *Aqua Virgo*, the rival water of the *Marcia* for which indeed we may be thankful even to this day. After a fire they were largely restored and altered by *Domitian* about 97 A. D. and afterwards by *Hadrian* and again after fire by *Severus* and by *Caracalla*. Other extensive *Thermæ* stood near this favourite part of the City extending towards the *Stadium of Domitian*, now *Piazza Navona*. They were built by *Nero* originally and called *T. Neronianæ* but in 229 A. D. or about, were restored, enlarged and renamed *Thermæ Alexandrinæ*. It was to supply these *thermæ* that the eleventh, the last of the true aqueducts brought the last water into Rome from a separate source viz. near *Gabii*, 14 miles from Rome, which water was again introduced to the City on the 15 June 1587 under the name of *Acqua Felice*, i. e. *Felice Peretti* or *Sixtus V.*

For many years the emperors, one succeeding another simply seemed to outvie his predecessor in the size of his *Thermæ* — baths do not convey to

my mind the strict translation of *Thermæ*; Nero must necessarily have more than any other person, so he brings to his Golden House in addition sea water and the sulphur waters of *Albulæ* — Titus with his *Thermæ Titianæ* — Trajan with *Thermæ Guranæ* and *Traianæ* near if not the same as *Filianæ*.

212 A. D. Caracalla — volume of *Marcia* increased for his *Thermæ* on the *Via Nova* — room for 1600 at one time.

305 A. D. Diocletian — volume of *Marcia* increased — called *Marcia Jovia* and his *Thermæ* opened in 306 — room for 3600 at one time.

A few years after Diocletian came the *Thermæ* of Constantine on the *Quirinal*. An omission I must supply A. D. 196; volume of the *Aqua Marcia* by Severus for the *Thermæ Severianæ*.

At the time of Constantine there were in Rome 11 *Thermae*, 926 public baths, 1212 public fountains and 247 reservoirs. It is calculated that 62,800 people could bathe at one and the same time.

The Romans had already entered into the age of luxury and self indulgence before the building of these huge *thermæ* and the great supply of water or rather I should say the abuse and misuse of it in these *thermæ* became a curse to Rome leading indirectly but surely to the moral, mental and physical deterioration of the individual and of the race. So long as bathing was carried on for bodily health all would go well; but for the habitués of these Imperial times, bodily health and strength were the last thing to be thought of or considered for a moment. Under the corruption which began to contaminate Roman society in many ways the *Thermæ* added all comforts of a London club, all the conveniences and luxuries of an establishment conducted by a Ritz. Amusements of every kind were provided — the programme of a modern music hall would apply very fairly — in fact the *Thermæ* added everything which seekers after pleasure could possibly desire.

Beyond this however a heavy indictment rests. They were the resort of the idle, the dissolute and the profligate. Here the elegant and scented youth might pass the whole of his time while the baths remained open, and at first the time of remaining open was limited. The removal, nay even the checking, of any social evil once it has gained a foothold, has at all times and amongst all nations proved a most difficult matter. Laws and regulations seem sometimes to make things worse. Hadrian made an attempt to improve the manners and conduct of people in the *Thermae* between the years 117 and 138 A. D. but to no purpose. Appeals to the gods (*Sylvanus* specially) I believe had the same negative result. One hundred years later circ. 220 *Heliogabalus* issued a decree that bathing was to be allowed everywhere and at all hours without any restriction to per-

sons! The *thermae* were to be kept open night and day. Not one cause alone could have led to the decline and fall of the Roman Empire but about the middle of the 3rd century Longinus writes of the increasing degeneracy of the Roman race. The *Thermae* had not been the sole cause of this degeneracy but they must have lent a helping hand even though their pernicious influence may not have been so great perhaps as I am personally inclined to think.

I now pass from the 3rd century to the 476 A. D. when the last Emperor of Rome bearing the combined names of the 1st King and of the 1st Emperor, viz. Romulus Augustus was deposed. In the first half of 6th century A. D. 536 Vitigius appeared at Rome and he divided the separate channels of the aqueducts in order to cut off the supply of waters from the city. After this destruction and the continual devastations owing to the invasions of the Barbarians the Romans were again constrained to make use of the waters of the Tiber and their wells for domestic purposes.

I cannot imagine that the Tiber was ever a clear and limpid stream but it was highly recommended by the Faculty. Its waters were celebrated for their salubrity by Alessandro Petroni physician to Gregory the 13th, by Alessandro Bacci physician to Sixtus the 5th. When Clement the 7th went on his journey to Marseilles in 1553 to celebrate the marriage of his niece Catherine de Medici with the Duke of Orleans afterwards Henry 2nd, he took with him on the advice of his physician Corti such a quantity of water from the Tiber as to be sufficient for all the requirements of the journey. The same precaution was taken by Paul the 3rd on his journey to Loretto- Bologna and Nice. The water in other parts of Italy was probably not so good. In a journey from Rome to Brundisium undertaken by some illustrious Romans amongst whom were *Macænas* and Virgil, the poet narrates that at one of their stopping places the water was sold to them and that it was the nastiest water that he had ever tasted, but the bread was very good.

Back again to the Springs and Wells — back from A.D. 536 to 300 B.C. I wonder — if there were any of the creatures left who had lolled their lives away in these palaces of warmth and beauty: some of the springs had no doubt disappeared under the debris caused by fires and destructions in general, hidden, but not got rid of. Sig. Carlo Fea, commissario of antiquities writes at the beginning of the 19th Century that near S. Georgio in Velabro there were two springs, of a copious supply and excellent to drink and which ran into the near Cloaca Maxima. Another spring was in the garden of S. Gregorio opposite S. Balbina. This was the *Il Mercurio*, mentioned as such by Ovid. It supplied a papermill and was then distributed to the

districts around S. Maria in Cosmedin, the region of Monte Testaccio, Fish Market and the Ghetto, etc., to nearly all regions which had no good water to drink and not even wells from want of which they were inconvenienced and suffered from illnesses. Then there was a lighter water largely drunk in warm weather, the famous old water of the Luperca; then there was an equally copious supply of the best water very much sought after, the Aqua Sallustiana which was distributed to the joy of the public. The water found in the valley of the Caffarella, known by the name of Ninfa Egeria, Fontana bella or as he calls it Lago salutare. Then he mentions the Aqua Santa as a medicinal water and so considered and in much request to-day. There is another water still in use to-day, the Aqua Acetosa with a great medicinal reputation. It is hawked about the streets and sold in flasks. The fountain was constructed by order of Alexander 7th, from designs by Bernini in 1661. Two more springs were Il Grillo on the S. slope of the Quirinal and S. Felice on the W. slope of the Quirinal. There were many well known springs on the other side of the Tiber but in 1884 all these sources within Rome and also the Suburban waters came under the searching gelatine process by Prof. Celli. Bacteria were discovered in all, more in some less in others, all were closed even the celebrated Aqua Sallustiana without any resistance on the part of the population.

Fons Juturnae. — Prof. Lanciani (1897) says: 'Although the accumulation of modern soil and ruins conceals these springs from view, they have never ceased to flow. A report written by Angelo Maffei 25 Sep. 1715 says: I remember to have seen, in my early youth, the ground open and sink into a chasm fifty cubits deep near the three columns of Castor's temple and a mass of water rush at the bottom of it, known in the middle ages as (l'Inferno) hence the name of the church above S. Maria libera nos a poenis inferni (S^a Maria Liberatrice). The fatal catastrophe to Quintus Curtius might have happened on one of these occasions. A powerful jet appeared in May 1702 in the excavations of S. Maria Antiqua, in March 1816 at the foot of the three columns of the Castores.

In 1818 Sig. Carlo Fea found water all round the Temple to the depth of 3. 34 metres and in 1871 Prof. Lanciani saw the same place suddenly inundated.

Do not these occurrences supply one suggestion towards the solution of mysterious subterranean waters of Rome?

Since then we have seen this wonderful fountain brought to light by the efforts of Sig. Boni. No find has given so much pleasure, to myself, as this. It had the reputation of being a medicinal, a health giving spring. A very fine statue of Aesculapius was found in it, a bust of Jupiter and a torso of Apollo. Could this spring of Juturna then have been dedicated at any time

— perhaps during some pestilence — to Apollo — the god of Hygiene and sender of pestilences.

The Recovery of the old waters of the aqueducts: The information which I have been able to scrape together in the short time at my disposal is very scanty, very deficient. We know that Belisarius restored the Aqua Traiana or Paola which was again destroyed, and there is evidence in the documents of the Aqua Claudia that some of its waters were gathered and provided a lesser distribution, known under the name of Lateranense. In 1453 Nicholas V restored the Aqua Virgo and renamed it Acqua di Trevi, more or less destroyed afterwards, again restored by Sixtus IV and yet again were the waters cut off. Towards the middle of the 16th century Paul III meditated anew the bringing of a drinking water to Rome and this idea was helped on by his successor Pius IV and successfully carried out under Pius V so on 16 August 1570 the old Aqua Virgo, now Vergine or di Trevi was restored to Rome. In 1744 Benedict XIV from the old Rivus Herculanæus: It enters Rome at the Pincian Hill about 22 metres above sea level and is still one of the two celebrated drinking waters of the city. In 1585 Felice Poretti ascended the Pontifical throne, he immediately set to work to carry out the project of Gregory XIII and on the 15 June 1587 introduced into Rome by the Porta Maggiore and carried on the ruins of the Marcia and Claudia, the old Aqua Alexandrina now called Acqua Felice.

The Aqua Marcia reintroduced to Rome in 1867 thanks in great measure to the great local knowledge of Dr Fabio Gori, who pointed out the real source of the ancient waters in the plains of Arsoli near the road leading to Subiaco, at 318 m. above sea level reaching Tivoli by open channels, syphons, galleries and on arches and from Tivoli to Rome at a height of 80 m. in Rome by three syphons each carrying 26,000 m. c. or 78,000 c. m. in the 24 hours.

March 7th. — The first Christian Oratory in Rome, a plea for its complete excavation, given by the Rev. Dr. J. GORDON GRAY.

In St. Paul's great Roman epistle, written by him in the year 58 A. D., there is but one allusion to the existence of a Christian Church in Rome at that date. Four other communities in the City are referred to, but to none of them is the term Church applied, save to that which assembled in the house of Priscilla and Aquila. Looking at these facts alone, we might be moved to say that, even so late as the year 58 A. D., the Roman Church had not received any very distinct organization. There are other hints given us, however, which should make us slow to believe that there was no organization whatever. The length of time that had elapsed since « the sojourners from Rome » brought back with them from Jerusalem those deep experiences of the new faith, which they had received, must have led to the

growth of a considerable Christian community. All but thirty years had passed since their return and the arrival of St. Paul's letter. It is thus made easy for us to understand how he could write that « their faith had come to be spoken of throughout the whole world ». Another, not less significant, fact to the same effect is found in the account given us by the historians of the time of what led to the expulsion of the Jews from the City by Claudius in A. D. 52, some six years before « the Church in the house » is referred to. The almost constant disturbances among the Jews in Rome at that time are attributed to differences among them as to one called « Chrestos ». There can be little doubt that the person referred to was no other than « Christus », Christ, as it was so easy for a Roman writer then to fall into this mistake. Chrestos would have a meaning for Suetonius, which Christus could not have had. Evidently the whole trouble was connected with the contentions that had arisen in the Jewish community about the Christ. It had become so notorious in its character, and had kept up so much agitation in the City that nothing short of an Imperial edict became necessary in dealing with it. This inference is by no means weakened by the fact that Jews only were aimed at in it. At this early period the Romans had not begun to distinguish between Jews and Christians. Those angry disputations that were keeping the City in continual turmoil were, in the eyes of the Roman authorities, only matters affecting Jewish laws. The one remedy therefore was indiscriminate expulsion of Jews. Though the edict remained in force for a year or two only, it proved sufficient to drive two of the best known members of the Roman Christian community to Corinth. The very nature of the trade, in which they were engaged, that of tentmakers, made it more easy for them to move so far eastwards. Very probably also the influence, which they had come to have among the Christians of Rome, as evidenced by having a Church in their house, made it desirable that they should absent themselves from the City for a considerable time. While there is evidence that many of the exiled Jews went no farther than the towns on the Alban Hills, Priscilla and Aquila did not settle down till they reached Corinth. Thus two important facts may be said to be clearly established, the one is that in the year 58 A. D., when St. Paul is writing to the brethren in Rome, the one centre, which stands out before him as having a Church in it, is the house of Aquila and Priscilla, and the other that this Jew from Pontus and his Roman wife had become so connected with the Christian cause in Rome at least six years earlier that they had to flee from the City.

Though we cannot be certain that Aquila and Priscilla had the house with the Church in it before the edict of expulsion was put in force, there is a strong probability that so it was. When St. Paul and they first met in

Corinth in 52 A. D., he must have had from them those personal details as to the actual position of the Church in Rome, of which we have such distinct evidence here and there in his letter. As they were in touch with each other for several years both at Ephesus and at Corinth, there was ample opportunity for the Apostle to become acquainted with the state and growth of the Christian community in Rome. No doubt his resolution, recorded by St. Luke, the historian of the early Church is thus accounted for « Paul purposed in the spirit, when he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia, to go to Jerusalem, saying after I have been there, I must also see Rome ». When St. Paul and those fellow-workers parted company, it was in the full expectation of meeting again in the Imperial City. As the salutation to them in his letter found them back again in their Roman house, the presumption is that they had been there long enough for him to hear of it and that the Church was wont to meet in their house. The intercourse between Rome and the Eastern cities was so frequent and continuous along the great « Via Appia » that St. Paul could easily be kept informed of what specially interested him here. We can be sure therefore that, when he sent his salutations to Aquila and Priscilla as well as many others, he was writing from recent information.

When we put together the various allusions to St. Paul's contact with these two celebrated Roman Christians, we find that they cover a period of fifteen years, from 52 to 67 A. D. In the very last letter of St. Paul there is a parting salutation for them, « Salute Prisca and Aquila », from which it appears that they were out of Rome again and within reach of Timothy. The persecution under Nero from 64 A. D. onwards had driven them out to seek a refuge once more, now from more serious perils than under Claudius. Strong as the bond between them and the Apostle to the Gentiles is thus shewn to be, we cannot affirm that they owed to him their Christian knowledge and experience. Nowhere does St. Paul put forth any claim to that effect. When they first come on the page of sacred history Aquila is described as « a certain Jew born in Pontus. » There is no hint of his Christian profession at that time and yet we must not make too much of that. His Jewish extraction is singled out, because the edict of Claudius was directed against all Jews living in Rome, and St. Luke aims at accounting for their presence in Corinth and their meeting with the Apostle. To the pen of St. Luke we are also indebted for the account of that, which mainly drew St. Paul and these two noted Christians together.

The bond was found in a common craft, « because St Paul was of the same craft he abode with them ». Not only did their house become his place of abode, but it served as well for their joint work-shop, « they wrought

together ». Most probably that very house, like the one which they afterwards hired in Ephesus, became the Church's meeting-place. The very trade, which they carried with them everywhere, made it desirable for them to have a roomier house than if it had been no more than a house to live in. In it therefore they could always have a room of considerable size, which, with little trouble, could be turned into a place of assembly. Such details as these, which have been suggested to us by the history of the Acts, enable us to conceive what kind of house might have been occupied here in Rome by Aquila and Priscilla. It must have been at once suited to their trade and adaptable for Church purposes. Living as they did by their craft and supporting themselves by manual labour, we can hardly affirm that the house which was the scene of many a Church gathering and may truly be said to have been the first Christian Oratory in Rome, actually belonged to them. Though Aquila's wife bears a Roman name, she could hardly have been a lady of means and position, as some have been ready to suppose. So far as we can get at the facts, the most probable inference is that Priscilla was connected with one or other of the great Roman families, as many a freedwoman was in that time. Recent discoveries in the Catacomb of Priscilla establish the fact that Priscilla was a common name in the family of the Acilii Glabrones. The mother of Pudens, whom St. Paul mentions in his last letter to Timothy, was a Priscilla. If there was the household tie as well as the bond of a common faith linking Aquila's wife with one or other of these noble families, though in a very humble way, it is easy to understand how the same Catacomb became the restingplace of the mother of senators and the wife of a tentmaker.

If we could reproduce the style of the houses that stood on the southern slope of the Aventine, where this famous oratory is believed to have been in those days and where traces of it may soon enough be brought to the light, we might be able to convey an accurate conception of what this house must have been. A Roman house of the period would have readily served both as a workshop and as a place for Christian assemblies. The familiar atrium with its colonnade would give ample room for the manipulation of the materials for tent-making. Under its roofed aisles several workmen might have easily found accommodation, if the extent of the business required as many. Through the open centre the light and air would reach the workshop. When the first day of the week came round and the members of the Church assembled, the various trade materials would be found stored away in one or more of the side rooms. Not a trace of the workshop need have been visible on the day of public worship. The seats of the worshippers would take the place of the work-benches. Behind or above, there remained in seclusion the rooms of the family.

In just such circumstances we can conceive Aquila and Priscilla placed in these years from 58 A. D. onwards. There the disciples often gathered to take counsel with each other on the interests of the Christian community. There messengers from the eastern Churches must often have appeared, bringing with them the news of the progress of Christianity in many centres. There words of salutation from St. Paul might have been conveyed by messenger after messenger from him. There possibly his great epistle to « all that are in Rome » might have first been read to the assembled brethren. There the very voice of the Apostle himself might have been heard on the occasion of his visit to the City, while he was waiting his trial or when his acquittal had come. In the one case the soldier that kept him must have accompanied him, in the other he stood forth as a free man. Familiar names rise up before us of those who must have worshipped within its walls. Most of those, whose names are found in the closing chapter of the Roman epistle, must have occasionally, if not frequently, been no strangers to the house of Aquila and Priscilla. Even those, of whose Christian faith we hear only in some marble inscription of the catacombs, present themselves to us as having been there. Pomponia Graecina, the wife of Aulus Plautius and the real conqueror of South Britain, might easily have had her Church home there. Pudens, the young officer who had served with her husband in the same campaign, might have been a listener. Claudia and Linus might have been equally at home in it. Possibly St. Peter himself was there, if we are to place reliance on evidence outside of Scripture. What mind can fail to be interested in a house with such a history and holding so important a place in the early Roman Church! Who does not desire to see the actual walls, even in ruins, of this first Christian Oratory on Roman soil and be assured of the very spot, where it stood?

In quest of the actual site of the celebrated Oratory, we naturally turn to the Church, which bears the name of one at least of St. Paul's fellow-labourers, and is found on the southern slope of the Aventine. The fact that Aquila's name is not always found along with that of Prisca would not hinder our belief in the relation of that site with the friends of St. Paul, were it not that there is another Prisca mentioned in legend, who cannot have been the wife of Aquila. Mrs Jameson describes her as « a Roman virgin of illustrious birth, who at the age of thirteen was exposed in the amphitheatre. A fierce lion was let loose upon her, but her youth and innocence disarmed the fury of the savage beast, which, instead of tearing her to pieces, humbly licked her feet — to the great consolation of Christians and the confusion of idolaters. Being led back to prison, she was there beheaded ».

The earliest trace, according to Armellini, of the connection of this very youthful Prisca with the site on the Aventine we find in a catalogue of Pietro Natale, who says that Eutichianus, Bishop of Rome from 275 to 283, discovered through a revelation, made to him, where the body of the saint had been buried and having found it and brought it from thence, had it laid in the place where to-day is the Church that was dedicated first to Aquila: whence it was called the *titulus* of Aquila and Prisca. I have come on no allusion thus far to the place, where this young martyr was buried, save in an article by the celebrated De Rossi in his *Archaeological Bulletin* of the year 1867. There he refers to a discovery made in the Priscilla Catacomb in the ninth century when a group of sepulchres came to light, that were judged to be those of illustrious saints, whose inscriptions bore the names of Aquilinus, Aquila and Prisca. De Rossi believes that these sepulchres are most probably those of the family, to which Aquila and Priscilla belonged as also the young martyr Prisca. If there were positive proof for this, it would do away at once with any difficulty that may be supposed to lie in one name only having been connected with the site for a considerable period. The longer title was easily susceptible of curtailment and the interesting story about the youthful martyr, coming up in the later centuries, would help to make Prisca the one name, by which the Christian memorial would be known.

Some such explanation as this is confirmed by the fact that at the second Roman Council held by Simmachus in the year 499 it was spoken of under the double title. Still later, according to De Rossi, in the last centuries of the Middle Ages the Church of St. Prisca was considered to be the house of Aquila and Prisca. There remains the evidence of that opinion as existing in the thirteenth century in the marble inscriptions in the hypogeum of the Church. Even in the fifteenth century, on the architrave of the door of the Church, there was found an inscription, which began with the words « *Haec domus est Aquilae seu Priscæ* ». The conclusion, to which De Rossi came after a review of all the evidence in his hands in the year 1867 was thus expressed: « It is therefore without doubt that the site on the Aventine, which in the documents of the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries was called laconically the « *titulus Priscæ* » or « *S. Priscæ* », at least from the eighth century was found with the fuller form, that of « *Aquila and Prisca* » and was believed to be the site, where in Rome the Church in the house of these first converts to the Gospel had had its seat and its assemblies, honoured also by the presence of St. Peter and St. Paul ».

Not so long ago in the year 1776, less than a century before these words, to which I have referred, were penned by De Rossi, there was made a remarkable discovery bearing on the actual site of the first Chri-

stian Oratory. De Rossi himself came upon the evidence of the discovery in a brief letter without date of one Carrara, Treasurer of Pius VI, which was found among the papers of the celebrated Ennius Quirinus Visconti, commissary of the Roman antiquities under the said pontiff. The Latin codex, bearing the number 9697, in the Paris National Library, contains these documents. From it De Rossi gathered that near S. Prisca there had been discovered, a little before that date (1776), an ancient oratory adorned with Christian paintings of the fourth century, almost entirely cancelled by time, except the figures, which seemed to be those of the Apostles, of which there had been made a drawing that he had failed to find. The first page of the papers, gathered together in the said volume, bears the date of 1780; therefore the letter without date, certainly however of the first year of Pius VI; alluding to such a discovery made a little before near S. Prisca, coincides with the discovery of the bronze medal, connecting the two families of Pudens and Prisca. To that very interesting relation, thus proved, I shall refer immediately. Here was a discovery of unrivalled importance in regard to the actual site of the Oratory, made some 128 years ago, brought to the light by De Rossi 37 years ago. It was no wonder that Prof. Lanciani wrote recently in his *Rome Pagan and Christian*: « I cannot understand how in an age like ours, so enthusiastically devoted to archaeological, historical and religious research, no attempt has since been made to bring this venerable oratory to light ». I am happy this day to be able to tell you that the attempt is now in progress and that no effort will be spared to reach the remains of so celebrated a house as that, whose walls echoed to the voices of Apostles.

To complete the evidence I must first refer to the other discovery made about the same time. Under the same pontiff in the year 1776, relates De Rossi in the same article, there was found the following diploma in bronze sent by a city in Spain in the year 222 to Gaius Marius Pudens Cornelianus, a person of senatorial rank, whom that city had selected at its patron. The inscription is given in full in the Bulletin. These decrees of patronship were placed in the atrium of illustrious houses. The names of the senator, according to the usual classical nomenclature, were first Cornelius Pudens and then by adoption changed into Marius Pudens Cornelianus. This diploma then was actually found at S. Prisca and in the Vatican library, where it now is, it bears this inscription « *tabula aenea effossa in hortis Aventinis ad S. Priscæ anno 1776* ». There is thus proved to have come into existence a relationship between the family of Pudens and the house of Aquila and Prisca. Nothing can be more probable than that the bond of a common faith linked these two families together, so different

in position, the one of senatorial rank and the other of a well-to-do craftsman. Even if the Pudens family held no property on the Aventine in the Apostolic times it is quite conceivable that the immediate descendants of him, who was the friend of St. Paul, would have been eager to possess themselves of the house, which had the honour to have the Church in it with Apostles presiding at its assemblies. A Cornelius Pudens in the beginning of the third century, governor of a Spanish province, was in a position to purchase it, even if it had not come already into the hands of a member of the Pudens family. Evidence of a singularly corroborative character as regards the relationship between the two families is found in the additional fact that the Priscilla Catacomb became the common resting-place for the members of both, even « in death », we may say, « they were not divided ».

In view of such facts De Rossi found himself constrained to write « the memorials of Aquila with Prisca on the Aventine and those of Priscilla and the Pudenses of the Viminal form one group only and the point of the monumental junction is in the Priscilla Cemetery on the new Salarian Way, that of their historic relation in the dependance of Prisca and her family on the Priscilla of the Pudenses and that noble house, in which, in Rome, the first germs of the seed of the gospel bore fruit ».

In the course of last spring I had the opportunity of laying this evidence before a number of friends on a visit to this City. One of them had for many years occupied himself with the study of the history of the Christian Church and has done signal service in awakening interest in it in the case of many of the youth of his city. On listening to the alleged discovery of the actual site of this celebrated Roman Oratory, as we looked out on the garden from the verandah running along part of the southern side of the Church, he felt so moved to see the site uncovered that he offered there and then to pay the entire cost, if it could be carried out. Before he left the City he wrote out a formal offer, which enabled me to enter into communication, on the suggestion of Commendatore Boni, with the Minister of Public Instruction. As the summer approached, there was no great likelihood of much being done in the direction desired by the generous offerer. The Minister, however, did not lose sight of the offer. Orders were given, in due course, to proceed with the various steps necessary to decide the question of expropriating the garden, should any trace be found of the fourth century Oratory, referred to in the letter discovered in the National Library of Paris. The consent of the ecclesiastical authorities was obtained and the real work of searching for the once uncovered ruins was begun in October last. The first excavation was made among the vaults under the Church and in the garden, not far from its outer wall leading to the discovery, at no great depth, of Roman walls, placed however in such a way as to give no

indication of a necessary connection with the house, of which we were in quest. Delay was then occasioned by the change of Ministry until last month when a fresh excavation was made almost in a line with the first, but in a section of the garden farther off from the Church wall. The excavation was carried to a depth of 25 or 30 feet. Unexpectedly, some ten days ago, I had an opportunity, in company with the engineer in charge, of seeing the results of these first two attempts. A building of solid brick-work was there under our eyes with various steps, manifestly belonging to a stair of the house.

Still lower down and to the outer side of this massive brick-work, we found ourselves in a vaulted chamber or cistern with its walls and arches of tufa, giving evidence that it belonged to an early period. On the floor of it, there were pieces or sections of the well, which had existed there or somewhere near. These sections were in large cylinders of peperino. Here and there were to be seen the remains of mosaic pavements. The impression which I carried away from that visit was that the workmen had reached a lower platform than the site of the house of Aquila. The level of the brick walls was far more likely to answer to it. I came away with the desire to have a skilled eye to look upon the results thus far and have the benefit of wise counsel as to the next step.

Only a few days thereafter, I was fortunate to meet with Commendatore Boni. I told him of the results that had been obtained and was favoured by him with an appointment to visit the place together. I am now in a position to give you in few words the outcome of this first examination of the ruins by the most competent witness that can be found. The brick-building is of the Imperial period. As the bricks are more tiles than bricks, that might indicate an early date. Orders were given to have them carefully cleaned and that search be made for a brick-stamp, which might give a clue to the age. As we looked on these old walls the possibility presented itself that they might belong to the house of Cornelius Pudens, whose bronze diploma had been brought to light somewhere in that garden. Certainly the date 222 of that inscription is not far off the age of those massive brick walls.

On going lower down to the remains of the republican period the Commendatore had no difficulty in pronouncing them to belong to the period between Sulla and Caesar, undoubtedly republican. The walls of tufa are of a somewhat rare type and were, he thought, worthy of being photographed.

After a careful survey of the whole position of the garden, with these ruins freshly turned up and the subterranean vaults, which we also visited, Commendatore Boni recommended that a zig-zag trench should be run across

each end of the garden, in the hope that through one or other of them the ruins of the oratory may be found with some trace of Christian frescoes or emblems. If such be discovered, the Minister of Public Instruction might then feel himself warranted to proceed with the expropriation of the garden and ere long, let us hope, what remains of this first Christian oratory will have been brought to light.

March 14th. — Roman Tombs, a lecture by Contessa GAUTIER.

Last year I had the pleasure of speaking to you about the Tombs of Naples, and it was suggested to me that this year I should say something about the Tombs of Rome. But it was not until I began to prepare my material that I realised what a very different — and difficult task — I had undertaken. The tombs in Naples are found practically in a limited number of churches: those in Rome are scattered far and wide among the more than 300 churches of the city: the tombs in Naples are almost entirely Gothic in style, and are principally comprised within the limited period of two or three centuries: those of Rome on the contrary cover a vast period of time. Another contrast between the tombs of the two Cities is that those of Naples belong in most cases to that Royal House of Anjou whose every Member played such a fatal part in the history of Italy; or of their adherents and their enemies involved alike in the fate of that tragic dynasty whose rise and whose career were marked by blood stains from first to last.

The tombs of Rome on the other hand are generally those of private and independent individuals of various ranks and epochs, unallied to each other, many of whom possess only a local or a limited history and interest. Of many of these personages indeed we know hardly more than their names, and it is only the artistic beauty of their tombs which gives them a claim to the attention of posterity.

Naturally I am not alluding to the tombs of the Popes: I shall merely speak of a few of the most important or least known of these, as the book of Gregorovius treats so fully of them, and the tombs themselves, especially those of St Peter's, being well known to all of you.

It would seem like a contradiction in terms to speak of the tombs of Rome without referring to those of the Classical Period, but the subject is one of such immense extent and erudition that I hesitate even to approach it.

Alexander Pope has however said for all time that fools rush in where angels fear to tread, and perhaps it is sometimes well for common place humanity that they should be permitted to do so.

The ancient Greeks and Romans were both remarkable in their vene-

ration for the dead and for their resting places. To the Greeks nothing was more terrible than the idea that their dead should be unburied. The tragedies of the Seven before Thebes, and the Antigone turn on the pathetic attempts of Antigone to cover the corpse of her brother with at least some particles of sand, and she sacrifices her life to the attempt, and it is also the fortuitous meeting of Electra and Orestes to honour their Father's grave which leads to the recognition of the long parted brother and sister.

The Romans were no way behind the Greeks both in their veneration of the dead, and in the importance they attached to the place of sepulchre. Gustave Boissier in his « Religion Romaine » says « les funérailles étaient dans l'antiquité encore plus que chez nous un acte religieux. On croyait que ceux-là seuls jouiraient du repos dans l'autre vie qui avaient été ensevelis selon les rites: aussi prenait on de la peine pour se préparer un tombeau ». The religion of the tomb is so great, says Cicero « that it is considered almost a crime not to be buried in the ancestral monument ».

Essential to the knowledge of the social and domestic history of the ancients is the science of epigraphy, the deciphering of the epitaphs by which the Dead seem to be still in touch with the Living. They address them from their last home, they heap maledictions on who would violate, benedictions on who respect it.

One of the most pathetic inscriptions I know is in the Galleria delle Iscrizioni in the Vatican. On a stele two slender hands are sculptured in bas relief, they are upheld, palms outward as if in protest, and below a few passionate words record the revolt of a young girl at being ravished by death from her parents and friends to the shades below. Funereal inscriptions to Roman Matrons vindicate their claims to Piety and Honour: others to Senators and Generals recount their Dignities and Valour: others inform us as to the regulations and laws of those Associations and Corporations which were such a remarkable feature of ancient Rome. We are all familiar with the sumptuous tomb of the Baker Eurysaces at the Porta Maggiore where all the process of bread making is depicted in bas relief, and on more than one sarcophagus we can yet see represented the tools of the shoe maker, or the surgical instruments of the physician.

If the Greek funereal art excelled in delicacy and beauty of sculpture, the Roman produced master pieces of architecture and decoration. Of the colossal monuments to Augustus and Adrian we cannot at all judge by the mere core of them which is left, but we can still see and appreciate the exquisite stucco work, and lovely frescoes in the tombs on the Via Latina, and we must remember that such paintings and decorations were used in all the Columbaria which existed in hundreds in Rome and its immediate neighbourhood. Almost all of these have been swept away, but you may still gain a faint

idea of what they were like by the one still existing near the Tomb of the Scipios, close to the old Porta Latina. There is also a Columbarium in the grounds of the Villa Pamphily Doria, and there used to be one in the Villa Wolkonsky. Nothing could be lovelier than the decorations of that of the Statilian family which I saw in 1876 in a vineyard within the Porta Magiore; this was also destroyed in the new improvements and in the same way vanished one of the most interesting sepulchral monuments ever found in Rome, when in 1884 the present Via Porta Salaria was in course of construction. Here, in the grounds of the Villa Buonaparte, below the house, n. 29, was found the sepulchral chamber of the Licinii Calpurnii, one of the richest and noblest of Roman families. There were 7 cippi of fine workmanship, more or less broken, but with the inscriptions still legible; the largest of them, 3 feet 2 inches high bore the name of Lucius Calpurnius Piso Frugi Licinianus, who, when a boy of eleven was saved when the rest of his family were put to death at the instigation of Messalina. He was eventually adopted by Galba, who in January A. D. 69 nominated him as successor to the Empire, and four days later he was murdered together with Galba by the Pretorian Guard! When this tomb was discovered, the proprietor of the ground, signor Maraini hastened to the spot, and inquired of the labourers if anything had been found in the urns.

« Oh! » said one of the men, « there was a quantity of ash in that one », indicating the cippus of Piso, « and as it was nice and white and clean I carried it to my wife for her bucato! » (washing).

Shakespeare was a truer prophet than he knew when he wrote « Imperial Cesar dead and turned to clay might stop a hole to keep the wind away », or provide ashes for a Roman laundry!

Adjoining this sepulchral chamber was another containing eight or ten magnificent sarcophagi of very fine work, especially one representing the Triumph of Bacchus, while on others were sculptured Bacchus and Ariadne, the Rape of the daughters of Leukippos, and a Bacchanalian procession of nymphs and fauns. This last mentioned one was purchased by the Government, and is now in the Museo Nazionale, in the last small room on the upper floor after the collection of busts of Aurigae.

These sarcophagi were for a long time in the courtyard of the Palazzo Maraini in via De Pretis, but I think they are now all sold and dispersed. I saw one of them last year in an antiquarian's magazine in the via Margutta! Singularly enough no inscription of any kind was found with or on them, so that we are ignorant as to the owners of this important tomb.

A few yards further on, just outside the Porta Salaria we can still see the base of the tomb of the poor precocious little boy, Quintus Sulpicius Maximus who died in A. D. 95, during the reign of Domitian, of over much

learning, at 11 years old. We all know his pathetic little figure with its long inscription in the Museum of the Conservatori. This tomb and the one opposite were found within in the towers of the Porta Salaria, just in the same way as those of the Porta del Popolo were built up with stones from the Monument of the Auriga Gutta Calpurnianus, of which the fragments with his horses' heads, are now in the garden of the Museo Archeologico on the Coelian. The right hand tower of the Porta Pia also rests on a large circular tomb, and following again the circuit of the walls, after passing the Pretorian Camp, we come to the still very perfect tomb which is now enclosed within the precincts of the new Clinica. This tomb is known as « della Medusa », on account of a fine sarcophagus with a Medusa's head which was found in it, along with two others, one representing Orestes and Niobe, and all of which are now in the Lateran Museum. This tomb was excavated in 1839: it stood north of a road which issued from the walls at the Porta Chiusa, and which eventually joined The Via Tiburtina. The brick stamps of its vaulting give the date 132 A. D., and here also no inscription existed to afford a clue to its owner.

But it would take a great deal more time and erudition than I can command, merely to enumerate the places of sepulchre which must have made ancient Rome and its neighbourhood as much a City of the Dead as of the Living. The vast necropolis of the Esquiline and Quirinal hills, the magnificent « Mole » of Augustus and Adrian, « the keen Pyramids with edge sublime », « the great round towers of other days » which were scattered far and wide over the Campagna, the countless number of tombs lining the roads leading to and from Rome, — no other city presents sepulchres on such a vast and varied scale. And to all these the Christians added the miles on miles of Catacombs with superposed galleries pierced with numberless cubiculi in which they laid their dead. And yet we do not see a thousandth part of what once existed, for the work of destruction has been going on steadily for centuries: the wayside tombs have in many cases been used as material for mending the roads; the marbles of the rich ones have been carried off to adorn other edifices, sometimes even to foreign lands. But it is not only the pagan tombs which have been annihilated: the Christian ones have suffered equally.

Those of Popes, of Emperors, of Kings have all been violated by the hand of the destroyer, and it is heart breaking to read of the wanton and unnecessary destruction which took place as the old church of St Peter was gradually pulled down to make room for the new and larger building. In Professor Lanciani's *Pagan and Christian Rome* you may read the interesting details taken from the contemporary *Diary of Grimaldi*, and some years ago Professor Tesoroni gave a lecture to this Society on the tomb

of the Anglo Saxon king Caedwalla of Wessex, who as well as king Coenred of Mercia died in Rome, and were buried in the Atrium also known as the Paradise of St Peter. The long poetical inscription on the tomb of Caedwalla has been preserved to us in the Ecclesiastical History of the Venerable Bede. The tomb itself like so many others has utterly vanished, and it is only by visiting the Crypt of St Peter that we can form any idea of the number and interest of these tombs all broken and despoiled as they are. The one which is still in perfect condition, is the magnificent sarcophagus of Junius Bassus who was Prefect of Rome, and died in A. D. 359. One of the monuments whose destruction is especially deplorable is that of Paul II (Pietro Barbo of Venice) by Mino da Fiesole. Mr Perkins says that it was set up again after the destruction of the old St Peter's, and once more pulled to pieces in the 16th century. « It consisted of a recumbent effigy of the Pope stretched on a sarcophagus, under an arch supported by columns, outside of which were statues of the Evangelists in niches. Bas reliefs of the Last Judgement and the Resurrection filled the Lunette, and it was decorated with winged boys with garlands, reliefs of Faith, Hope, and Charity, the Creation of Eve and the Temptation.

Some parts of the reliefs, and the beautiful figures of Faith and Charity are all that remain to give us an idea of what the monument was like, but an engraving of it exists in the 2nd volume of Giacomini's History of the Roman Pontiffs and Cardinals. Mino da Fiesole came three separate times to Rome; in 1454, 1463, and 1473. He not only worked a great deal here, but also employed a large number of assistants, to whom must be ascribed the inferior work which we see mingled with exquisite design and execution. According to Steinmann he also often worked in conjunction with Andrea Bregno, and to both of these artists should be attributed the magnificent monument of Cardinal Pietro Riario, the young, handsome and best beloved nephew of Sixtus IV, who lies in the church of S. S. Apostoli of which he was titular. There seems to be a confusion respecting this Andrea Bregno, originating in Vasari who confounds him with Antonio Bregno born in Verona about 1410, whereas Andrea Bregno or Brioso was born in Padua in 1470, and was a pupil of Bellano, himself a pupil of Donatello. Both artists appear to have been nicknamed « Rizzo » or « Riccio » on account of their curling locks, but as he of Padua was particularly celebrated for the richness and beauty of his bronze work, I presume it is to him we may attribute this magnificent sarcophagus; only here comes a confusion of dates. The statue itself may be by Mino, as undoubtedly is the beautiful lunette above with the votive figures kneeling at the feet of the Madonna. The date of death is 1475. Steinmann attributes the beautiful tomb of Cardinal Roverella (1476) at San Clemente to the

combined work of Andrea Bregno and another artist most confusingly known as Niccola da Bari, *il Dalmata*, *il Bolognese*, and *dell'Arca* because he added more sculpture to the Arca made by Niccolò Pisano 2 centuries earlier. Steinmann calling him Giovanni and Perkins Niccolò to make confusion more confounded. The sarcophagus and figure in this monument, would be by Andrea Bregno, the basrelief of the Madonna and Angels by Dalmata according to Steinmann. Here we see a sort of distant and fast vanishing reminiscence of those curtain drawing angels, of which I spoke to you so much last year, and to which I shall have occasion to return presently.

The Venier monument in San Clemente is also worthy observation.

Probably from Mino's own hand is the very fine monument to the war-like Cardinal Fortiguerra, who died in 1474, and who lies in the church of S^a Cecilia, of which he was titular. The portraiture of the face is very striking, and the Madonna in the oval above is very characteristic of Mino. The other remarkable tomb in S^a Cecilia is of the English Cardinal Adam Eston of Hertford, who was Bishop of London. He was among those cardinals who were accused of conspiring against Urban VI, but through the intercession of King Richard II, was fortunate enough to escape the miserable fate of his brother conspirators and cardinals, who after suffering all sorts of tortures, were tied up in bags and thrown into the sea by order of the Pope, according to Platina. The effigy is evidently a portrait, and on the sarcophagus are quartered the Royal Arms of England, the Leopards and the Fleurs de Lys.

The date of this tomb is 1398, so that the Magister Paulus who made it cannot be the same as the artist known as Paolo Romano who is not heard of in Rome till 1451, but is probably the same whose name is inscribed on the fine tomb of Bartolomeo Caraffa in the Priorata of the knights of Malta on the Aventine. By this same Paulus is the monument in Sa Maria in Trastevere to Cardinal Stefaneschi de Annibaldis who was left as temporal Vicar of Rome when John XXIII went to his fate at the Council of Constance in 1414. This tomb shows work of the Cosmati type, and the embroidery imitated on the cushions and the dress is very curious.

Among the other interesting tombs in this church is that of Cardinal Philippe d'Alençon also probably by Magister Paulus; the bas relief represents the cardinal on his bier, surrounded by angels bearing tapers, and priests, one of whom holds in his arms a baby in swaddling clothes, symbolic of the departed soul. This Cardinal was of the Royal House of Valois, and was made Archbishop of Rouen in 1359 while quite a boy.

Although, as I have already said, I cannot here follow the wanderings of the Papal tombs which were ejected from St Peters, I must at least

speak of one which is comparatively little known, perhaps because it is rather difficult to find, namely the Monument of Eugenius IV at the church of San Salvatore in Lauro. To go there you must follow the via Tor di Nona below the new embankment in the direction of the bridge of Sant'Angelo, turn to the left up the Via dei Marchegiani (so called because the church was acquired by this confraternity in 1669) and you will thus reach the Piazza San Salvatore in Lauro, so named because here, in classic times, was the laurel grove adjoining the famous Portico of Europa which stretched along the neighbouring bank of the Tiber. Hemans says that the ancient porch of the church was destroyed under Pius IX; at all events it is now a hideous modern erection, but you enter a door at the side which leads into a charming cloister, beyond which is a court with two fine quattrocento doorways, over one of which is the bust of Cardinal Latino Orsini who built the church in 1450 for the Canons of San Giorgio. It was to this order that Eugenius IV had belonged, when he was only Gabriele Condellero of Venice, and this is why his tomb was transported here from the old St Peters. Even here it was shifted from the church into the former refectory occupied at one time by the military, now used as a sort of magazine, and here, after all these vicissitudes rests the Pope, who according to Platina loved war so much that he was always inciting the various Princes of Europe to arms.

At the same time he had many virtues, was a patron of schools, a man of his word, abstemious, had few friends, but all learned men, and during his reign, from 1431 to 1447, caused to be made the splendid bronze doors of St. Peters. It was Eugenius who at the moment of his death is said to have exclaimed: « Oh Gabriel! how much better had it been for thy soul's salvation if thou hadst never been either Pope or Cardinal, but left to die as a simple monk in thy quiet monastery at Venice! » In the same hall there are two other tombs, one of a bishop, the other of Magdalena Orsini, mother or sister of the founder, and the dignity of this old woman's face, and the realism of her winkled hands is very remarkably rendered.

The tomb of Eugenius with its recumbent effigy, and the statuettes of the Four Doctors of the Church is by Isaia da Pisa who must have worked between 1445 and 1485, for he is also the sculptor of the tomb of S^a Monica in Sant'Agostino, the relics of the former Saint having been brought from Ostia in 1483 when the church in honour of her illustrious son was erected by Cardinal d'Estouteville. Only the sarcophagus and the effigy of the Saint are now in existence (in the chapel to the left of the High Altar) for her own chapel with all its beautiful sculptures was barbarously destroyed in that terrible 17th century which has so much to answer for.

In the cloister of Sant'Agostino, now the cortile of the Ministero della

Marina, are some tombs which are very little known, though they are well worth visiting. Two support effigies of bishops bearing inscriptions in Greek; the other two probably once formed a single monument in a chapel of the Piccolomini family in Sant'Agostino, possibly destroyed at the same time as that of Santa Monica, and transported to the cloister. They are attributed to Mino da Fiesole, and to his scholars. The effigy of the dead Cardinal, his hand and the draperies are finely treated, and very singular are the figures in the Last Judgement above.

The corresponding effigy is of his mother Costantia, and the statuettes of Saint Augustin and Santa Monica convey a touching allusion to the other mother and son. The angels bearing the Host, and guarding the door of the sacred tabernacle are singularly lovely.

Among the Tuscan artists who worked in Rome was Antonio del Pollajuolo who was summoned from Florence in 1484 by Innocent VIII to make that grand bronze monument to his predecessor Sixtus IV, which is now in the chapel of the Holy Sacrament at St. Peters. Innocent himself dying in 1492, Pollajuolo was employed to make his tomb also; unfortunately it is now hoisted so high on the wall by the choir chapel in St Peters, that it is difficult to investigate its splendid workmanship. These tombs are too well known to need description, but less familiar is one which is probably also by Pollajuolo, although only negative evidence can be produced for the attribution. This is the magnificent recumbent bronze statue of the Venitian Bishop Foscari which is in the third chapel on the right in S^a Maria del Popolo. Nothing grander and simpler can be imagined than the perfect repose of the weary old figure, and characteristic dead face: the design and workmanship of the sarcophagus are suggestive of goldsmith's work. Every chapel indeed of S^a Maria del Popolo contains a tomb worthy of notice, and we may almost consider it as the mortuary chapel of the della Rovere family, for the church, although founded by Pascal II in 1099, and rebuilt in 1227, was again restored magnificently by Sixtus IV in 1477, and three of his nephews are buried there. In the fresco by Melozzo da Forli, now in the Vatican Library, we can see the portrait of this Pope, and of three of these nephews, one the Riario whose tomb in SS. Apostoli you have just been looking at, and another who may be the other della Rovere Pope Julius II, while at the feet of Sixtus kneels the interesting figure of Platina, just appointed Librarian to the Vatican, and whose Lives of the Popes was to finish with that of his patron.

The chapels both to right and left of the entrance of S^a Maria del Popolo were originally those of the della Rovere and still bear on the panels of their balustrades, the armes parlantes of the family, the Oak tree, while a lovely design of acorns and oak leaves decorates the tomb of Cardinal

Cristoforo della Rovere in the right hand chapel. He was buried here in February 1478, and this tomb is the combined work of Andrea Bregno and Mino da Fiesole: by the latter is certainly the beautiful lunette of the Madonna and Child with adoring angels which is almost similar to that on the monument of Cardinal della Rocca in the sacristy of this church.

In the third chapel lies Giovanni della Rovere Duke of Sora another nephew, and behind the High Altar is the tomb of Cardinal Girolamo Basso, son of the sister of Sixtus IV. This monument like the one to Ascanio Sforza opposite was erected by order of Julius II also a della Rovere, and both were designed and executed by Andrea Contucci who was a shepherd's-son from Monte San Savino near Arezzo whence came the appellation by which he is generally known of Sansovino. He was born in 1460, and worked on these tombs in 1506. The designs in relief are lovely, and the statuettes pleasing, but the recumbent effigies leaning uncomfortably on their elbows are unnaturally posed, and very different to the reposeful dignity of those by the earlier masters. We must not confuse this Sansovino with his pupil Jacopo Tatti born 1477, also called Sansovino, who is the sculptor of the famous Madonna at Sant'Agostino, and of so many works at Venice, including the ruined Loggia of the fallen Campanile. In the Cappella Costa of S^a Maria del Popolo the tomb by an unknown sculptor of Marc Antonio Albertoni who died in 1485, aged 30, is worth careful study on account of the interesting costume, short tunic, beretta, and thick long hair with which we are familiar through the personages painted by Piero di Francesco and Masolino. It is also interesting to compare the tomb of this handsome youth with that of Francesco Tornabuoni of Florence by Mino da Fiesole in S^a Maria sopra Minerva. This church like the Popolo is singularly rich in monuments. Here Fra Angelico lies smilingly at rest: here in the Aldobrandini chapel the father and mother of Clement VIII gaze on each other through an eternity of marble, and the two Medicean Popes Leo X and Clement VII sit on their stately thrones behind the high altar, while exquisite quattro and cinquecento tombs are hidden away in the dark side chapels.

Two in the 6th chapel to the right are especially noticeable: that of Benedetto Superanzio Bishop of Nicosia who died in 1495, and on the opposite side that of Joannes di Diego Coca, a Spanish prelate. The expression of both the faces, either dead or sleeping, is very fine: the design of the Coca tomb shows a different treatment, and the fresco above with angels playing musical instruments is attributed to Melozzo da Forlì. A curious tomb here is an ancient pagan sarcophagus representing Hercules and the Nemean lion, and here also is the fine monument to Guillaume Durand Bishop of Mende in the South of France who was born in Provence about 1220, and

died in Rome in 1290. His tomb is by Giovanpi Cosmati, and displays the characteristics of this master.

The Bishop's arms are emblazoned in mosaic on the front of the marble couch where he lies, and at his head and feet are curtain drawing angels, but much less gracefully treated than those on the Neapolitan tombs. Instead of reverently holding back the curtains above the parade bed, they merely draw them along a lateral bar. The same treatment is observable in the beautiful tomb also by Cosmati of Cardinal Consalvi in Sta Maria Maggiore, date 1298.

These stiff and ungraceful curtain drawing angels I found on a monument of the Rusconi family from the church of San Francesco in Como, now in the Medieval Museum at Milan, and angels in this position are also *painted* on the tomb of Ferry de Beavoir, 1489, in the cathedral of Amiens, while in the Renaissance Museum of the Louvre, there is a fragment of a monument with curtain drawing *deacons*! But the most beautiful of these angels in Rome are to be found in the little church of San Cesareo on the Via Appia above the tomb or Confession of the Patron Saint which is below the High Altar, all glorious in mosaics and marbles of Cosmatesque workmanship. Splendid tombs of the same work are those of the Savelli family in their chapel in the church of Ara Coeli. Here is the tomb of Luca Savelli whose ruined castle still exists near Albano. On an ancient sarcophagus is reared an ark, bearing the Savelli arms in glistening mosaics of various hues.

In another tomb lie the remains of his wife Vana Aldobrandeschi, and on her sarcophagus is the effigy of her son Pope Honorius IV, which was laid in this place when his own tomb was destroyed in St Peters. There are other Savelli tombs, the series concluding with the fine quattrocento one of Cardinal Giambattista by Andrea Bregno, according to Steinmann.

Here too is the fine monument to Cardinal d'Albret of the Royal House of Navarre, italianised into Lebreto: it is on a different model to the generality, especially the remarkable figures in high relief of St Francis and St Michael who seems a sort of forerunner of Guido's joyous triumphant Archangel. In the chapel of San Bernardino where are the lovely frescoes of Pinturicchio, is also the beautiful cinquecento monument to the celebrated jurisconsult Filippo della Valle, his voluminous works serving as cushions to his head and feet. In this church too is the fine tomb of the Franciscan Cardinal Aqua Sparta who was sent on various important missions by Boniface VIII, and to whom Dante alludes in the 12th Canto of the Paradiso as exceeding the rigour of St Francis' rule by his severities. There are many other interesting tombs here which I have not time to particularise, for my time is rapidly drawing to an end, and I can only indicate to you the monu-

ments in San Giovanni Laterano and S^a Maria Maggiore, the interesting but little known Spanish tombs of Fernando da Cordova, Diego di Valdez, and Roderigo Sancio now in S^a Maria di Monserrato where they were removed from San Giacomo degli Spagnuoli; in the church of S^a Maria della Pace the charming Renaissance monument of the Ponzetti family with the graceful heads of the two young girls, and here too is the Cesia Chapel by Cioli called *il Mosca*.

-In the churches of the Anima, of S^a Balbina, S^a Prassede, S^a Francesca Romana, San Gregorio, San Lorenzo and many others, you will find; is you will take the trouble to search, tombs as interesting and beautiful as those of which I have had the pleasure of speaking.

March 22nd. — A Journey in Thessaly, a lecture by Rev. Father P. P. MACKEY O. P.

It is well known that the perfection of Greek civilisation, culture and art is to be found in Athens and its neighbourhood; but that is the youngest part of ancient Greece, and if one wishes to explore the parts consecrated by the most ancient memories and traditions, he must go further South or further North. If he goes further North, there he will find very little to recall what is known as Greek polish and refinement, but he will find all the colossal memories of Greece — if I may so express myself. In Thessaly reigned the great gods — Olympus bounds it on the North. There the demi-gods performed their great deeds, and there the giants warred with Jupiter, and piled Ossa on Pelion in the hope of reaching the summit of Olympus. There lived the great heroes Jason and Achilles, and there the great battles were fought by which Greece was made subject to the Macedonians, and where Julius Caesar and Pompey fought for its possession, and Caesar remained the master of the world. There are the great mountains, the great rivers, the great plains, and the great defile — that of Tempe. Thessaly is full of glorious and great memories and remarkable associations — it is also the part of Greece filled with the greatest difficulties in travelling; the distances are great, the soil is barren, especially in August. There is no modern comfort, there is only one spot in the immense territory, the small but flourishing town of Volo, where anyone from the West can find the means of living fairly well. It was from this town that certain explorations of Thessaly, which took place some time ago, were begun. We were two in number. In travelling to reach Thessaly, we did not take the shortest way, but passed by many interesting spots among others, the city of Eleusis and then to mount Kithaeron, where the Bacchantes ranged of old, and descending to Thebes we went on to the city of Chalkis, on the won-

derful seastream, the Euripus. There we were struck by the mixture of old and new. The town is of great antiquity; the little river, really a sea stream was celebrated in the most ancient times for its double current. It is a tidal river, and each day the current changes its direction, flowing for six hours to the North, and for six hours to the South. This is now spanned by an iron bridge made by the manufacturers of Western Europe. Here we took ship, and steamed to Volo, passing many interesting spots, till at length nightfall came on, and we were obliged to give up our survey. Shortly after midnight we anchored in the little port of Volo.

Next day was devoted to our first exploration. In a little boat we crossed a most charming blue bay, about a mile and a half wide, to a spot reputed to be the oldest inhabited place in those parts, the old city of *Pegasae*, which had given its name to the gulf, for in ancient times what is now called the Gulf of Volo was the Pegasæan Gulf. We climbed a low knoll, and there before us was the site of the city across the valley on a steep hill. There were no ruins visible, only a solitary aqueduct across the valley to the hill on which the city was built. I was anxious to explore further the site of the ancient city, whose origin is lost in the prehistoric world. I had the good fortune to be accompanied by the same companion of former explorations, who was always content to wait for me, while I went to explore. He took up his post then below the hill, and this was our usual division of labour. I climbed the hill, and on the top found a line of fortifications belonging to the old city. The wall might be five feet in height, and a broken tower ten feet. Here I took my stand, together with a little dog which had followed me, and planting himself by my side, directed his view wherever he saw my eyes were turned — so we explored all that was to be seen the dog and I — and wonderful things were in sight. Opposite, beyond the bay of which I have spoken, rises *Mount Pelion*, the most famous of Greek mountains and one of the most picturesque. It rises 5000 ft sheer from the sea, five or ten miles in length, and occupies the largest part of the horizon. It is well wooded, though not as in ancient days with pines, but with chestnut and oak trees. Its villages, the renowned « Twenty Four Villages of Mount Pelion » added wonderfully to the picturesque appearance, eight or ten of them showing as bright white spots amid the dark foliage. It was wonderfully picturesque, and its associations most interesting. There lived the Centaurs — those half men, half horses were nourished among its woods; there that great man, the first physician, Cheirson, took the little Achilles, and brought him up in a cave which can still be seen on that mountain. Here also the giants warred, and piled up Ossa

upon Pelion, in the hope of scaling heaven, and dethroning Jupiter and Saturn. Closer to us was a little spot of land between the city and the sea. Here the trees cut down on Mount Pelion were brought, and here Jason fashioned them into the ship Argos, that he might go to look for the Golden Fleece.

This was the site of Colchis, where his father reigned. Here he gathered together the heroes of Greece, who afterwards hunted the Calydonian boar together. Here they built the ship which was to extend the limits of the European world.

Turning round to the other side, the whole expanse of Thessaly lay before us, sixty or seventy miles, bounded by mount Pindus, its top lost in mists, and other mountain ranges ramifying from it. Before reaching the mountains two spots call for attention, and detain the view. About ten miles distant is the site of *Pherae*, where lived Admetus. On account of the amiability of his character he was loved by Apollo, and Apollo came down, took the form of a servant, and stayed taking care of his flocks for a whole year. Further on is the site of *Pthia*, the birth place of Achilles. There lived his father Peleus, and in the blue bay on which we were gazing lived the Nereids and Thetis, the fairest of them. Looking on that blue bay, bathed in the glow of a Greek summer sun, the bright blue expanse, broken up by the ripples of snow white foam, it was easy to understand what suggested to the ancients the idea of the sea being inhabited by nymphs. There were the ripples ever changing and ever beautiful, appearing and disappearing, and there were explained as living, semi-divine beings, the goddesses of the sea, showing themselves in this beautiful form to men, and the fairest of them all was Thetis. Her husband was Peleus, king of Pthia, and she was the mother of Achilles. Alcestis was the daughter of Peleus, and you know her beautiful story. Her father had decreed that she should never be given in marriage till a suitor should come for her in a chariot drawn by lions and wild boars. That was the compact he made, and no one was able to fulfil it till King Admetus found the way of doing so. Apollo brought him the lions and wild boars, and sent him to the house of Peleus to ask for his daughter's hand, and Peleus was obliged to give it. Then Apollo, for the love he bore Admetus, promised him immortality on the condition that he could find some one who would die instead of him. You know the story, and how the most suitable person seemed to him his decrepit old father, but he would not consent — the only person who would die for him was his wife Alcestis. And she really died, and « the very entrails of the lower world » were moved with compassion, and Proserpine sent her back alive to her husband. Many allusions to this story can be found here in Rome on sarcophagi and in sculptures.

Before leaving Volo, there was another city equally important to be seen on the other side. It was not of ancient Greece, nor was it even a Greek city. It was the city of *Demetrias*, founded by the Macedonians who kept Greece in subjection. And this was one of the fetters, where every spark of liberty was extinguished, and every effort at liberty was subdued. *Demetrias*, its founder, was called *Poliorketes*, the assaulter of cities. He well understood the arts by which a city should be taken and defended. He chose one of the sites best adapted for defence. At the foot of Pelion, on a cliff rising perpendicularly from the sea, with a small plain on the summit where the city was built. At the edge of the platform is a natural formation of rock 12 ft wide, the whole length of the city, so that there was no need to build a wall, nature had made a good and perfect rampart. Of actual remains few are to be seen. It was curious to observe the ravens flying by scores about a spot where there had once been so much of human life and effort.

We descended to Volo, and passed the evening among the hospitable inhabitants, and next day started for the interior of Thessaly, crossing it from East to West — not a troublesome journey, as a small railway has been made. There were two spots of great interest on the way, but these we left to be visited on the return journey. You must imagine us transported to the utmost extent of Thessaly. We passed a small range of hills, which the ancients said were like the heads of dogs, and called them the *Kynoskephalae*, the Dogs' Heads. Near them was fought the battle which decided the fate of Greece, and its subjection to Rome, where Philip of Macedon was finally subdued by the Roman general. The range of *Pindus* is the wildest in Greece, rising suddenly from the plain, showing its precipitous sides, and deep recesses. We had now come to the uttermost limit of Thessaly, a corner made on one side by some rocks (of which I shall have more to say) on the other by the great Pindus range, while between them flows the river Peneios, a celebrated river of antiquity, which waters the whole of Thessaly, and passing through the Vale of Tempe, falls into the sea. We had not come, however, to visit Pindus or the Peneios; we had come to see the rocks, for there is nothing else in the world like them. These rocks are inhabited by the *Meteors*.

I am not speaking of some legend or fable, or of meteoric stones. The meteors are rocks about 200 ft in height, rising precipitously from the plain, and ending in sharp pinnacles. Only one can be ascended and it is defended by a bridge which till a short time ago was a drawbridge, but now that times are safer, the bridge has been made permanent. On the top of these rocks live the meteors — « the monks who live in the air ».

In the 13th century some Greek monks came to that part, and to

make themselves safe from brigands, they built these monasteries. There are twentyfour, but seven only are inhabited by the same order as those who came in the 13th century. They have still remained, though the reason of their stay has passed away. We had come to visit these monasteries — not all of them, but one or two, and the mode of visiting I will now describe — but first let me say in parenthesis that in ancient times Thessaly was celebrated not only for its history, and its prehistoric ruins, but for its magic, above all places in Grece.

So much so that necromancy has been supposed to be derived from one of the cities of Thessaly.

Apuleius placed the scene of his Golden Ass in Thessaly, as the only country in which such a story could be thought to be true. The only place where we came in contact with magic was in the little village at the foot of the meteors. It was a poor place, and the poorest place in it was the little tavern — but it had the gift of magical transformation. In its normal state it might be called a hovel, and the price for entertainment was three halfpence. No sooner did a foreigner appear than it became the « Hotel des Météors », and the charge rose to two francs ! This was the only magic we found in Thessaly ! The people were good, and full of respect for us. They knew we were Latin monks, but it was hard for them to realise a monk in white, not in black, without a beard, and with hair not on his shoulders. Yet they saw that monks we were, and they treated us with great respect. Our guide spoke a little English, and showed us a book in which English sounds had been put down in the Greek characters to represent the sounds.

We took horses, and travelled round the base of the cliff. The monastery we were to visit first was that of St. Barlaam, Hagios Barlaam. My good companion decided to wait while I went up. It is true that no accident has happened since the 13th century, still he felt that this was the day when an accident might occur, and he could not be induced to try. I could see along the precipitous cliff rope ladders, but these were decided to be too hard for me, and I did not much fancy the look of them. The cliff was 180 ft., and there was no means of ascent except by the rope ladders, and the means which I adopted. We shouted up, and a monk looked down, and appeared satisfied with us, for by a windlass 180 ft. above he lowered a rope with a large net. The guide spread the net on the ground. I stepped into it; the net was closed and hooked on to the rope, and we rose from the ground. For the first few feet the weight of my body preserved the power of traction, but after that the net squeezed me, and rolled me round and round into a ball. This corkscrew motion renders one absolutely helpless. You see the earth disappearing for three or four minutes, you seem to hang in mid air,

then the monk pulls you in, and you are dropped on the ground! The monastery is extensive, containing about twenty rooms, but occupying only the space on the top of the pinnacle. Two rooms have been thrown into one to form a chapel, which goes back to the 13th century, and has beautiful Byzantine work. The monks were very hospitable, and gave me coffee, and when they found that my friend would not come up, they sent down refreshments to him, all that was necessary being contained in an American petroleum box! I was glad to find twenty or thirty cats living with the monks! No one knows how the first monastery was built; how it was first reached. I suppose by a bow and arrow carrying a string, which could carry a rope. I spent the rest of the day in exploring the sites of the other monasteries. The most celebrated is that of St Stephen — Hagios Stefanos. It is the one which was formerly approached by a drawbridge. It is the largest of the communities, but contains no particular objects of interest. The descent is similar to the ascent — the good monk pushes one off into space. Having descended, we passed the night at the *Hotel des Météors*, and started early next morning.

We now turned back towards Volo, crossing Thessaly for the second time, and visiting the birth-place of Achilles, where stands at present the little town of Phersala. The Turks have left here a mosque and a minaret, one of the very few traces left of them in Greece. In the very North of Thessaly we met one Turk, and in Chalkis with 14,000 inhabitants, we saw only one old Turkish woman. They have completely gone from Greece. There is one route on which traffic is carried on by camels — from Athens to the Corinthian Gulf. The little town of Phersalia was interesting, but we had not come for that. I was directed to a mountain at the back of the city — there stood the castle of Achilles. I started alone, receiving as usual many cautions that I should not find my way — but it is not difficult to find one's way to a mountain directly in front of one. I had, however, the good fortune to be overtaken by a gentlemanly young man, an Albanian schoolmaster, so we did the rest of the way together, and he was a good companion. We climbed the steep hill, and on the summit found a complete fortress. We could trace easily the site of the walls of the Macedonian epoch; of the old walls of Achilles fragments may still be seen. Perched on the summit I gazed on the view as I had done from the ruins of Pegasae, and meditated on Achilles living there, and on the great events that had taken place in the plain at my feet, for there at Pharsalia Julius Caesar and Pompey met just below where I stood, and there Caesar overthrew Pompey, and became master of the world. Pompey fled by the route we were to take ourselves next day, through the Vale of Tempe. Of actual ruins there were very few, as is generally the case in the wilder

parts of Greece. It is more the memories and the associations connected with a place than the actual monuments to be seen. In this case the walls and gates can be traced. There was one interesting monument on the spot — a cistern, interesting because of its construction. The face of the rock is furrowed with channels leading into this cistern, so that all the rain water could be collected in these channels, and conducted into the cistern, where it was preserved. It is the only place in which I have seen this most efficacious arrangement.

Descending to the little town, we spent two hours with the people, finding as usual much of interest in their ways. I was principally struck with the total absence of occupation. We saw the whole population lounging about doing nothing, and apparently intending to do nothing for ever.

We passed on our journey to visit the spot where Admetus and Alcestis lived — *Pherae*. Thessaly in August is a desert, no trees, the grass burnt up, but *Pherae* is an oasis. Apollo promised Admetus that it should be always fertile — not that that is the reason of its fertility, but it is probable that its fertility was the cause of the attribution to Apollo. It is indeed a garden in the desert.

We pushed on to the Northern capital, *Larissa*, the very native home of the European Pelasgians.

The country we were now in was not Hellas, the Greece of culture and art, but the pre-Hellenic Greece of the Pelasgians, where lived that strange mythical people of whom we would know so much, and know so little. In *Larissa* there is nothing of antiquity left and very little left of any kind.

Ten years ago it was rich and prosperous, but since the Turkish and Greek war it has been the scene of combat, and has been completely devastated, with scanty possibility of recovery. It is a frontier for the Greek garrison, and four or five thousand soldiers are quartered there. There is a quarter where the officers met, which has some pretensions to comfort, but the rest consisted of hovels of dried mud.

There in the bend of the *Peneios*, there is a fortress forming the Northern boundary of Thessaly.

At this time of year the beautiful gardens by the river were burnt up, and the river was filled with the horses of the town, and of the soldiers, taking their evening bath.

Altogether it was a disappointing spot. We used it for our starting point to the Vale of Tempe. We crossed for 20 or 25 miles the plain of Thessaly.

First we skirted the base of Mount Pelion — then came a depression, and then the conical mountain *Ossa*, and behind it Olympus itself of which one side is Greek, the other Turkish. The summit is in Turkey, and it was

not possible for us to ascend it without a passport from Turkey. The Macedonian troubles were then just breaking out, and it would not have been safe, in any case, to venture into parts which at that time were infested by brigands. We therefore confined ourselves to the Greek side.

One can see, in looking at Olympus, how natural it was the legend about the Giants trying to reach the summit of Olympus by putting Ossa on Pelion. Olympus is 1000 ft in height; now if you put a conical mountain of 500 ft above an oblong mountain of 500 ft you have the scheme devised by the Giants and Titans. Between Ossa and Olympus runs the *Vale of Tempe*, caused by the river Peneios. No spot is more famous for its beauty than Tempe, and in Greece I think there is no spot more beautiful. To us, who know the Alps and Apennines there are spots equal to it, though not surpassing it. It is a lonely Vale, and our day there was pleasant. The valley is not too extensive, and can be easily managed in one day. There is a little khan where refreshments can be had. We reached our destination about 12, and in three hours had seen it easily, and were able to regain Larissa for the night.

From Larissa we made our way back to Volo — and though there are still many points of interest to be mentioned about Thessaly, enough has been said to try your patience, which must be almost at an end, so I will add no more, except to allude to the extraordinary beauty of our return journey to Athens. We were fortunate enough to meet the only passenger steamer existing in Greece. It is against the law for an Italian, English or Austrian steamer to land at any port in Greece except Athens (the Piraeus), Patras and Crete; the rest are reserved for the Greek navy. They run second hand English yachts, using the cabin for first class, a few third class, and the greater part for live cargo which are often disagreeable. They stop three, four and five hours to fill up with grain, rice and cattle. There is one passenger steamer « *Astrape* », the Lightning, which takes only passengers. Now and then it does not go — when we came it could not be got, as it was taking an American tourist excursion to Naples. Now, however, we shipped on it, and had a most pleasant journey back to Athens. We had the entire day, from 6 a. m. to 5 p. m. to explore the beauties of the coast. Perhaps the most beautiful and interesting view of all was that of Athens; when we turned the promontory of Sumium, on which stood the temple celebrated by lord Byron in the lines:

« Place me on Sumium's marble steep », etc.

This was the last event in our most interesting journey in Thessaly. Again we were at Athens, preparing for another delightful journey, this time through the Greek Islands, the Archipelago, the Cyclades, to the uttermost limit of the present Greek kingdom. The last island is Greek,

the next is Turkish. There we had to stop for the same reason I have mentioned before, the want of a passport without which it is impossible to set foot in Turkey.

March 29th. — Rome as seen by Rabelais, a lecture delivered before the Society by W. F. SMITH, of St John's College, Cambridge.

To many persons Rabelais is a sealed book, owing to the broadness of his humour, therefore an outline sketch of his life is necessary before speaking of his occupations in Rome.

François Rabelais, the son of an innkeeper, was born about 1490 at Chinon in Touraine, a place famous as possessing a castle (now in ruins), which was sometime the abode of Henry II of England, and the meeting-place of Charles VII and Joan of Arc. It is situated on the river Vienne, which flows into the Loire about 9 miles lower down, while Saumur is 9 miles still further east.

The young François was destined for service in the Church, and was sent to a Benedictine seminary at Seuillé, a village a few miles from Chinon, but only a quarter of a mile from *La Devinière*, a cabaret and vineyard belonging to his father Tomas Rabelais. Attached to the Abbey of Seuillé was the *clos* or vineyard, which he rendered so famous in his romance. His acquisitive and observant nature was manifested early, and enabled him to notice local traits and aspects of the country, which he afterwards utilized in his books.

At the age of 9 or 10 he was sent to a convent, called La Baumette at Angers in Brittany, and though his studies seem to have profited but little, he had the great advantage of making the acquaintance of Guillaume and Jean du Bellay, members of a distinguished family of Maine, and of Geoffroi d'Estisvac, one of a noble family in Guienne, afterwards bishop of Maillezais in Poitou. These three proved steady friends through life and to them he owed his opportunities of making his way.

About 1509 he was transferred to the Franciscan convent of Fontenay-le-Comte in Poitou, where he remained till 1524. Here he laid the foundation of his great learning, in company with another brother named Pierre Lamy, or *Petrus Amicus* in the Latin nomenclature then in vogue. Lamy was acquainted with and encouraged by the great French scholar and humanist, Guillaume Budé (*Budæus*), to whom Rabelais was also introduced. The rest of the monks, being themselves ignorant, resented the learning of the two brothers, and especially the fact that they had acquired Greek. They deprived the students of their books and treated them with harshness. This is shown by some letters which passed between Budé and Rabelais, which are still preserved.

Among the books possessed by Rabelais at this time is an *editio princeps* of Plato (Venetiis, Aldus Manutius, 1513) now at Montpellier, and two small treatises, one bearing his *Ex-libris* and the other annotated by his hand. These two are bound up with two or three others in binding of *saec. XVI*. This volume was sold in Rome at the Buoncompagni sale in 1898, and is now in Berlin.

He also studied Canon law, as in duty bound, and Roman law with the help of Budé's Commentaries on the Pandects. He seems to have consulted other treatises of the learned Frenchman, the *de Asse et partibus ejus*, translations of some of Plutarch's essays and others. We are told in letters written by his friends that he translated Herodotus and Lucian. The correspondence between him and Budé show that he could compose readily both in Latin and Greek.

Owing to the persecution to which he was subjected he obtained an indult from Pope Clement VII in 1524, transferring him from the Franciscan order to the Benedictines, and to the Church of Maillezais, to which he was warmly welcomed by Bishop d'Estisvac. Here he met in close companionship a number of learned men, especially jurists, such as André Tiraqueau, Jean Bouchet and Aymery Bouchard. He also followed the study of natural science and medicine, for which he evidently had a *pénchant*. He left Fontenay cherishing a life-long resentment against his ignorant persecutors, and on this side alone his satire shows bitterness, in other cases there is considerable geniality in his banter.

He resents ignorance that is stubborn and culpable, referring more than once to Aristotelian *dicta* to the effect that research and investigation are the natural instincts of man.

His restless and inquisitive nature soon impelled him to leave Maillezais and to wander through France, visiting its Universities, Bordeaux, Toulouse, whence he studied the language and customs of the Basques; Montpellier, Avignon, Bourges, where he studied law, Orleans and Paris, where he studied medicine for two years. From there he returned to Montpellier in September 1530, where he graduated as Bachelor of Medicine in December of that year, the studies of Paris being recognised at the University of Montpellier.

After giving *courses* of lectures on anatomy, which was the duty of the *Baccalauréi* — hence called *cursores*, as opposed to the *regentes*, who had *seats* of study — he betook himself in the beginning of 1532 to Lyons, which at that time rivalled Paris in culture and possessed several busy printing-presses. Rabelais went there in order to get Sebastian Gryphius, the great printer, to bring out his edition of the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates and a small tract of Galen, as well as other treatises, which he dedicated to

various friends in Latin epistles prefixed to them, from which we gain information concerning him. In October he was appointed physician to the hospital at a salary of 40 *liores* a year.

It was in Lyons that his literary career began. He fell in with the prevailing tastes and published an Almanack for 1533, intended to supersede the quack prophecies and prognostications so common at that time. In the preface to it he exclaims against the attempts to pry into the secrets of the Deity in a vein of genuine piety.

He also published for the amusement of his hospital patients *Les Grandes Croniques de l'énorme Géant Gargantua*, a sort of giant fairy-tale about King Arthur and Merlin and the beneficent French giant Gargantua. This proved so successful that he published his *Pantagruel, son of Gargantua*, a much more carefully written production, in which he employs autobiographical details and begins to make use of his classical learning. *Pantagruel* is concerned with the education of a prince, after the example perhaps of Xenophon's *Cyropædia*. Erasmus, Vives, Budé, Calvin and others had written on this subject. Amid the crude and amusing fairy tales, the letter of Gargantua to his son Pantagruel, inciting him to make the most of his opportunities of study, is of real educational value.

With ideas of this kind he came to Rome in the beginning of 1534 in the train of Bishop du Bellay, as physician and secretary. In a letter prefixed to an edition of Marliani's Topography of Rome he writes to the Bishop: « Long before we were in Rome I had settled in my mind the purpose that I wished to fulfil when there. I had determined first to visit the men of learning who had attained celebrity in those parts through which our journey lay, and to get their opinion on certain subjects that had long perplexed me. Next, in pursuance of my medical profession, I wished to collect plants, animals, and certain drugs, which were said to be wanting in France and abundant in Italy. And lastly to portray the appearance of the city with my pen, so that there might be nothing which I could not on my return readily furnish to my countrymen from my books ».

He found, however, that there were no plants or animals to speak of in Italy, which he had not known. He mentions an « unique » plane-tree at the « Mirror of Diana » at Aricia (*Lago di Nemi*). — He was more successful in his third purpose. He says: « The last of my intentions, I carried out so diligently that I believe that no man's house is better known to its master than Rome and all its streets and lanes are to me ». Bishop du Bellay also visited places of interest and purchased a *vigna* for the purpose of excavations. Prof. Lanciani tells us that this refers to the *Thermae Diocletianae*. The Bishop laid out here the *horti Belleiani*; but at his death in 1560 creditors seized the estate.

Rabelais, after considerable pains found that his design of a *Topographia Urbis Romae* had been anticipated by Marliani. He at once gave up the idea, but caused an edition of Marliani's book to be printed at Lyons by Gryphius (1534), and wrote a dedication of it to Bishop du Bellay.

Jean du Bellay, to whom this book was dedicated, was the second of three brothers of a very distinguished family. He was born in 1492 and is said to have made the acquaintance of Rabelais at the convent of Baumette at Angers in Brittany. After a distinguished career at the University of Paris he was made bishop of Bayonne in 1532 and afterwards of Paris, Limoges and his native Le Mans, and subsequently Archbishop of Bordeaux. He was sent on a mission to Henry VIII of England and after that to Rome, and made Cardinal in 1536. He was looked upon as *papabile* in 1555, and, dying in 1560, is buried in the Church of Trinità de' Monti. His eldest brother Guillaume, Seigneur de Langey, was one of the most distinguished French statesmen of the time and served his country admirably as Viceroy of Piedmont at Turin. Rabelais occupied the position of secretary and physician to him from the end of 1539 to the beginning of 1543, the time of his death.

In 1534 the Bishop was pleading before Clement VII the cause of Henry VIII in the celebrated divorce case. According to his secretary he acquitted himself in a most brilliant manner.

Among the incidents of a visit to Rome, a serious one was that of crossing the Alps. From France it was generally *via Chambéry* and over the Mont Cenis to Turin. Montaigne in his *voyages* speaks of his return by this route. Travellers were carried to the top of the pass by *marroni*, or litter bearers, who took them down the steep descent on a *ramasse*, a kind of toboggan or luge. Many of the *Romipetae* were ecclesiastical personages who came to Rome to obtain confirmation of their appointment to benefices from the Pope. Rabelais also has an allusion to the *ramasse* as an amusement. There is a spirited description of this in Daudet's *Numa Roumestan*, c. 12.

An interesting allusion to a point of Roman antiquities is to be found in the *Pantagruel* (c. 33), which was written before his first visit. The story tells that Pantagruel was ill and that the doctors gave him pills, each larger than the copper ball that is on *Virgil's needle* at Rome. This is a reference to the Vatican obelisk, now standing before St Peter's, but which then occupied the spot where it was first set up in the *Spina* of the Neronian circus by the side of St. Peter's. An old legend is given in Comparetti's *Virgilio nel medioevo* (pt. ii. c. 7 bis) to the effect that it formerly stood at Jerusalem and that on the death of Julius Caesar Virgil went thither and bought it from the Jews and put the bones of Caesar in the copper ball instead of Sa-

lomon's. Prof. Lanciani (R. and E. p. 552) records that this obelisk is first called *Agulia* (a needle) in a bull of Leo IX (1053), who also calls it the *tomba* of Caesar. It was placed in its present position in 1586.

There is probably also an oblique allusion to the poor Pope Clement VII, in the 30th chapter of the *Pantagruel*, which describes the conditions of life in the other world, giving ludicrous inversions of the present life. The quotation runs: « Nero was a fiddler, and Fierabras his serving-man; but he played him a thousand mischievous tricks, and made him eat brown bread and drink wine that had turned, while he himself ate and drank of the best ». This, I believe, is intended to represent Clement, imprisoned and nearly starved for seven months (in 1527) in the Castle of St. Angelo under the orders of Charles V. The first part of the chivalrous romance of Fierabras is entitled *La destruction de Rome*; Nero, with his yellow beard (*Ahenobarbus*) and his fiddling, may be taken to represent Clement, who after the siege let his beard grow long, and possessed the musical tastes of the Medici, while Charles V was a notorious *bon vivant*.

In his first short visit (Jan.-March 1534) Rabelais found Clement VII still Pope. He died in September of that year, and was succeeded by the Farnese Paul III, a distinguished humanist, pupil of Pomponio Leto, who had been head of the Roman « Academy ». This pope well maintained the artistic and diplomatic traditions of Leo X. Rome was at this time doubly in ruins; in addition to the ruins of the old Rome the city was disfigured by the scars left by the horrible sack of 1527.

Though no doubt Rabelais was as thorough in archaeology as he was in every other branch of study he took up, and although he was proficient in architecture, it is not in the study of ruins and monuments that we find him at his best. It is rather in observing and recording the habits and speech of his fellow-men and satirizing their weaknesses that his writings are his enduring monument. He was as observant as our own Dickens. He says himself, speaking of builders of houses and *châteaux*: « Those builders up of dead stones are not written in my book of life. I build up living stones, that is men ». Consequently his notions of Rome and its antiquities have to be gathered from Marliani's *Topographia* and from the dedication of this book to Bishop du Bellay, from three Roman letters to Bishop d'Estivac, from his description of the shamfight and festivities in the Piazza Ss. Apostoli in 1549, and also from various remarks scattered incidentally throughout his romance.

Rome had scarcely recovered from the sack of 1527 when Rabelais saw it in 1534-6. Gregorovius records (XIV. 7. 3) that the population which under Leo X. had numbered 85,000 had been reduced to 32,000. The wealth and beauty of the Renaissance had been devastated, and the culture of the city

destroyed. The painters, sculptors, musicians and scholars had been killed, exiled or reduced to beggary.

From the *loggia* in the *albergo dell'Orso*, where Rabelais seems to have stayed, he could look upon the Castle of S^t Angelo, the rising S^t Peter and the crowded *Borgo*; he was also not far from the *Banchi* and the Florentine quarter. This was one of the most populous parts of Rome, but the other way towards the Porta Flaminia (*Porta del Popolo*) the habitations were much thinner. The obelisk now standing on Monte Citorio was lying in pieces where it had been left by the fire of Guiscard in 1084. The church of S^t Agostino had been restored in 1484 by Cardinal d'Estoutville, and was adorned with a cupola, perhaps the first of its kind in Rome, though now they are so numerous. The column of M. Aurelius, erected in 176, in imitation of Trajan's column, was then, as now, one of the landmarks. The triumphal arch of M. Aurelius, the reliefs from which are in the Palazzo de' Conservatori, stood in the Corso, at the corner of the Via della Vite. It had been known as the *arcus Domitiani*, and as the *arco di Portogallo*, and was the starting-place for the races instituted by Paul II, from which the Corso took its name.

Conspicuous also beside the *via Flaminia* was then the *Mausoleum Augusti*, but between there and the Porta Flaminia were a number of detached buildings, waste ground and a vineyard or two, till we come to the Augustinian church of S. Maria del Popolo, then called S. M. ad Flaminiam. Rabelais says nothing about the Pinturicchio chapels, or that of Raphael or the Sansovino tombs, or the beautiful painted windows, in this church, but he notices the tombstone of a man « buried near the Flaminian way, who died from the bite of a cat ». This is in the Church, on the floor on the left-hand side, where the epitaph still exists as follows:

Hospes, disce novum mortis genus improba felix
Dum trahitur digitum mordet et intereo.

We must not be surprised that such trifles occupy Maistre François, if we reflect that although in his grotesque way he undoubtedly touches on important matters, his primary object is to amuse his hospital patients by droll stories and fairy tales. He says himself: « You should open this Book and carefully weigh what is treated of therein. Then you shall find that the Drug contained within is of far higher value than the box promised: that is to say, that the matters treated on here are not such buffoonery as the outside title showed forth ». And so in Rome, he is not above noticing the witticisms of Pasquin and Marforio concerning the advent of Charles V.

After his three months in Rome, Rabelais returned to Lyons and at once occupied himself with the publication of Marliani's *Topographia* (Aug. 31.

1534), and in preparing his *Gargantua*, which duly appeared in 1535. It is a great improvement on the *Pantagruel*, showing a wider outlook and a greater knowledge of men and things.

About this time Rabelais had been remis in his attendance at the hospital and had gone off to Grenoble. For this he was superseded and his place given to Messer du Castel. His absence was probably due to Bishop du Bellay, who was intending to revisit Rome, which he did in November 1535, accompanied by his faithful physician. Their stay lasted till April 1536, while events of the greatest moment were taking place. For it was now that the visit of Charles V to Rome occurred.

It seems likely that, as in his first visit, he stayed at the *Albergo dell'Orso*. This hostelry, which still exists at the corner of the Via dell'Orso and the Via di Monte Brianzo, had in its time considerable repute. There is a tradition that Dante stayed there in 1300. Montaigne certainly put up there at the end of 1580. An interesting monograph by Cerasoli on the *Alberghi di Roma* from 1300 to 1800 was published a few years ago.

Du Bellay had been made Cardinal and of this second visit we are fortunate in possessing some account in three long letters from Rabelais to his old friend and patron Geoffroi d'Estivac, Bishop of Maillezais, giving full descriptions of the events that were taking place. There can scarcely be any question of the authorship of these letters. The second one, dated Jan. 28, 1536, is preserved in the Morrison collection in London. A fac-simile copy has just been published by the *Société des Études Rabelaisiennes* in Paris, showing a hand-writing remarkably like that of Rabelais. If this is not the actual letter, it must be a contemporary copy. The two other letters exist in the *bibliothèque nationale* of Paris in a hand-writing of the 17th century. The authenticity of all these letters is strongly supported by the remarkable accuracy of the details with which they are concerned, as shown by the contemporary letters of Charles Hémard, French ambassador in Rome, who is alluded to in them.

The first item of news is that Rabelais had been successful in his own affairs *i. e.* in obtaining absolution from Pope Paul III. for his irregularity in giving up the Benedictine habit, and taking that of a secular priest and going into the world and practising medicine. Much is learned about his life and position in this *Supplicatio pro apostasia*; his transference from the Minorites to the Benedictines, his taking up of medical studies and visiting various places. The Pope's reply is given in a Brief, dated Jan. 17, 1536, absolving the Petitioner from excommunication, censures and penalties, and giving permission in the most flattering terms to practise the art of medicine, with the conditions usual in such cases, abstention from fees and from the use of cautery and of the knife.

The next item is the most important, and runs through all the letters — the advent of Charles V after his victory at Tunis. He was coming from Naples to visit the Pope, who was by no means anxious to entertain him. He was to leave Naples on Jan. 6, but he did not actually reach Rome till April 5. Rabelais writes: « The Pope gives up to him half his Palace, and all the Borgo of St. Peter's for his retinue, and is having prepared 3000 beds in the Roman fashion, that is with mattresses. For the City is quite unfurnished of them since it was sacked by the Landsknechts. He has also laid in a stock of hay, straw, etc.... and all the wine that has been landed in *Ripa*. I think it will cost him dear; he could well have done without this cost in his present poverty, which is so great and manifest, more so than in any Pope these 300 years past. » *In Ripa* refers to *Ripa grande*, the wharf or quay in Rome, where sea-borne merchandise is landed, as opposed to the smaller *Ripetta*, which received the country products (cf. Juv. vii. 121. *vinum Tiberi decectum*). Julius II had laid out the street Lungara, with the intention of continuing it as far as the *Ripa*. This had caused the demolition of a number of houses.

Next is an account of a visit from Alexander de' Medici, Duke of Florence, who arrived the day after Christmas-day 1535, and after a chilling reception departed the next day. The Medici were never well treated by the Farnese, as may be seen in the confiscation of the Palazzo Madama, originally belonging to Leo X.

Then there is the news of a tremendous battle between Sultan Solymán and the Shah of Persia, then called the Sophy; this, Rabelais says, frees Christendom from danger of invasion in that quarter; he adds slyly: « those who are for laying tithe on the Church under that pretext, have but little warrant for doing so ».

After this the letter goes on to speak of minor matters: the necessity that a suitor in a law-court in Rome should be present in person; a visit of the Duke of Ferrara to the Emperor at Naples; the defeat of a contingent of papal troops by the Duke of Savoy; a visit of Andrea Doria, Charles's admiral, to the Emperor; the death of the Grandmaster of the Knights of Rhodes (*i. e.* the Knights of Malta); the extraordinary belief in prognostications and divinations on the part of the Romans, with Pope Paul at their head; and the funeral of Francesco Sforza, the last Duke of Milan. This letter is dated Dec. 30, 1535.

The second, which bears date Jan. 28, 1536 is topographically much more important, for it describes the construction of the road, by which the Emperor was to make his triumphal entrance. After some personal matters and the news that the Emperor had refused to accede to a request

that Duke Alexander should be deposed, and that a deputation of Cardinals had induced the Emperor to put off his visit till the end of February, the letter goes on: « If I had as many crowns as the Pope would give days of pardon *proprio motu, de plenitudine potestatis* and other such favourable circumstances, to whosoever would put off this visit for five or six years, I should be richer than ever Jacques Coeur was. (This was the celebrated treasurer of Charles VII of France, who was proverbially wealthy). They have begun great preparations to receive the Emperor, and by command of the Pope they have made a new road by which he is to enter, that is by the Porta San Sebastiano, leading to the Camp Doly, *Templum Pacis* and the Amphitheatre, and they are making him pass under the ancient triumphal arches of Constantine, Vespasian and Titus, Numetian and others. Then he is to pass by the side of the palace of St Mark, and from there by the Campo de' Fiori and before the Farnese palace, where the Pope used to live, and under the Castle of St Angelo. To make and level this road they have demolished and thrown down more than 200 houses and three or four churches level with the ground. This is taken by many as an evil presage... But 'tis pitiful to see the ruin of the houses that have been demolished; and no payment or recompense whatsoever has been made to the owners of them ».

In the elucidation of this passage I am greatly indebted to the researches of Prof. Lanciani in his *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*. Coming from Naples Charles would naturally enter by the Porta San Sebastiano and proceed to the arch of Constantine. The avenue now called di S. Gregorio was cut open between the *Septisodium* of Sept. Severus, at the S. corner of the Palatine, and Constantine's arch (Lanc. p. 158-9). The arch of Constantine had been covered by earth up to the plinth of the columns; this was now removed and a way made for the procession (p. 194).

The buildings are now given in the reverse order; they should be the Amphitheatre, the *templum Pacis* and the Camp Doly. The *templum Pacis* was a magnificent building erected by Vespasian by the *forum Pacis* (cf. Plin. 36, 15; Svet. *Vesp.* 9). Robertson in his *History of Charles V* says: « It was found necessary to remove the ruins of this in order to widen the street; this was interpreted as an omen of the war that followed ». But it seems that the temple of Antoninus and Faustina is really intended. The remains which had been well preserved, had been dedicated to S. Lorenzo in Miranda, probably so called from a devout lady named Miranda. In 1430 it had been given up to the corporation of the apothecaries, after the Canons had been suppressed. The apothecaries built shrines and chapels among the columns, but the roof and the chapels were demolished by Paul III for the entry of Charles. (Lanc. p. 219).

Camp Doly is a curious form of *Campidoglio*; *Campdole* in one word occurs in Froissart bk. II. c. 6; and Castiglione in his *Cortegiano* (I, 35) exclaims against *Campidoglio* instead of *Capitolio*, although it had been used by Petrarch in his *Trionfo d'Amore*, I, 14.

The arch of *Numetian* causes a difficulty. It can hardly refer to the emperor *Numerian* who was joint emperor with his father Carus and his brother Carinus in 282 A. D. Numerianus was assassinated in 284 and Carinus was deposed to make room for Diocletian. Marliani records that a statue was erected in his honour in the Palatine library near the temple of *Fides* with the inscription *DIVO NUMERIANO ORATORI POTENTISSIMO*, whereas Vopiscus *Numer.* c. 11. puts it in the *bibliotheca Ulpia*.

But *Δομητιανός* is so near *Numetian* that it seems that Domitian ought to have been written by the copyist, and that the *arch of Domitian* must refer either to the equestrian statue of Domitian and the gilded monument to Janus opposite it, or that the arch of Severus is intended, which at one time was called by the name of Domitian. It is certainly strange that the arch of Severus should be omitted from the list, for the procession undoubtedly passed under it.

Where the *Argiletum*, which was the greatest centre of thorough-fare fell into the *Comitium*, that is the part in front of S. Adriano, excavations have shown the existence of four pavements, one above the other: (1) the original stone floor of the *Comitium*, (2) one of 1084, the time of R. Guiscard, (3) one 7 feet higher and (4) that of the present level, dating from the time of Paul III, who did not remove the materials of the several buildings demolished to make the road for Charles V., but levelled them on the spot. (L. p. 247).

The church of Ss. Sergio e Bacco stood quite close to the three fluted pillars of the temple of Vespasian. The demolition of this church was begun at this period. (L. p. 283).

After this they would pass by the *via di Marforio* and the *via di San Marco*, past the *palazzo di Venezia* (then S. Marco) the *via delle Botteghe oscure*, the *via Florida*, the *via di Torre Argentina*, *via de' Giubbonari* to the *Campo de Fiori*, where they could admire the *palazzo Farnese* and the *Cancelleria*. Proceeding along the *via di Monserrato* they would come to the *Via de' Banchi*. This street, the *Via de' Banchi vecchi e nuovi*, is now cut in two and partly taken up by the *Corso Vittorio Emmanuele*. Rabelais again mentions this part of Rome in his account of the sham fight by Cardinal du Bellay in 1549, evidently as the place where all the news current was to be picked up. In the 15th and 16th centuries the *banchi* was the fashionable lounge and resort for gossip. From the time of Sixtus IV (1471-84) there arose along these streets splendid mansions; here was the *Cancelleria*

cecchia (palazzo Sforza-Cesarini) restored by Cardinal Roderigo Borgia, afterwards Alexander VI; here the treasurer of Julius II had his bank, as did also Agostino Chigi. There streets led from the Ponte S. Angelo and ran into the Via di Monserrato. There still survive two or three fine façades of houses, forming the frame for squalid shops. In Castiglione's *Cortegiano* a story is told of a Dominican monk induced to get up *en croup* on the horse of a young noble, who scared him by making the horse prance and curvet up and down for the amusement of his friends who were looking on from the windows. Montaigne in 1581 saw a brigand led through this street to execution. Benvenuto Cellini had a shop here, and made it the scene of some of his murders and escapades. In the letter we are considering Rabelais records the murder of a Portuguese nobleman in open daylight near the Ponte S. Angelo; his residence at the *Orso* would be near enough for him to hear of, if not to witness, the disorders which took place in this quarter, to which he seems to allude in iv. 12, the Island of Procuration where the Catchpoles lived, who he said gained their living by being beaten, a method diametrically opposed to that of the dwellers in Rome (*les Romicoles*), where « a great number of people gain their livelihood by poisoning, beating or slaying others ».

The rest of the letter is devoted to news of minor matters stirring in the political world, while the third letter, dated Feb. 15, 1536 is much on the same subjects. There is little to interest us here, except perhaps the fact that Rabelais sent some seeds for the Bishop's gardener. They consisted of cress (*nasitord*) and *arrousa*, whatever that may be, *chardons*, melons and pumpkins. He also proposes to send for Madame d'Estisvac Alexandria pinks, matronal violets and a herb called *beloedere*, « which is used to keep chambers fresh in summer. »

He also mentions the death of the « old Queen of England », i. e., Catharine of Aragon. She had died on Jan. 6. Also that her daughter, afterwards Queen Mary, was very ill.

Then he reports that the bull of excommunication against the King of England had not yet been passed by the Consistory; that it had been opposed by Cardinal du Bellay and the Bishop of Macon, and that the matter had been put off till the Emperor's arrival.

The Emperor Charles actually arrived in Rome on the 5th of April, and soon afterwards in the consistory delivered a violent harangue against the King of France, and so far forgot his habitual caution as to let it be seen that he intended to invade France. Upon this the Cardinal, having made a report of the Emperor's speech, went off post-haste to Paris attended by Rabelais.

A few months afterwards the imperial forces invaded Provence, but were baffled by the Constable Montmorency, who devastated the country and only garrisoned the important towns. Rabelais remained in Paris with his chief till April 1537, when he came to Montpellier and completed his medical degrees of Licentiate and that of Doctor in May. He then made Montpellier his head-quarters, probably acting as corrector of the press for Gryphius, and visiting *les isles Hyères*, Castres and other towns in the south of France, till the end of 1539, when he was attached to the service of Guillaume du Bellay, vice roy of Piedmont at Turin, till his death in 1553.

It is my belief that it was now (*i. e.* 1538-42) that he wrote most, if not all, of the chapters which were published long afterwards at the *Fifth Book* in 1562 and 1564. They were published posthumously, for he died in 1553. The first sixteen chapters were published in 1562, and the whole book of 47 or 48 chapters in 1564. The chapters seem to have been found among his papers after his death and put together by some friend and admirer as best he could, with some interpolations, to make the story run continuously. The first sixteen chapters, called Ringing Island (*l'Isle sonnante*) specially concern us here, for the first eight chapters are devoted to a grotesque account of his impressions of one side of the life in Rome.

It can hardly be doubted that Rome is intended by *The Ringing Island*, which Pantagruel and his party sight after many days sailing. They first hear a confused sound of bells of various sizes ringing; this becomes more distinct as they approach, and they compare it with Dodona and its cauldrons, mentioned by Virgil and explained by Servius, to the Portico Hep-taphone in Olympia (Plin. 36, 15), the humming of the Colossus over Memnon's tomb in Egyptian Thebes (Plin. 36, 7) or to the noise heard round a tomb in the island of Lipara (called Vulcan's forge, cf. Virg. *Aen.*, viii, 416, 599).

After landing on a little islet near, they have to fast four days. They are then welcomed on Ringing Island by Master *Aedituus* (or Sacristan), who explains that the inhabitants had all been men, but had become birds, instancing several similar transformations recorded by Ovid in his *Metamorphoses*. He proceeds to speak at length of the subject of Birds and Cages. The birds and their various plumage, white, black, half-white half-black, grey, red, blue and white, are intended to represent the monks of the various orders, and bore the names Clerjays, Monkjays, Priestjays, Abjays, Cardinjays and Popejay, who is the only one of his species.

The cages, I think, refer to the cupolas on some of the Churches; these

had come in vogue with the restoration of S. Agostino by Cardinal d'Estoutville in 1484. There are also smaller cupolas on the Augustinian Church of St. Maria del Popolo.

Aedituus goes on to explain that « on the death of one Pope another arises in his stead » — perhaps a reminiscence of the proverb *Morto un papa se ne fa un altro* — « he is taken from the brood of the Cardinjays; so that in this species there is an individual unity with perpetuity of succession, neither more nor less than in the Phoenix of Arabia ».

« True it is that about 2760 moons ago there were in nature two Popes produced, but that was the greatest calamity that ever was seen in this island; for all these birds here did so peck and clapper claw one another during that time that the island went in danger of being despoiled of its inhabitants. Some of them held fast to the one and supported him, some to the other and defended him; some of them became as dumb as fishes, and at that time never sang, and some of these bells, as though under an interdict, sounded never a stroke. During these troublous times they called to their help Emperors, Kings, Dukes, Marquises, Counts, Barons and Commonwealths of the world which dwell on the mainland, and this schism and sedition did not come to an end till one of them was taken from life and the plurality was reduced to Unity ».

This passage is very important to students of Rabelais, because I think it helps materially to fix the date of the composition of this chapter of the *Fifth Book*, and so to make for its authenticity, which is strenuously disputed in some quarters.

At first sight there appears to be an allusion to the great Schism of 1378, after the return from Avignon and the death of Gregory XI; but the chronology does not agree. 2760 moons corresponds to 212 years and 4 lunar months; therefore if these chapters were written about 1540, as I am inclined to believe for other reasons as well as this, the reference would be to the year 1328, the time when Lewis the Bavarian set up an anti-pope, Nicholas V, in opposition to John XXII. This was really the beginning of these troubles, although they did not become outrageous till the great schism culminated in the dispute of three pretenders to the Papacy at one time, Gregory XII, Benedict XIII and John XXIII, which was happily put an end to by the unanimous election of Martin V in 1417. A somewhat obscure allusion to this may be detected, I think. I have not seen it suggested anywhere — in a question occurring in *Pantagruel* c. 7, after the manner of a thesis of the Schoolmen: *Quaestio subtilissima, Utrum Chimaera in vacuo bombinans possit comedere secundas intentiones; et fuit debatula per decem hebdomadas in Concilio Constantiensi*.

The Chimaera, Homer's three-bodied monster, composed of a lion, a goat

and a dragon, may well represent the three claimants who were buzzing *in vacuo*, i. e. without a see, while John XXIII, who had promised to resign if requested by the Council, refused to fulfil his promise. This I take to be «devouring second intentions». And indeed this question did occasion long debates in the Council of Constance.

On the completion of the *Third Book* in 1546, Rabelais finding that he had aroused the susceptibilities of the Sorbonne, which had already condemned his first effort, *Pantagruel*, in 1533, prudently retired to Metz. There he stayed till the middle of 1548. He had been appointed physician to the hospital there, when he was approached by some courtiers from Paris during his exile, and requested to continue his writings. Accordingly he wrote a fragment — 11 chapters — which he caused to be printed at Lyons in 1548 while on his way to Rome to join Cardinal du Bellay, who had left Paris soon after the accession of Henry II, when the influence of the Guises was in the ascendent.

In the beginning of 1549 he wrote, and sent to Lyons for publication, the description of a Sham-fight given by the Cardinal in Rome on March 14, to celebrate the birth of a young prince in Paris. The only points which concern the topography of Rome are a mention of the Banks (*via de' Banchi*), as the place of common resort, and the Piazza Ss. Apostoli in which the festival was celebrated, as being, after the Piazza Navona, the finest and largest in Rome, and also because the Palazzo Colonna was at that time the Cardinal's residence.

While Rabelais was in Rome for the third time, from about the middle of 1548 till nearly the middle of 1550, under the protection of Cardinal du Bellay and probably staying with him in the Palazzo Colonna, he was busy enlarging and supplementing the eleven chapters of his *Fourth Book*.

It should be remembered in following Rabelais in his accounts of Rome, that things at that time bore a very different aspect to what they do at present, and especially that the *Forum* and the *Sacra Via*, which have now been excavated so carefully were then covered in by *débris* and rubbish up to the height of the roads that surround them. The whole of it was waste ground browsed over by cattle, and known as *Campo Vaccino*, with a road, none too distinctly marked, running through it, and another road to the *Forum Boarium* cutting it transversely, while the three columns of the Castors' Temple, the Arch of Severus, and other high points stood out of it like islands in a sea of rubbish. The Capitol and the Tarpeian rock were fed over by goats, and known as *Monte Caprino*. The *Orti farnesiani* occupied a good part of the Palatine, while a great part of the upper city was taken up by vineyard. The *Orsini* had vineyards on the Quirinal, the Pincian and the Aventine. The

Villa d'Este occupied the site of the Palace and gardens of the Quirinal. The *Via Capo le Case* derives its name from *Caput domorum*, the point assigned by Julius II as the limit for houses to be built. The principal inhabited district was that part of the modern city that is nearest to St. Peter's. We learn from Rabelais that in 1549 St. Peter's itself was not yet roofed. Speaking of a little chapel in a deserted island which the travellers visited in the *Fourth Book*, he describes it as « ruinous, desolate and uncovered, as is the Temple of St. Peters' at Rome ». (iv, 45).

The pleasure-grounds placed in vineyards, with summerhouses or *casinos* attached, appear to have been a great feature in the life of that time, the most striking example in Rome being the beautiful *Farnesina*, which we appreciate so highly for its artistic attractions, though now the gardens and surroundings have been greatly curtailed.

In speaking of these pleasure-grounds I may perhaps be allowed to recur to one in particular — the *horti Bellayani* — which I mentioned in speaking of Rabelais' first visit; for it is not impossible that some of his *Fourth Book* was written on this spot, where we may be sure that the genial physician would be welcome to the kindly Cardinal. These gardens occupied a good part of the modern Piazza di Termini, and included a portion of the baths of Diocletian, where excavations were made by du Bellay's orders.

Rabelais alludes more than once to the « private gardens » of the Pope and of great nobles, French and Italian. No doubt they were often the scenes of dramatic and musical exhibitions and of the marvellous displays of the skill of the *improvisatori*; among whom was pre-eminent in those times Bernardo Accolti of Arezzo (1455-1534), known as *l'Unico Aretino*. He was made much of at the courts of the Duke of Urbino and of Leo X, and he figures as an interlocutor in Castiglione's *Cortegiano*, being addressed as *Signor Unico*. Rabelais glances at him in speaking of Triboulet, the court-fool of Francis I, as « nostre Morosophe (μωρόσοφος) l'unique, non lunatique Triboulet »; but it is probably more for the sake of the pun than for any other reason.

In this or some such parterre — and here we have another side of our versatile author — he represents himself hearing a number of musicians one May-day singing frivolous songs, and by this means he introduces and helps to preserve the names of about 50 musicians of his own time and of the preceeding period, and thus he adds to the list of composers in Grove's dictionary of music.

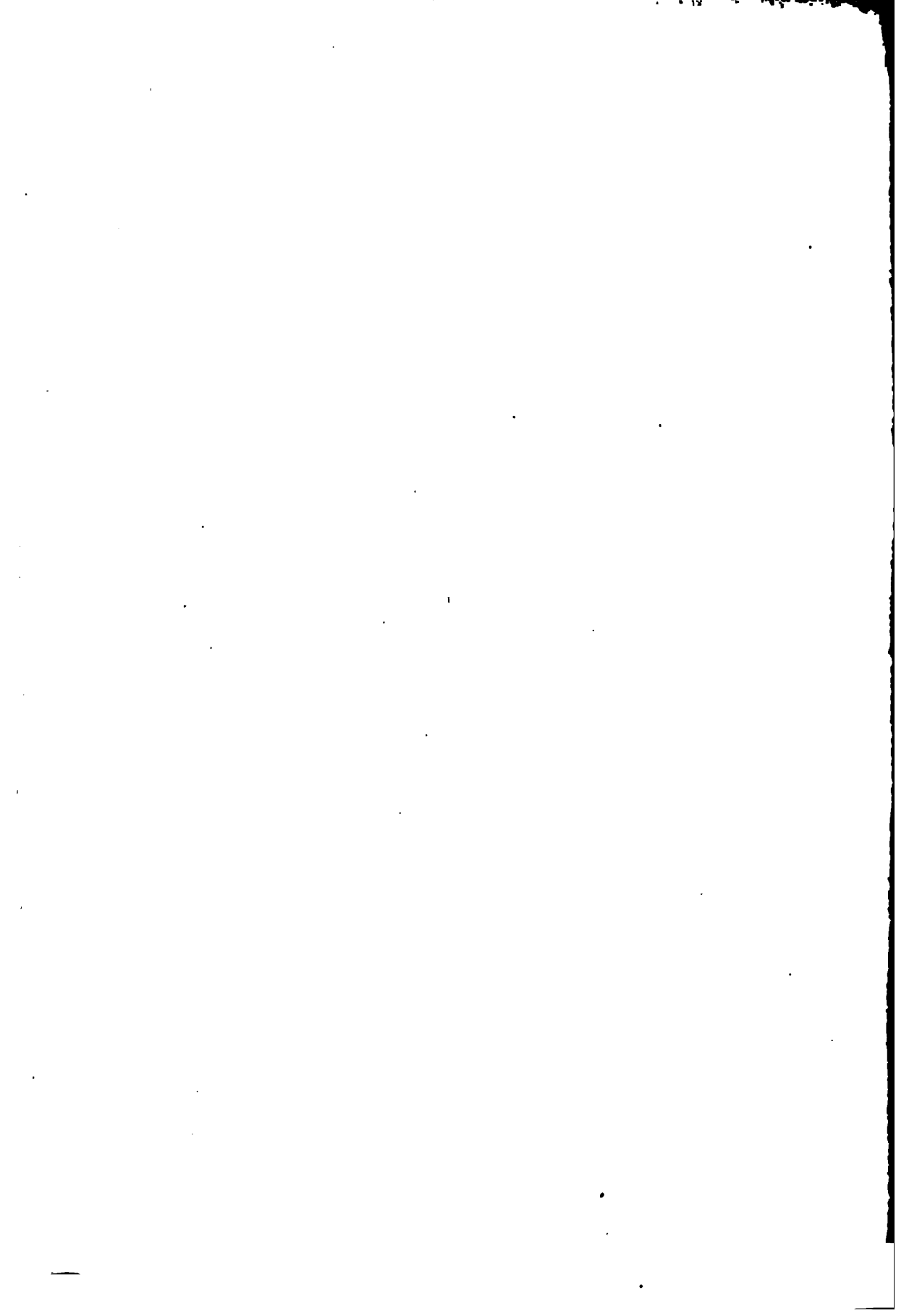
Over and above his eager love for learning of every kind, the temperament of Rabelais was that of a kindly, good natured, genial being, with a disposition to « live and let live ». This disposition he himself calls « Panta-

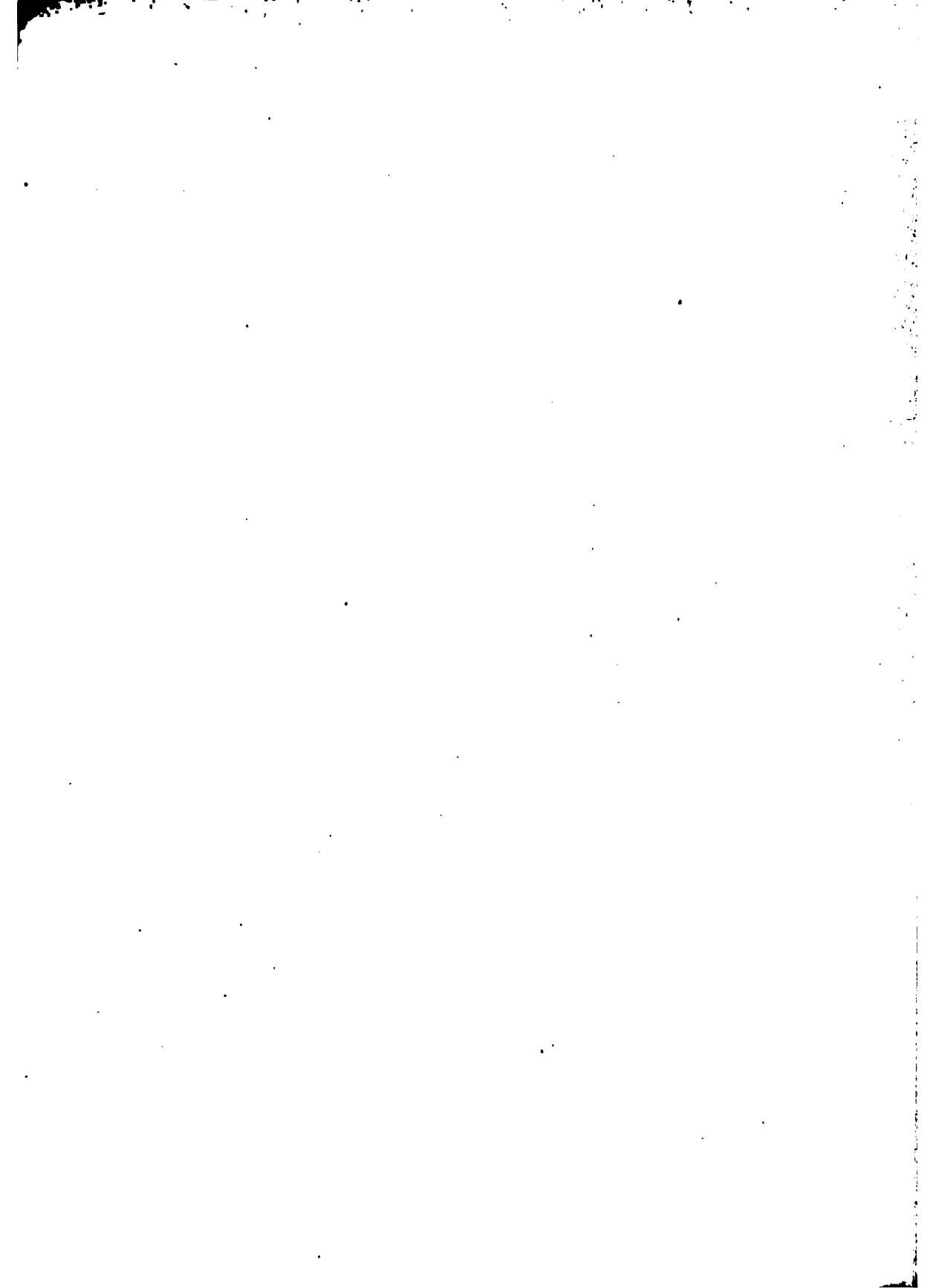
gruelism », defining it as « living in peace, joy and health, always making merry ». His book, he says, is full of Pantagruelism, and « Pantagruel was the best, little, great Mannikin that ever girded sword to his side. He took everything in good part, interpreted every action in a good sense; never tormented himself and never was scandalized. For all the good things which the Heaven covereth and the Earth containeth are not worth so much that we should disturb our affections and trouble our senses and spirits for them ». This temper and bearing was his own, but the expression of them may have been suggested by treatises of Budé and Erasmus, who both wrote *de contemptu rerum fortuitarum*, « On contempt of the chances and changes of Fortune ». In his chequered life indeed Rabelais showed himself, like Ulysses in Horace, as one

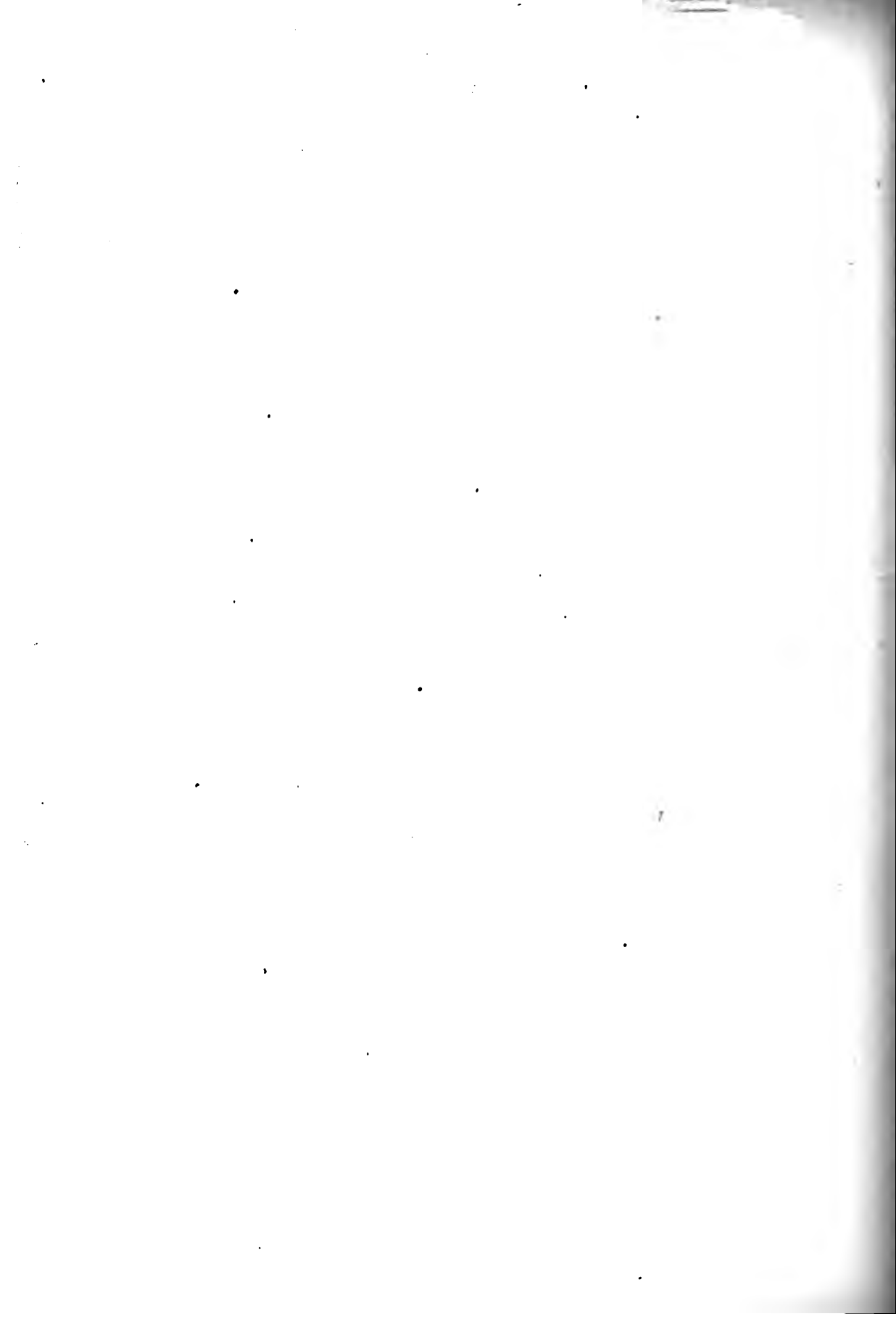
Who will not drown for all Misfortune's storms.

And so he assumes as fellow-Pantagruelists and « Abstractors of Quintessence », that is, of all the comfort, ease and mirth that can be obtained, Aristophanes and Horace, whose writings we know are permeated with over-flowing geniality and witty *bonhomie*. Another one of our own time would undoubtedly have been admitted into that band of good fellows, for he shared very largely in the amiable qualities as well as in the learning and wit of the other three, I mean C. S. Calverley, whose « Fly-Leaves » have charmed so many readers. His poem on *Contentment* is the very Essence of Pantagruelism.

Moreover it is manifest that, like Montaigne, Rabelais was captivated by Rome, first by its literature and history, and afterwards by actual contact and the *genius loci*. In his epistle dedicating Marliani's *Topographia Urbis Romae* to Bishop du Bellay he writes: « By your wonderful kindness you have conferred that upon me, which was the dearest wish of my heart from the time when I found any interest in letters, viz: that I should travel through Italy and pay a visit to Rome, the Capital of the World — in itself a rapturous notion — and you have enabled me not only to visit Italy, but to visit it in your company ».







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WITH LIST OF MEMBERS

Session 1904-1905

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ANNUAL REPORT — SESSION 1904-1905.

The death of the late able Secretary Professor R. H. Borge which took place early in December 1904 was a very serious loss to the Society, and much difficulty was experienced in arranging a programme for the ensuing season. On the 30th of January the opening address was delivered by the Rev^d Father P. P. Mackey O. P. in the Salon of the Hotel Continental, to a large and appreciative audience, the chair being taken by H. E. the Hon^{ble} G. von Lengerke Meyer, Ambassador of the United States of America.

Five lectures were subsequently given in the Society's room, and seven demonstrations out of doors, a list of which will be found below. The Library was open as usual on Monday morning and Thursday afternoons throughout the season.

The number of members on the Society's books at the beginning of the Session was forty-one, three of whom have failed to pay their subscriptions. The number of Associates who have subscribed is only thirty-one.

The accounts for the year made up as usual to the end of the season, nominally the 30th of April, have been audited by the Rev. Dr Gordon Gray and Dr William Fenwick, and show a balance at that date in the Society's favor of Lire 724. 85, the capital invested in Italian 5 per cent, being 5000 Lire.

The Secretary gave notice that he was obliged to resign, as he found that the necessary work involved more expenditure of time than he was able to give.

The Society has to express its gratitude for the valuable services rendered by the Italian Savants, as well as by those members of the Society

who have kindly consented to deliver lectures and demonstrations during the session.

The following additions have been made by gift to the Library:

from Miss Briggs: « Lettres sur la France, l'Angleterre et l'Italie »,
par le Comte F. de H.

from Contessa Gautier: « Carmina Q. Horatii Flacci ».

On behalf of the Committee.

Rome, 4th May 1905.

W. HEATH WILSON

Hon. Secretary and Librarian.

List of Lectures and Demonstrations.

1. Rev. Father P. P. Mackey O. P. — Magna Grecia, its Scenes, its Memories and its Monuments.
 2. T. Ashby jun. Esq. — Renaissance Drawings and Plans of Rome.
 3. Prof. Jesse Benedict Carter. — The Religion of Republican Rome.
 4. Prof. Comm. O. Marucchi. — On an interesting Monument recently brought from Egypt.
 5. Contessa Gautier. — The Roman Cities of the South of France.
 6. R. W. W. Cryan Esq. — A visit to Crete.
 7. W. St. Clair Baddeley Esq. — Demonstration in Forum.
 8. Prof. Comm. O. Marucchi. — Demonstration at Catacomb of Commodilla.
 9. Prof. Comm. R. Lanciani. — Demonstration at San Saba.
 10. Prof. Comm. R. Lanciani. — Demonstration at Santa Costanza.
 11. Prof. Comm. R. Lanciani. — Demonstration at San Stefano Rotondo.
 12. W. St. Clair Baddeley Esq. — Demonstration in Forum.
 13. Prof G. Tomassetti. — Excursion to Grotta-Ferrata.
-

SESSION 1904-1905

I.

MAGNA GRECIA,

its Scenes, its Memories and its Monuments

BY

Rev. FATHER P. P. MACKEY, O. P.

The following reports of the lectures given during the season are taken from Mss. supplied by the lecturers themselves, or from short hand notes made and most kindly written out by a member of the Society.

The Opening Lecture of the Session was delivered on Tuesday, Jan. 31st, 1904, by the Rev^d FATHER P. P. MACKEY O. P. The subject was « A Journey through Magna Grecia ».

The chair was taken by H. E. the Hon. G. von Lengerke Meyer, U. S. Ambassador, and Vice President of the Society.

The Chairman presented the lecturer to the audience.

Father Mackey said :

Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen. In thinking of early Rome, the Rome of the Kings, we commonly give very little attention to the Roman relations of that period with the Greeks. We know well of the Latins, with whom the Romans fought, as it were, in their own fields. We know the Etruscans beyond the Tiber were continually at war with them, and we have read much about the Sabines and the Samnites, both on the South; but we are apt to forget that, at the same period, Rome was greatly under the influence of Greece, and yet, if we note carefully, we shall find many things in the early records which will remind us of it. We are familiar with Romulus and Remus, the infants found by the Tiber, and brought up in a shepherd's hut, but Plutarch and Dionysius of Halicar-

nassus tell us that they were brought up in a way worthy of their royal origin.

About twelve miles from Rome stood the city of Gabii. There was congregated all that belonged to the highest civilisation of the time, — you will remember it was from them the Romans took the toga. Plutarch tells us that the boys were sent there to be brought up in the study of Greek letters, of the management of arms and of Greek manners.

The first King of Rome, according to these authors, was thus fashioned by Greek environment.

Then came Numa Pompilius, who is said to have studied in a Greek city of Southern Italy, and to have been a disciple of Pythagoras. Livy, however, discredits this tradition for two sufficient reasons: 1), that in the time of Numa the city in which he is said to have studied was not built; 2), that the master who is said to have been his tutor was not yet born. The story, however, shows how natural it was to attribute all beginning of culture to the Greeks.

Tarquinius Priscus, the elder Tarquin, came of a Greek father Demaratus, who resided in Etruria, but year after year made the journey from Tarquinii to Corinth, for reasons of mercantile profit. His son, at the first opportunity, took possession of Rome.

Tarquin the Proud also shows the influence of Greece, which by this time had come closer to Rome.

There was a Greek city called Cumae, North of Naples, to which Rome sent for corn. On one occasion they had filled their ships, when the governor of Cumae confiscated them, and the corn never reached Rome. Tarquin himself, in his 90th year, after his exile, died in that Greek city. It was natural that he, the grandson of a Greek, should come, when he was exiled, to die among those of his own race.

So far there had been little or no political relation between Rome and the South of Italy. Etruria had to be conquered in the North, the Sabines and Samnites in the South, before Rome could come much into contact with Greece.

The early settlements of the Greeks in Italy were merely for commerce and the interests of trade. They had a great settlement at Cumae, and, to make sure of the Straits between Sicily and Italy, they planted an important city, now Reggio; but their influence was still only of a material kind. Shortly, however, after the foundation of Rome, a new event took place, which was of the utmost importance. Great colonies of Greeks, band after band came, under the patronage of their national gods, and landed in Italy, not for trade, but to settle. They made Italy their own; they developed its trade, its politics, its life. They always acknowledged

and cherished the land from which they came, and looked upon the cities they founded in Italy as offsprings of the mother city, the Metropolis. Then, as in the present day, we have come to use the adjective *Greater*, so the Greeks who remained in Greece gave the name of *Magna Grecia*, Greater Greece, to the cities founded in Italy. It is important to observe that when these cities were founded, Greece itself was obscure and insignificant. When the first city of Magna Grecia was founded, Athens was unknown, and several of those cities were already swept away before Marathon and the Persian Wars. The original native Greeks of that time were supreme only in the exercises of the Olympic Games, and they looked up to their fellows in Italy as having attained prosperity and political importance. The four principal cities of Magna Grecia were Tarantum, Sybaris, Croton and Locri. These, having been planted by Greece, planted in their turn colonies, and the whole coast of Southern Italy was strewn with the offshoots of the four mother cities of the second degree. The interior of the peninsula was subdued by them. From the time of Servius Tullius in Rome these centres of Greek politics were established in the whole of Southern Italy. From Naples to Tarantum comprehends the part considered as Magna Grecia. It is the intention of the present discourse to present to you some aspects of travel in that country; not to weary you with dates or political statements, but to lay before you merely the memories of travels made in those parts under circumstances which, in spite of fatigue, were well adapted for learning to know the country as it is, and the people as they are. A journey on foot in the month of August, when the heat is intense, has yet the advantage that the days are long, and from early morning to late evening all can be devoted to the exploration of what is to be seen. Yet in going there one must be prepared for much disappointment. It may seem astonishing, yet it is a fact, that Calabria, i. e. Magna Grecia, has not yet, in this twentieth century, recovered from the wars of Hannibal. From the splendour of Greek civilisation it was reduced to the most squalid misery, as will be seen from the illustrations I shall give you. A great part has disappeared entirely, and all that is left is utterly insignificant. The Romans were followed by the Saracens, Normans, the wars of the Barons, and the wars of Napoleon, and Calabria has never been able to recover her ancient prosperity.

I will speak first of Sybaris, and I will ask you to pardon me if I speak in the first person, as it is easier in narrating than to exclude the person who is known to be the subject of the discourse. I will also give now and then an anecdote, perhaps scarcely worthy of the dignity of this meeting, yet illustrating the people as they are.

In going to Sybaris we took up our quarters for the night at a small town called Cassano of the Ionians. We entered the only inn, where we received every sort of hospitality and kindness, though comfort was deficient. At the same table with us were twelve or fourteen persons; a Canonico, a Captain, five or six peasants, and one or two travellers. We were the wonder of the table. We were two religious, travelling on foot, with no guide, carrying our own luggage; we arrived after nightfall, we came out of a wood — such a thing was utterly unknown! In due course we retired to rest. To our room there was a balcony, below it another. We heard voices, and looking out descried on the balcony below the Captain, the Canonico and four or five of those whom we had left. We did not catch the whole of their conversation, but these words fell on our ears: « Che volete? Sono inglesi, e basta! »

Before telling you of our journey next day to Sybaris, I must say a few words on that city — the type of sensuous prosperity, in which all luxury reached its acme; where we are told that a man could not sleep if there was a rose leaf crumpled under him; where men, seeing the labourers in the fields, would go home and retire to bed, exhausted by the sight of labour! Naturally one would be prepared to expect a very Paradise of delight in approaching Sybaris. We descended to the river, and immediately the malaria made itself felt. All was oppression; the distance was only ten miles, but to descend to the river and ascend on the other side was a matter of real effort and exhaustion. We were bound to the little village which still represents Sybaris. It bears the name of Spezzano Albanese, and there we naturally expected something to sustain us; nor were we deceived, there was something to cheer us. We reached the tiny town, and there, lying at the door of the inn, we found all the instruments for the making of ices. Our host was most civil, and told us that he had just come back from another town, in which the ices had been consumed! This was his business — the making of ices on festas. We naturally expected that one who provided such luxuries would have something to offer us, worthy of the ancient Sybaris. So we inquired if there was any meat? « No, Signore. » « Eggs? » « Neppure. » « Anything? » « Un po' di pane, forse un pezzo di formaggio ». I inquired what the fowls were doing, and if one of them could not be killed, and he replied in the same plaintive voice: « Signore, tutte hanno la peste! » And this was what remained of the extreme civilisation of Sybaris!

In the evening we journeyed to the actual spot. By mounting an eminence we could see the site; but of all that glory and luxury nothing is left but a pestilential swamp. True, it is picturesque, and we admired the plain, the trees, here and there, the water, the animals grazing;

but everywhere was swamp and marsh. When the city was destroyed by its neighbours, they turned aside the river to flow over it, and it has flowed over it ever since; Sybaris was subject to inundations, so the inhabitants had banked up the river, and their enemies broke the banks, and deluged the city, which was never restored. There is a passage in Shakespeare which corresponds precisely to the reflections one feels in looking over Sybaris. He is speaking indeed not of a city of Italy, but of Asia Minor, the city of Tarsus:

A city on whom plenty held full hand,
For riches strewed herself even in the streets;
Whose towers bore heads so high they kiss'd the clouds,
And strangers ne'er beheld but wondered at;
Whose men and dames so jettied and adorned,
Like one another's glass to trim them by:
Their tables were stor'd full to glad the sight
And not so much to feed on as delight;
All poverty was scorned, and pride so great,
The name of help grew odious to repeat.
But see what heaven can do!

These words aptly describe all that rose before us as we looked down on Sybaris.

I must now return to speak of the plateau on which we stood, for there too was once an ancient Greek city, *Thurii*. About sixty or eighty years from the time when the river flowed over Sybaris, new colonists came, sent by Pericles from Athens, then at the height of its prosperity, to see if Sybaris could be restored.

Below on the plain nothing could be done, but on the hill they built a city, which in time became also mighty and prosperous. Its principal interest is, that among the colonists was the historian Herodotus, who, driven from his own city in Asia Minor, offered himself to the Athenians to go with their leaders to Italy, and here he died. Now the city is as Sybaris, except that no rivals inundated it. On the whole plateau there is not a single piece of masonry, all is grass grown. One can only trace where the gates may have stood. It reminds us of the words of Herodotus, who tells us in the beginning of his history: « It is my design to speak of cities that are gone, and to treat equally of large cities and of small, seeing that those which were once great have become small, and those which are now great were once small, — so bearing in mind that human prosperity can never remain in the same degree, — I shall describe great cities and small alike ». His words have almost the same tenor as Shakespeare's « But see what heaven can do »!

The first great city of Magna Grecia then was built and swept away. Sixty miles further there is the second, *Croton*, but our course did not lie

directly to it. We spent some days at the comfortable town of Cosenza, to rest after the fatigues of our march, for we had come on foot from Salerno. Feeling rested, we started again, and made for Croton. To Croton from Cosenza takes five long days' march across the greatest mountain of Southern Italy, the Sila, renowned for its forests, which furnished material to build the fleets of the Greeks and Romans; renowned also as the principal rendezvous of brigands. Those brigands of whom we read in old romances were of a type as a rule taken from Sila. We undertook to cross this mountain, to our great cost in point of fatigue, but to our great instruction in point of experience. All the trees have been cut down, so that our whole walk for five days was devoid of shade, but we were able always to find lodgings. The first night we spent in a little city, mentioned by Dante as the birth place of the celebrated Abbot Joachim, the « Abbate Calabrese Gioacchino ». Our second night was in the midst of the waste, but in a private house, where we had hospitality, but not great comfort. The third day was a very long one, ending in a place where we spent two nights for the purpose of ascending the highest peak. It was most interesting to recognize all around us the brigand type so well known to us from pictures and tales — the men with whiskers, the women with their hair arranged in the same way with which we are familiar from old prints. . . . The peak was reached at sunset precisely. I left my guide 500 feet below, and made the last part of the ascent alone. I had taken up my position on a little bit of masonry put there for the purpose of surveying the country, and was gloating over the wonderful display of the sun setting on the whole mountain mass of Southern Italy. Suddenly it occurred to me that I had been told below that this mountain top was frequented by wolves, whose custom it was to come out at nightfall. I at once hurried down to join my guide, that there might at least be two of us to encounter the wolves, but we reached the inn without adventure. Next day was more laborious, for we were coming into the sphere of Croton, where all is malarious, the very air was burdened. At one moment we lay down in the half dry river bed, panting, to recover enough strength to continue our ascent on the other side. Finally we arrived at Santa Severina, the Seberina of the ancients. There we were attended to by our good and kind hostess; whose little boy Hannibal had only been born the day before, yet she was at our disposition, to attend to us in every way. Next day we set off for Croton, and had much amusement from our conversations with two men we had taken for the day. On arriving at Croton, they declared themselves satisfied with us. « We have had to-day two masters, and they have not treated us like slaves ». Another remark was made as we were resting in a hole under the road to get some shade, while we ate our slender lunch.

I had remarked that the hills were like those in Palestine, when one of the men observed: « We are of opinion that in the Valley of Jehoshaphat justice will be done better than in the tribunal of Catanzaro » !

Croton is a large town, poor, but with a number of inhabitants. Here, as at Cassano of the Ionians, our advent caused wonderful surprise. Having taken our lodgings at the inn, we asked the way to the sea, for we wished to bathe. What took place in the Hotel we learned afterwards, for being shown the way, we went to the sea, and had our bath. Meantime our host became very anxious. He summoned his guests to ask their advice what he should do. He said « These two foreigners have come, two religious, on foot, covered with dust, and as hot as they can be, and they have gone to bathe. They will die — what shall I do? » The guests gave varying advice; at last the principal one said « But who are they? » « I do not know, they seem to be English ». « Ah then, stia tranquillo, se sono inglesi, non muoiono! »

Croton has nothing to show of ancient remains, but it was not for nothing that we came there. Near it is one spot which can scarcely have its equal in the world, the sacred spot of Croton, distant from it eight miles by sea and twelve by land. To this we devoted an entire day, for the purpose of visiting it in luxury. It was a sacred spot not only for Croton, but for the whole of Magna Grecia, for it is the first spot going South between which and Greece there is no break, so that a boat from Greece comes straight there. It was the first spot which all the Greek mariners saluted, rendering homage to Juno Lacinia. Here Eneas on his way to Italy paused, and presented a vase of bronze. We made the passage in a boat, with two or three rowers, accompanied by one of the family of the hotel, for in those parts it seem that the hotel-keeper never feels that he has done his duty unless, one of his family is always present. It may perhaps be a remnant of the old times, when the country was not free from violence and brigandage, and was unsafe for a stranger alone. The row was a beautiful one, across that magnificent bay, and when we stopped at the promontory, and could see down into the depths of the clear water, our men set to work fishing, to bring up shell fish and star fish for our meal of bread and shell fish. We were soon on the promontory, where the scene was indeed glorious. On all sides was the blue Ionian sea, and the sky above was of an equally deep azure tint. The sea was rendered more than usually beautiful by the ripples of the waves. There was a slight breeze, which produced an infinitely recurring succession of ripples, each crested by a little white breaker of spray. It brought vividly before us what was said by the philosophic Greeks to be the meaning of the traditional

stories of the sea nymphs. This, they said, is what was really meant by the sea-nymphs, the passing of the ripples and the spray, and the wind sending them along in quick succession, giving the idea of an animated being emerging from the waves, sinking and passing again. Thus we had the sea filled with crowds of sea-nymphs.

On the promontory once stood the greatest temple of Southern Italy. Those which we see now at Paestum were erected by cities of the second order; what then must have been those of the great mother cities? Of this temple all is gone, except one solitary Doric column standing on the very extremity of the promontory, the crown of this lovely spot. Here we were able to pass many hours in enjoying the scenery, and the fresh breeze, filled with such thoughts as were suggested by the place, and deriving a curious interest and amusement from the conversation of our servants and the men we found there. There is a little Chapel, dedicated to our Blessed Lady; this we also visited. Close to it is a tomb, I forget the name of the person who is buried there, but the date on the tombstone is 1868. Our cicerone pointed this out to us with great content as the tomb of the son-in-law of Pythagoras!

Now leaving Croton, we came to the third great city, *Locri*. The characteristic of *Sybaris* is *luxury*, the characteristic of *Croton* is *health*. To this was attributed the fact that its youths and maidens were the most beautiful of all Italy; that its athletes were the strongest of all Greece, and the most renowned for their victories in the Olympic Games. The medical school of Croton was the most celebrated of the time; its philosophy was developed in the highest degree; for there lived and taught the philosopher Pythagoras. The characteristic of the third city *Locri* was *justice*. Pindar says it was spoiled neither by foxes nor by lions; yet they too declined. The justice was very hard. The first action of the lawgiver was to assign to every crime its punishment. To one offence was assigned the punishment of having both eyes taken out. The first to commit the crime was the lawgiver's own son, and to vindicate the law, and yet give way to his parental tenderness, he removed one eye from the criminal, and one from himself. If this was justice, it was justice of a severe kind. The last recorded instance was indeed a dreadful judgment. The city was taken by Dionysius the Younger who was exiled from his own dominions, and he made himself completely the Tyrant. He was expelled leaving behind him many of his adherents. The inhabitants of the city, with a sense of vindictive justice took them all, fastened them into one house, and burnt the house and them together.

The spot is most picturesque. The place first chosen for the city was

called Zephyrium, became Zephyrus, the west wind here first turns round the foot of Italy, and comes gently up the Adriatic. At the end of a promontory jutting out to sea was a great temple, probably that dedicated to Proserpine. The city of Locri was afterwards built at some distance from the Zephyrium. Of it few traces remain; but there was one special monument of antiquity which we were anxious to find. Dionysius the Tyrant, when he settled the Northern boundary, built a wall across Italy, beginning at Locri, and ending on the other side. We knew it was not easy to find, but it had been described in travellers' reports, and we were resolved to see if something could be found. We fell in with three brothers, who entered cordially into the design of our expedition, and at six in the evening undertook to take us to the remains of the wall. A party of five or six started off. The light was already beginning to fade, and frequently on the way we requested them to turn back, but they were bent on showing us the wall, so we pushed on, and at dark reached the spot. There was the wall, we were standing on the ruins of one of the towers which had formed part of the defences. We returned home in the dark, but everyone was cheerful, and we met with no mischance.

I have trespassed too long on your time, and must leave out several other places, only mentioning the fourth great city of Magna Grecia, *Tarentum*, of which the characteristic was its *commerce*. It was the great commercial emporium between Italy and the West, as far as Britain.

I would like to mention another point which we have not touched upon. The Greeks came to Italy as settlers for commercial, political and social reasons, but before this there was a time when the Greeks knew Italy only by report — the time of which Homer speaks, when navigators in the far West came home with stories of the wonders they had seen. We find these reported in Homer, in the narrative of the travels of Ulysses, and though the facts were not just what they are represented, yet it has become a part of the literary life to imagine and realise those spots of which Homer speaks. It has been my good fortune to visit nearly every spot in the West mentioned by Homer. Of those in Italy several were visited on our way back to Rome from which we started. From Locri we went to the little town of Palmi, and thence crossed in a boat, smaller than that of Ulysses, between *Scylla* and *Charybdis*. The scene was delightful, the danger from *Charybdis* none, yet our rowers were careful to avoid it; the danger from *Scylla* none with care, yet it is a dreadful rock. In 1783 the whole town was swept away by an earthquake, and the people left their houses and took shelter under the rock; the rock gave way, and four thousand people perished. Yet the passage of *Scylla* and *Charybdis* still has its dangers, though they were not felt by us. We next came to the island of *Lipari*, where Eolus kept his

winds. There we saw the two peaks which from the sea, in virtue of true perspective, as you approach, divide, and, as you recede, close. Undoubtedly these are the clashing rocks, of which Homer speaks. We then went up the coast beside the *Isles of the Sirens*. Then further North to *Formiæ*, the capital of the *Laestrygones*, where eleven shipfuls of the companions of Ulysses were eaten by the giants. Next to the abode of *Circe*, where that great enchantress dwelt, and changed men to swine. We were now almost at Rome, and here only fifteen miles away still stands on the seashore *Ardea*, founded by the son of Jupiter himself. Danae with her infant child Perseus was committed to the sea, and chance threw her on the coast of Latium. There she married the King *Pilumnus* and built the town of *Ardea*. Virgil says: « *Nomen superest, fortuna fuit* ». *Ardea* was, all but the name is gone. From *Ardea* to Rome itself. All the influence the Greeks exercised in *Magna Grecia* pales before the influence which they exercised in Rome. Here Greece brought ultimately all her treasures, here the sages flocked, the artists and the sculptors; here the principal works of art were gathered, and Rome became the city of beauty and of the fine arts in every form. This she owed to Greece, and yet her obligations did not end even there.

I do not for a moment wish to introduce into this discourse anything of a professional nature. We have been dealing with Greece and Rome as human things, but I cannot help remarking how our Creator made special use of Greece and Rome. His truth was taught first in the land of Israel, but giving us its record in the New Testament He employed the language of Greeco, and for extending it through the world, He employed the power of Rome and thus He made use of the Greeks and Romans alike better to prepare the future kingdom of His Son.

But this introduces an element far removed from the trivial anecdotes I have allowed myself to tell of in describing a journey through *Magna Grecia*.

His Excellency the Hon. G. von Lengerke Meyer proposed a vote of thanks to the lecturer, after which the Rev. F. N. Oxenham D. D. proposed a vote of thanks to the American Ambassador for having so kindly presided on this occasion.

II.

RENAISSANCE PLANS AND DRAWINGS OF ROME

BY

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My subject, the Renaissance plans and drawings of Rome, is in itself a new one. It has only begun to be studied with any effect in the last twenty or thirty years. The study is therefore in its infancy, but it is one, as I hope to show you, of extreme importance. The raw material has to a large extent been recently discovered. Plans and drawings of ancient and mediaeval Rome before and during the Renaissance are many — how many we do not know, for they are always coming to light in libraries in England, and France and all over Europe, as well as in Italy itself.

The beginning of the study dates from the publication in 1879, by G. B. De Rossi (whom old residents here have no doubt known, and enjoyed the privilege of hearing him lecture), of his volume entitled « *Piante di Roma anteriori al secolo xvi* ». I will take the plans in general, before discussing the drawings of details. Of the earliest it may be said that plans they are not, but rather bird's eye views. The first known is in a M. S. in the Vatican (Cod. Vat. 1690), and dates from before the time of Pope Nicholas III. i. e. from the latter part of the 13th century.

It was followed shortly by the bird's eye view by Cimabue in the Upper Church of S. Francesco at Assisi. These early views are a curious mixture of plan and what the Italians call « *Veduta prospettiva* », which is not exactly bird's eye view; but we have no better equivalent. The first may be said to have no orientation at all; it looks down on an oval, showing the buildings flat along the streets, as if they had been upset by an earthquake. Then comes a great improvement in the 14th century, in Taddeo di Bartolo's fresco in the Palazzo Comunale at Siena.

Benozzo Gozzoli at S. Gimignano gives us a much better view. Benozzo had been at Rome, and so instead of keeping to the traditional style, he drew what he really saw. With the others all is more or less conventional. A dozen or two of the buildings of Rome are represented, with houses between. The orientation has always the South uppermost, the

North occupying the foreground. This is absolutely the contrary of the orientation in the present day. If you look at any map, you will always find the North at the top. (The older orientation dates from the marble plan of Rome compiled in the time of Septimius Severus, and having its origin in some even earlier work. This plan, which is now in the Palazzo de' Conservatori, shows the South at the top). The last plan of this first style is one by Alessandro Strozzi (1472), published by De Rossi. This plan is remarkable for its comparative accuracy, which it owes to the fact of having the plans and measurements of Leon Battista Alberti. (Bernardo Rucellai mentions that he was taken round the ruins by Alberti).

A new style of view which came in during the later half of the 16th century, is taken from the Monte Parioli, having the N. E. in the foreground, and the S. W. in the background.

We now come to the wood engravings, one of the earliest of which is to be found in the Nuremberg Chronicle, 1493. It was long thought to be the first engraved view of ancient Rome, but really the very first is found in the 1490 edition of the « *Supplementum Chronicarum* » of Foresti of Bergamo. An interesting article on this has been published by Comm. Gnoli, Director of the Vittorio Emanuele Library, in the *Bullettino Comunale*, 1885, 63. The Nuremberg view is found in all editions of the *Cosmographia* of Sebastian Münster. That of 1549 has an amusing note: « Here is the Temple of Peace, (Basilica of Constantine), and here ought to be the Colosseum, but it is so vast an edifice, and our plan is small, so we have not inserted it. » This plan of 1549 is very inaccurate. It gives the two chapels at the head of the Ponte S. Angelo, which were removed in 1534 to make way for the statues of S. Peter and S. Paul. Marcus Aurelius is shown outside the Lateran, though he was removed in 1538, and the Pyramid, which was on the site now occupied by S. Maria Traspontina, called the *Meta Romuli*, is represented as still in the Borgo, though it was removed by Alexander VI.

Other plans succeeded. Pinturicchio, we are told by Vasari, made a plan of Rome which was in the Belvedere of the Vatican. Gian Bellini painted one in the Hall of the Gran Consiglio, at Venice. One was to have been published in 1532 from the designs of Raphael, but we have only the « *Simulacrum Urbis Romae* » published certainly in 1532, with elementary views of Rome, which are all that was left of the plan Raphael intended to publish. In all these plans there is progress — the artists begin to try to show the buildings connected with the town, its houses and streets. In 1534 we come to Heemskerck, and here we are in a different sphere, and find work infinitely more accurate than anything of the kind before. His views in the Forum are very different work from what has gone before; their accuracy

is remarkable. (I may notice that he gives the little church of SS. Sergio e Bacco, near the Arch of Septimius Severus, which was removed in 1536, for the triumphal entry of Charles V). Heemskerk's example was followed by Anton van den Wyngaerde. In 1895 Lanciani published one of the four panoramas by him which he found in the Bodleian Library, in a magnificent copy of Burnet's « History of our own Times », in thirty folio volumes, with a huge volume of supplementary prints. I have since published two of the other three. Their accuracy is almost photographic. The first was taken from the Baths of Constantine on the Quirinal. The second view is from the Villa Mellini, and the third from the Janiculum; there is a fourth, not yet published, taken from S. Sabina. These are as good panoramas of Rome in the middle of the 16th century as could be found.

At this time the influence of the Low Countries began to make itself felt, in the better traditions in engraved plans. The point of view was changed. In 1555 an engraving by Jac. Bosse, a Belgian, was published in the « Speculum Urbis Romae » of Ant. Lafrery, a Frenchman. So we can see that foreign influence was considerable.

Bufalini, in 1551, published the first plan of Rome which was really a ground plan in the modern sense. The attempt at a bird's eye view is given up. The original is in 16 sheets, and only one complete copy exists, in the British Museum. This Forma Urbis Romae has an archaeological interest, because shortly after came the transformation of the mediaeval town into what we might almost call modern Rome under Sixtus V.

While we are on this subject of 16th century plans, I may mention that Colonel Rocchi, of the Engineers, has published a collection of the plans of Rome in the 16th century. He has approached the subject from his interest in fortifications. One of these is taken from Castro Pretorio, and shows the fortifications. It dates from about the time of the Spanish advance under Alva in 1556. (Another plan shows the Siege of Ostia in 1556, when it was taken by Alva. There is a special interest about this plan, as it is the last which shows the Tiber running in its old bed. As you are aware, the Tiber formerly ran beneath the walls of the Castle of Ostia. A flood in 1557 destroyed its bed, and it now runs a mile further to the right, leaving its dry bed, called the « Fiume Morto », which is now cultivated). There are several other plans of the 16th century of considerable interest. One taken from the Villa Mellini is by Dosio, an architect and archaeologist, many of whose drawings are in the Uffizi.

Some are not plans of Rome as it was in the 16th century, but as the archaeologists and architects suppose it to have been. The details are interesting, as they are based on better knowledge, in some senses, than we can get. What has come to light in recent excavations was not at their

disposal, but, on the other hand, much was then standing which they saw, and we shall never see. It is a melancholy fact that the Renaissance architects, who professed the greatest interest in the remains of ancient Rome, were the first to pull down whatever they wanted as material for the palaces they were building.

Now I came to the second part of my subject, the drawings with details of Rome, as distinct from plans in general. Here the material is not so early. The first drawings we have relating to Rome in the 16th century are some isolated sheets, some remnants of artists' sketchbooks.

We may make three main divisions:

1) The drawings of architects, whose work was to study the ancient and mediæval buildings for whatever would be useful to them as their stock in trade, or who wished to make a collection of the ruins they had seen.

This was especially the case with the important collection of drawings attributed to Andreas Coner, which are now in the Soane Museum (published in facsimile in *Papers of the British School of Rome*, vol. II). They date from 1513 to 1520. Coner died in 1527. An inventory of his goods in Rome is amusing, from the great disparity between the numbers of books and shirts, etc., books immensely predominating over useful articles.

2) Where the artist went about collecting architectural material, remains of sculpture, etc., which can have only an architectural interest.

3) Where the artist really sketched a picture. We have cited among the best of these the sketches of Heemskerk at Berlin. The value of these mediæval sketch-books is incalculable, but unfortunately the study of them has been neglected until recently.

We see from recent topographical works that this study undertaken with care is of great value. There is, for instance, the early history of S. Peter's, the plans for the Basilica, what it was intended to be, and showing how it came to be what it is. Besides plans and elevations, there are fragments, which enable us to reconstruct mentally the look of an ancient temple from half a dozen drawings. There are drawings of statuary, which enable us to realize what certain statues looked like before they were restored, for, as you are aware, the statues in Roman Museums have been terribly restored. There are the Parthenon drawings, which show us how the pediment stood before the explosion. There are certain drawings of the 18th century by Carlo Labruzzi (see *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française* 1903, 375) of which I made use in working on the Via Appia, and in which I found much that has since absolutely disappeared. Sometimes these drawings are difficult to interpret, being only tiny pencil sketches made by the architect for his own use in building some palace, and just scribbled down.

Of copies of inscriptions we have many. The archaeologists and architects of the Renaissance were interested in inscriptions. Many have now disappeared, the marbles have been lost or burnt, and we have only these 16th century copies. It is true that we need to be cautious in accepting them. The Renaissance archaeologists had lively imaginations, especially one Pirro Ligorio, who delighted to make up inscriptions which had never existed, and to invent buildings, and draw elaborate plans of them. Pirro Ligorio, however, is a dangerous liar, for he sometimes tells the truth. Inscriptions which only rested on the faith of Pirro Ligorio, and were therefore rejected as forgeries, have been known to turn up in stone, and to be proved undoubtedly ancient. The difficulties of the whole subject only add to its fascination. As I said at the beginning it is a new subject, as yet very little studied. I have to ask your indulgence for these disjointed remarks, since it is a subject of which I myself know comparatively little.

III.

THE RELIGION OF REPUBLICAN ROME

BY

Professor JESSE BENEDICT CARTER.

It is fortunate for the study of Archaeology that as yet its title is unimpaired, and that its charter-rights are as great to-day as they were in the old Greek days when the word was born into the world. All around we see the spirit of this age of natural science cataloguing and arranging sciences, like botanical specimens, and saying to each « thus far shall thou go and no farther », and setting one in subjection to another, so that each one is in danger of being regarded as a mere ancillary discipline, a poor little « Hilfswissenschaft »; and all the while Archaeology has served all as a master-science should, but has been put under the tutelage of none. It is this all-inclusive character of the title which has been one of my justifications in asking your attention this afternoon to the discussion of the « Religion of Republican Rome ». My other grounds of justification are the great interest inherent in the subject and the fact that in spite of this interest it is relatively seldom discussed; and lastly that it has been the centre of my own investigations for a decade past, so that possibly out of the fullness of the heart the mouth may speak less ill than it otherwise would.

The knowledge of an historical fact is a widely different thing from the grasp of it in its significance. The knowledge of the fact is acquired by a momentary effort of the memory, but it is a barren thing until it has been fructified by months, sometimes years of mental experience. Yet all our labour is in vain, all our teaching is a mere pouring out of words unless facts are such living things to us that we can communicate the life of them as well as the mere fact of them to others. We have all of us studied our early Roman history, and yet how many of us have really grasped two facts upon which all our knowledge of this period depends? Like all great facts they are very simple. First we have been taught that the Gauls invaded Rome after the battle of Allia in B.C. 390, but how few of us realize that by their coming the greater portion of the documentary evidence for the later kingdom and the early republic was des-

troyed. The second fact is that Roman literature does not begin until the time of the Punic wars, and arose then only under the inspiration of Greek literature, a century and a half after the battle of Allia; and that thus one of the first products were the Roman annalists, who unlike to nature as they were in other respects, agreed with her in abhorring a vacuum, and thus the rewriting of early history was accomplished a century and a half after the Gauls had done their destruction, and by men who were fascinated by the novelty of Greek thought and literature, and who wrote, many of them, in the Greek tongue, and all of them in the myths and legends which had been learned from Greece, building for example the whole Aeneas legend into their own early history.

These are the things which make the study of Roman history so difficult, but which lend to the origin of *Roma Aeterna* that halo of mystery which differentiates her from created things and makes us feel that as she is without end, so also she was without beginning. Yet Archaeology calls us back from our day dreams, and *Commendatore Boni* makes the dead rise in the Forum as witnesses of a past more dead than they, and *Mommsen* interprets the Roman calendar so that we gain from it a knowledge of the last thing we should ever expect to know about the city before the Tarquins, a tolerably complete knowledge of the religion of the early period.

It is to Roman religion, not as a philosophical system, nor as a theological creed, but as a candle in the distant past of Roman history, like a light in a very dark place that I ask your attention to-day.

I have called it « The Religion of Republican Rome » for lack of a better short title — the real subject however is the religious history of Rome from the foundation of the Servian city to the second Punic War — as you see therefore it includes the latter part of the kingdom and only the first three of the five centuries of the Republic.

Possibly this rather peculiar piece which I have cut out of the linear extension of Roman History may need some justification — yet it represents one of the really great periods of Rome's life — and I believe the time is not far distant when it will be recognised as such and given its proper place in our text books and manuals. Up to the time of *Servius* Rome was in her childhood. The child stepped into manhood under those mysterious half historical figures whom we call the Tarquins. From that time Rome grew steadily for three and a half centuries — arranging her own internal affairs and adjusting her relations with her immediate neighbours during the first two of these centuries (550-350), establishing her control of the peninsula of Italy in the third of these centuries (350-250) and entering into the beginnings of her world-dominion in the fearful struggle with Carthage during the last half century

(250-200). In no other way can this period be divided; the traditional change from a kingdom to a republic is an infinitely minor matter. It is mere formalism to take it as one of your great divisions of history. Rome attained individuality and self consciousness not in 509 through Brutus but half a century earlier through Servius Tullius, and she began her decline not in the early centuries of the empire but shortly after the second Punic War. No man liveth to himself and no nation to itself — and the things which produced this change in Rome were the influences upon her of the nations outside, notably Greece.

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A picture of Rome's religious condition during these centuries can be gained only by contrast with her previous condition. We must go back of Servius Tullius therefore for a moment, and try to obtain at least a rough idea of the religion of Rome before that time.

In view of what has been said of the paucity of our sources this might seem a most foolish attempt, and yet here there comes to help us one of the most brilliant discoveries which Theodor Mommsen made. As you all know we possess a number of stone calendars of the Roman year — which date from the half century after the battle of Actium. Mommsen discovered that among the varied pieces of information which these calendars give, they contain in large letters a long list of old Roman festivals. By internal evidence it can be shown that this list goes back to that particular Rome which was bigger than the Palatine, and bigger than the Septimontium — and not so big as the Servian wall, in other words what we call the city of the Four Regions. This list combined with certain other evidence enable us to know with tolerable completeness the names of the gods of the old religion — and to assert with equal certainty that many gods well known later were absent at that time.

As we might expect, it is a religion peculiarly adapted to the needs of a farming community. Their gods are gods of the country — their festivals are rustic festivals — and at first sight it seems as if these had nothing about their religion which is different from that of other primitive farming peoples. But there are two very remarkable tendencies present, one the survival of an older manner of thought, the other the forerunner of a later intellectual development.

The first is a peculiar tendency to identify the god with the object — or rather to put it perhaps clearer, to pair a divine double with each individual thing. This is of course a remnant of an old animistic belief, when the gods were *potentialities* and not yet *individualities*, the divine counter part, the spirit of the thing. It is this habit of thought which makes Janus, not

the god of the door — but the divine door itself represented in the Forum not by an image or a temple until centuries later, but merely by an arch. And Vesta is not the goddess of the hearth but the Hearth itself so that she is herself in the Forum the State-Hearth, and her temple is merely a covering for herself. It is this same tendency which makes early Roman thought so devoid of mythology. Here potentialities were not until later thought of in the form of human beings, hence they were not married or given in marriage and there were no rivalries, love affairs or genealogies of the gods.

The other tendency is closely akin to this, though it is not on the rise until the other is on the decline. It is the ability to indulge in a certain form of abstract thought which later on made the Romans the greatest law-makers the world has ever seen. It is the ability to think of abstract things concretely — the ability to personify and so eventually to individualise abstractions. In religion this showed itself in the ability to take for example Jupiter, worshipped as the god of good faith, Jupiter Fidius, to break off the adjectival abstract idea involved in Fidius and personify and worship it as Fides. It is a kind of abstract thought, which did not make great philosophers, but which gave the world the idea of a corporation as a legal personality.

We have no time to go through all the gods that were there, but the city was full of their shrines. In or near the Forum was the arch of Janus, the spring of Juturna, the hearth of Vesta, the altar of Saturn, the Volcanal of Vulcan, the shrine of the Lares in *summa sacra via*; on the Capitoline Jupiter Feretrius and Fides; on the Palatine, the cave of Faunus, the shrine of Cacus, the shrine of Pales and many sacella of deities whose names alone were known later; on the Quirinal, the shrine of Quirinus; on the Esquiline, the shrine of Tellus (Mother Earth); in the valley of the Circus inside the Pomerium an altar of Consus; outside the Pomerium, in the Campus Martius an altar of Mars; outside the Porta Capena the shrine of the Camena; at the first mile-stone of the Via Flaminia, the grove of Anna Perenna; at the fifth mile-stone of the Via Claudia, the grove of Robigus; at the twelfth mile-stone of the Via Ostiensis the Pomonal of Pomona.

But it is more important yet to notice the gods who were not there. Jupiter was there, but not Jupiter Optimus Maximus; Ceres was there but not Demeter Ceres; Liber, but not Dionysus-Liber; Neptune, but not Poseidon-Neptune; and there was no Diana, no Minerva, no Venus, no Apollo, no Mercury; no Aesculapius, no Dis-Pluto; no Proserpina; no Magna Mater. In a word scarcely one of the gods whose names occur most frequently in the literature and in the Corpus of inscriptions.

At a later time, when Rome was filled with foreign imported deities,

people were wont to refer to this little group of deities as the *Di Indigetes*, and to call the religious state in which they alone were present the Religion of Numa — in contrast to the Deities who began to come in from the time of Servius and who were designated as the *Di Noensides* or Imported gods. The coming of these imported gods, these *Di Noensides* and the influence which their presence had in modifying the old gods is the real *content* of the period which we have picked out for our work.

Sometime during the 6th century B. C. a change came over this simple homogeneous community and its agricultural pursuits and its rustic gods. It was much more than the mere enlarging of the city limits by the Servian wall. It was the birth of a political interest, and a consequent advance in political organisation, not only at Rome in the so-called « Servian Constitution » but abroad in relation to the Latin League. It was also an increase in population, especially in the « Forestieri » with the problems arising therefrom. Now everyone of these events has left its mark on the body of Roman religion, and it is to these political events and their concomitant religious events that I want to call your attention.

Surrounded as Rome was with the influence of the Etruscans to the North, of the Latins in her immediate neighbourhood, and of the Greeks in the South, each one of whom was sending her streams of immigration, each, Aeneas-like bearing their own gods with them, it is very difficult to tell which of all these deities came in first — but it is my personal opinion that Castor and Hercules were probably the first to come in. They are two excessively interesting cases. Castor sometimes with, sometimes without, his brother Pollux was a rather insignificant member of the Greek Pantheon until his association with horses made him into the patron of cavalry, at first in Sparta, afterwards in the Greek Colonies of Southern Italy. Eventually in a way we are no longer able to trace, his cult became very prominent in Tusculum. The Romans seem to have derived their Equitatus or primitive cavalry from Tusculum and with the cavalry came Castor into Rome. He had been so naturalized as a Latin citizen in Tusculum that he came to Rome not as a foreign Greek deity but as a native Latin one. He received a temple therefore inside the Pomerium in the Roman Forum — a temple of whose subsequent restoration certain columns are still standing. The state cult dates from the dedication of a temple in B. C. 484, but Castor was almost certainly in Rome long before this time. He may well have been there before Servius for one of the insufficiencies of the old Roman Calendar as a basis of evidence is the fact that it mentions merely the State festivals of the whole people and not those of a clan, and before the state-cult Castor was merely god of the cavalry. Hence had he been present in the old Four.-Region-City he would not appear in the Calendar.

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The case of Hercules is somewhat similar.

The Greek Herakles, the patron of travellers was himself a traveller, and he came with the Greek trader northward into Latium. It was Tibur, Tivoli, which seems to have been the Latin centre where he became naturalised, and with the transfer of two Tivoli families to Rome, the Politii and the Pinarii, this cult came to Rome where its centre was the Ara Maxima in the Forum Boarium, again inside the Pomerium. The date we do not know, but it was a very old cult — and if it had been there in the Four-Region-City the calendars would not show it for the same reason as with Castor, — being a cult of a part of the people rather than of the whole. It is very characteristic of the age of this Ara Maxima Cult of Hercules and of the feeling of the people towards it that later when the direct Greek Herakles became known at Rome, he was felt to be quite a different deity and was worshipped in quite another part of Rome outside the Pomerium near the Circus Flaminius.

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But Rome was growing from the North as well as from the South, she was receiving a constant stream of skilled workmen from Etruria. These workmen brought their patron goddess with them, Minerva, a goddess which they had in their turn originally received from the thriving Faliscan town of Falerii. And so Minerva, who had already in Etruria been identified with the Greek Athena, came into the Roman state-cult. But though the state accepted her, she was not received within the Pomerium, but her temple was erected outside on the Aventine. It was only later that she gained a place inside the pomerium at first in connection with Jupiter and Juno in the Capitoline temple and afterwards alone. But all through her career she remained true to those who had brought her in, and was known chiefly as the goddess protectress of the labouring man. The date of the coming of Minerva we can tell only approximately. It must have been a considerable time before the building of the Capitoline temple of Jupiter where she is already a well known goddess, and her temple on the Aventine can scarcely go back before Servius, else we should find a reference to it in the Calendar.

Thus we have seen the number of the Roman gods increased by the coming of Castor with the Cavalry — of Hercules with the travelling merchant — and of Minerva with the Etruscan artisans.

But more interesting still, because more vitally connected with the great march of Rome's destiny is the coming of Diana.

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Diana was worshipped at various points in Italy — on the mountains and in the woods as a goddess — protectress of the animal kingdom — guardian of the helpless young alike of man and of beast and of those who had given birth to them. It was not a cult which would have appealed to the thrifty farming community of Rome; but not far away, near Ariccia — there was a grove sacred to Diana — a grove so famous that the name still clings to the spot — Nemi. — There Diana was worshipped as the great goddess whom the people of Ariccia most of all delighted to honour. Now it so happened that Alba Longa, the old leader of the league of Latin towns to which Rome belonged, gradually declined in power and the mantle of her leadership fell upon Ariccia. With the coming of Ariccia to the presidency of the league, the cult of Diana began to play an important part in the affairs of the league — not because Diana was especially suited to this role but because the town whose favourite she was, wished thus to honour her. And again in the course of time Ariccia declined, and Rome's ascendancy already begun had a chance to assert itself.

With that shrewd hard-headed common sense which is often the best form of diplomacy and which was more characteristic of earlier than of later Rome, she saw her opportunity. She seized upon the leadership, and marked her claim by building in the groves of the Aventine, outside her new Pomerium a temple of Diana, as a new sacral centre for the Latin League — outside the Pomerium, not because Diana was felt to be a foreign goddess, but because the sanctuary was a common sanctuary for the whole league and hence ought not to be on specifically Roman sacred ground.

Thus Diana came into the penumbra of Rome and her further acceptance within the sacred line followed inevitably. Only thus can her presence be explained — and only thus the comparative indifference of Rome towards her in later time after her work for the Latin league had been done.

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According to tradition which in this case is probably true the temple of Diana on the Aventine was built at about the same time that the Capitoline temple of Jupiter was being planned — the temple which was begun under the Kings, and dedicated, according to the tradition, in the first year of the Republic.

This is no mere coincidence but another expression of Rome's attitude toward the Latin league, just as the Diana temple on the Aventine was the formal assertion of the presidency of the league which she had already

obtained, so the change of the old god Jupiter-Feretrius on the Capitoline into the new Jupiter Optimus Maximus, was her boast for the future, the prophecy of a time to come when her Jupiter, the greatest and the most powerful, would rule over all the others, and Latium and the Latin league would be swallowed up in Rome. The Capitoline temple was the concrete expression of Rome's individuality, it was the heart of her religious life, it was her immortal soul. Rome would last as long as the Capitol should stand. It was also the assertion of her own nationality, the most truly Roman thing in a Roman world. Well had it been for her had she been able to close her gates against the entering in of all subsequent deities. The simple religion of Numa had now received its proper complement. In Diana she had received the sanctification of the world destiny, in Minerva she had the divine blessing on the growth of handicraft and art, in Hercules the old pastoral life had been enlarged to contain the idea of trade and commerce, while over them all Jupiter Optimus Maximus had spread his banner of the *Roman-Rome*.

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But at this very time, outside the Pomerium, people were going for healing to a shrine of Apollo, Apollo Medicus, the Physician — a Greek cult which had wandered up from Cumae. In itself this was harmless — and Apollo himself never did Rome any real harm, though centuries later he threatened for a short time to usurp the place of Jupiter, rejoicing in the gorgeous Apollo temple on the Palatine, and in the special patronage of the emperor Augustus.

But in the train of Apollo came his oracles the Sibylline books, in some way connected with Cumae, though the story of Tarquin and the old woman is a late fabrication. And these Sibylline books caused all the trouble. At first the results of their use were apparently harmless — but they acted like an insidious drug strengthening and calming at first, while the craving was being formed, and then indulged in more and more frequently until the habit was fully developed and the strain of the second Punic War produced an orgiastic intoxication.

Thus while Rome was growing in power, in strength physical and material, her real spiritual strength was being slowly sapped away from her, though as the real religious feeling declined, the artificial expression of it became more and more pronounced.

It is to this sad story that we must now turn. At the coming of the books a new priesthood was appointed to look after them, but the consultation of the books and the carrying out of the acts commanded by them were

completely in the control of the Senate. Had it not been for this safe-guard the religious abuse of the second Punic War would have come one or two centuries sooner. It is the irony of fate that these books should have been placed for safe-keeping in the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline.

The first recorded use of the books was in the year B. C. 496 in a time of famine when the great Eleusinian Triad Demeter, Dionysius, Koré was introduced into Rome as Ceres, Liber, and Libera, and given a temple outside the Pomerium near the Circus Maximus. It was not however in the exalted ideas of the Eleusinian mysteries that they were introduced, but Demeter as Grain-goddess, and Dionysius as a wine god.

It would take us too long to chronicle the other deities who came in this same fashion; it will be sufficient to say that about the time of Demeter's entrance, Hermes-Mercury and Poseidon-Neptune came, in Mercury as divine president of the Chamber of Commerce, the Collegium mercatorum, and Neptune, as a sort of deified marine Insurance.

Later on the books commanded the summoning of Aesculapius from Epidauros, and he was brought and a temple given him on the island in the Tiber, and later still Pluto and Persephone came as Dis and Proserpina in the celebration of the Secular Games at the Tarentum in the Campus Martius.

But it was not simply the deities who came, but the extraordinary cult acts which the books ordered in between. The pages of Livy describing these years are full of prodigies: their procuration (appeasement) by means of the Books. We have banquets to these Greek deities, processions and sacrifices in long succession. Like all processes of incantation a formula became exhausted after two or three uses and another and more complicated one was demanded instead. The extreme was reached during the second Punic War when Rome went mad in its efforts to gain the help of the gods against Hannibal and when at the close of the war it seemed as if Hannibal could never be driven out of Italy, the Books ordered the coming of the wild orgiastic cult of the Phrygian goddess, the great Mother who alone could drive Hannibal out. She came, and Hannibal left the next year more however by cause of Scipio than of Cybele.

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And thus we have come to the end of our period but we cannot stop here without looking forward for a moment into the future. There was one thing that could save Rome and that was a reaction — and this set in and a fearful thing it was. Tremendous commercial prosperity, and abso-

late contempt and indifference to the gods old and new alike, contempt among the intellectual classes who thought they saw the folly of all worship, indifference among the middle classes who did not care enough to think about it one way or the other. And so the temples fell into decay and the priesthoods were empty. But these things too could not last and then Augustus arose and rebuilt the temples, and filled the priesthood and set the machinery of state religion in operation again, and started the Empire forward into that great Gigantomachia, the battle of the giants against the gods, the struggle of Paganism and Christianity which is the last chapter in the old Roman religion.

IV.

ON AN INTERESTING MONUMENT RECENTLY BROUGHT FROM EGYPT

BY

Comm. Professor O. MARUCCHI

Mr. Connellan introduced the lecturer, and said that Prof. Marucchi was about to tell us of the stele which he had brought from Egypt, so that we should have first hand information of this monument, which is of the greatest interest in connection with Egyptian Archæology.

Prof. Marucchi said: — At the end of last year I had the pleasure of taking a journey to Egypt for purposes of study, having three ends in view:

- 1) to visit the principal monuments;
- 2) to be present at some of the excavations of my friend Prof. Schiapparelli, and
- 3) to bring back to the Egyptian Museum of the Vatican some memorial of the Pharaohs. I was fortunate enough to fulfil these three ends of my journey.

I visited first Cairo, where the Museum contains the monuments of that ancient civilisation wonderfully well arranged in chronological order. I then visited the excavations made by Schiapparelli at *Heliopolis* or *Macaria*, where stood the famous Temple of the Sun which gave its name to the city, called by the ancient Egyptians *On*, and referred to by that name in the Bible. Here stands the most ancient of all the obelisks, that of User Tesen of the XII dynasty. Schiapparelli made extensive excavations among the ruins of the Temple, and had the good fortune to find some precious fragments of manuscripts, including a plan of part of the Temple, a most important discovery, as it assists us in forming an idea of the form of the monument.

I was present also at the excavations of Schiapparelli in Upper Egypt, in the neighbourhood of Luxor, at the city of Thebes, the capital of Upper Egypt. I studied with him the tombs of the Pharaohs of the XVIII and XIX dynasties. I visited the Valley of the Queens, Bab-el-Harem, not far from the Valley of the Kings, where are the tombs of the Pharaohs. In the Valley of the Queens lie their wives, daughters or sisters. The Valley of the Kings is well known and often visited. The Valley of the Queens is

not much known, and is very little visited, as it lies at some distance from the beaten track of the tourist. Archæologists however are making special studies here. Schiapparelli encamped on the spot, in order personally to direct the excavations, and I spent some time with him in tents in the desert, and was present at some important discoveries. The principal of these was the tomb of Queen *Nefert-Ari* the wife of Rameses II of the XIX dynasty, the persecutor of the Hebrews, and the contemporary of Moses, at whose court the great lawgiver was brought up. The Tomb of the Queen had been sacked by former explorers, and unfortunately the mummy was no longer there, but there were remains of the sarcophagus, with the name of the Queen in a Royal Cartouche in which she is spoken of as the royal wife of Rameses II, Lord of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the crowns, the usual formula. There were also important paintings decorating the walls of the sepulchral chamber, representing the adoration of the gods of the underworld. But the most interesting discovery was that of an entirely new chapter of the « Book of the Dead », a book sacred as our Bible, indeed the « Book of the Dead » has been called the Bible of the ancient Egyptians. It contains 160 chapters. In the tomb of the Queen were found some chapters already known, and an entirely new one, an invocation to the *God Thoth*, the god of literature and knowledge, for whom the scribes had a special worship.

Having explored the ruins of Thebes and the tombs of the Pharaohs, I returned to Cairo to finish my studies in the Museum. But before leaving Egypt I had still to fulfil my wish of carrying back to the Egyptian Museum of the Vatican some monument of ancient Egypt. This I was finally able to do through the generosity of the eminent German Professor Dr. Pelizeus, who has been singularly fortunate in discovering funeral stele, inscriptions, etc., during his excavations, and yielding to my representations of the gratification he would give to the Holy Father, and to the archæological world, he generously presented to the Vatican Museum the stele which I had already judged the most valuable object in his collection. This stele I brought back with me: it is now in a post of honour in the Egyptian Museum, and I propose to give you a short account of it.

This stele was found by Pelizeus near the Pyramid of Ghizeh in the neighbourhood of Cairo. This is a most-important necropolis, erected by the Pharaohs of the IV dynasty, Chu Fu, or Cheops, and his son Menkera or Mycerinus. It is not necessary for me to describe these Pyramids; they are well known, and have very probably been seen by some who are listening to me. It is necessary, however, to give some explanation of the symbolical significance of the Pyramid in the religion of the Egyptians.

The pyramid is the most ancient of all sepulchral monuments.

The Greeks, and Arabs and early explorers saw in the Pyramid some connection with astronomy, geometry, mathematics. They supposed it measured the distance from the earth to the sun, or the diameter of the earth, with many other equally fantastic ideas. The Pyramids are nothing but the sepulchres of the Pharaohs of the Ancient Empire. The Pharaohs of the New Empire had subterranean tombs under the chain of the Libyan hills.

The Pyramids then were the sepulchres of the Pharaohs of the first dynasties, constructed for themselves and for their families, and constructed in this form, which has a religious significance.

The pyramid was called by the Egyptians « Ben-Ben ». The name *pyramid* was found in a papyrus in the British Museum, in which the word *papyrus* is used meaning « to come out of anything ». From this the Greeks took the name *pyramis*, and applied to the form of the monument what was really the name of a part. The pyramid represented the sun's rays, and the sun was the most solemn image of the deity himself. They saw him rise every morning in the East, and sink every evening in the West, always the same, and he came to symbolize the eternal youth and immortality of the divinity. From the earliest times the ancients adored the sun, and the Egyptians represented it in the form of their pyramids. On some stele we see the solar disc, with figures around having their arms raised in the attitude of prayer, an attitude which has come down to us in the Orantes of the Catacombs. In other stele, instead of the solar disc we see the pyramid between two monutains. Here the pyramid takes the place of the sun, and becomes its equivalent. In these stele the figures adore « Ben Ben » (the name of the pyramid) representing the sun which illuminates men with its rays. From this form was developed that of the *obelisk*. The pyramid is the form of the Ancient Empire, the obelisk came in with the XII dynasty. The oldest obelisk, as I have said before, is that of User Tesen, the Pharaoh of Abraham. Thus the pyramid was the most ancient and the obelisk was a development of the pyramid. On every obelisk there is a little pyramid, called by the Greeks *πυραμίδιον*. The obelisk has the same signification, that of the sun's rays descending on the earth to warm and illuminate. It is, as it were, one of the sun's rays detached from the sun. Now for the reason why the Pharaohs of the Ancient Empire made their sepulchres in this form, hollowing out the sepulchral chamber below the pyramid.

The ancient Egyptians conceived the soul after death as going on a long journey, passing through many trials, crossing the subterranean Nile in the boat of the sun, and finally becoming absorbed into the sun, and forming part of the divine substance. In short, their belief was that of Pantheism, that all emanates from and returns to the divine Being. This explains why the Pharaohs made their tomb in the form of a pyramid, representing the sun and laid their dead within the pyramid, so that they should be covered

by the rays of the sun, thus auguring for them a prosperous journey, and a final entrance into the substance of the Divinity. Such was the profoundly religious significance of the pyramid as the ancient burial place of the Pharaohs of Egypt.

The pyramids were not isolated; other monuments stood near them. There was first the funeral temple, in which was carried on the worship of the dead, of the deceased Pharaohs as representing the divinity itself. Every sepulchre of the Pharaohs, even those of a later date, had the funeral temple, where sacrifices were offered. Besides the funeral temple, there were near the great pyramids smaller ones in which were buried the courtiers of the King, the priests of the Pharaoh-worship, and other great persons. These truncated pyramids are called *mastaba*. Of the inscriptions on these mastaba there are many specimens in the Museums of Cairo, of London, of the Louvre, of Berlin and of Turin, the richest in Italy. These are written in the most antique language, in archaic forms, such as we find in the Forum in the inscription at the tomb of Romulus. These inscriptions are most important, as they show us the organisation of society in Egypt, as far back as the IV and V dynasties, that is about 4000 B. C. When the rest of the world was sunk in barbarism Egypt possessed a political organisation complete in all branches of the State. They had great libraries, for we find a dignitary described as « Keeper of the House of Books ».

The pyramids are described as the *large*, the *beautiful*, the *splendid*, names given to them by the people.

The pyramid from which our stele comes is called the *horizon*, *Chu-it*, and probably received that name from its being perfectly orientated, its four sides turned exactly to the four quarters, North, South, East and West. The entrance is on the North; from this entrance one descends by an inclined corridor, representing the inclination of the axis of the earth. This corridor is in the direction of the Pole Star. The door also looks towards the Pole Star. The orientation is therefore perfect.

Near to the Pyramids was the great city of Memphis, not far distant from modern Cairo. Memphis was the metropolis of the ancient Empire. The sepulchres were in the country outside the city. Now close to the sepulchres there sprang up a little city where lived the many persons who were necessarily engaged in the necropolis. There were the priests who conducted the religious rites; the embalmers, who embalmed the bodies, the men who had various funeral offices, the engravers, sculptors, painters, architects, sellers of sacred objects, especially of the sacred papyrus, and all these lived on the spot.

These general considerations will serve to illustrate the monument itself, which was found in the neighbourhood of the Pyramid of Chu-fu, or Cheops. It is a little more than a metre in height.

It represents the door of the sepulchre in which was buried a person who was connected with the religious worship. Many other stele show the door of the sepulchre, and this is of importance as showing by its form that it is the house, the habitation of the deceased. The idea was that the soul came at night to visit the sepulchre, and rested on the mummy, and if it did not find the body there to rest upon, the soul suffered. In case the mummy should by any chance have been removed, there must be a statue of the deceased on which the soul could rest. Above the door there was a window by which the interior of the sepulchre could be seen. This was always the form on stele of the I. up to the X. dynasty. In other stele in the Egyptian Museum later than this one, of the VI. dynasty, but still belonging to the ancient Empire, the door of the sepulchre is so finished that one can see within. The departed is represented seated, with a table before him, on which are collected various objects representing the offerings made to the dead. These we know, from various hieroglyphic inscriptions consisted of bread, wine, milk, beer « the things on which the gods live ».

The departed is represented seated before this table of the offerings to the gods, almost as if he were himself divine, and were adored as Osiris himself. On another stele of the V. dynasty, found at Sakkara, and now in the Cairo Museum, the departed is twice represented seated before the table with the sacred offerings, and below are represented his friends bringing the oblations in procession. This helps to explain our stele.

The stele is covered with hieroglyphic inscriptions. These inscriptions we can now read with complete certainty. Amongst a number of over 500, only ten or fifteen are uncertain.

Since the great discovery of Champollion it has become possible to read even these of the most remote period with absolute certainty.

The text of this inscription is not one of the easiest. It is short but contains some groups of considerable difficulty. I have given much time to the study, and believe that I have now entirely deciphered it. It belongs to the most ancient system of hieroglyphics. In that writing some signs represent syllables, others letters, others are determinative, i. e. they indicate the significance of the word immediately preceding. In the more ancient inscriptions there are fewer of these determinatives, while those of a later epoch abound in them, and are therefore much clearer and more easily read than the ancient ones. In this inscription the cartouche inclosing the name of the Pharaoh, is frequently repeated. The name is *Chu-fu*, or *Cheops*. The name of the pyramid is given as *Chu-it*. Then follows the word *s-het*, or custodian, the person who was inspector of the pyramid of *Chu-fu*, a guardian of the grave. The date would seem to be that of the IV. dynasty, or about 4000 B. C.

In reading such inscriptions, the order of reading is indicated by certain figures of men or animals. If these are turned to the left, the reading is to begin on the left, and go to the right. If they are turned to the right, the reading must go to the right, but it is not always easy to understand the order of the lines.

This is the interpretation of the short text. "An offering in the name of the King has been made,, a strange way of speaking, but it is the usual formula; the King being represented as divine, as the chief priest, the head of the religion, the one who guides all sacrifice, the idea being that the sacrifice would not be acceptable, unless it were offered in the name of the King.

"An offering has been made to Anubis on his mountains,, (Anubis was the god of death) "In order to give the funeral offerings of bread and wine etc. to be devoted to the courtier of Pharaoh, *Ara* ,,,

This *Ara* was of the court of Pharaoh, of *Per - A*, that is, the King; literally the great house, *Per* meaning house, and *A* great. As we say "the Court, the Sublime Porte, the Santa Sede, the Quirinale, the Vatican, so this is a figurative expression in which the King is spoken of as "the great Palace ,,. The name Pharaoh was therefore not that of any particular monarch, but was given to the race in general.

Ara was the curator or governor of the *Nomus*, the little city gathered around the pyramid.

Then follows a prayer that he may have a fortunate journey through the regions of the underworld. A representation is given of the city, with lines for its streets.

This stele dating from 4000 B.C. is a monument recently discovered, and quite unedited. Its inscription is most interesting as helping to show that at a time when all around was barbarism, Egypt and Mesopotamia had attained a high grade of perfection, with a perfect administration in religious and political matters, and with a written language.

The monument is now shown in the Egyptian Museum of the Vatican, under glass, in the centre of the hemicycle. I have removed some less important objects to make room for it, and I hope soon to place an explanatory description below, showing the importance of the monument.

It fills a gap in the collection, which had nothing to represent the IV dynasty, and thus adds to the usefulness of this Museum, not only to Roman students, but to those of other countries, especially our welcome guests of the British and American colony in this city.

NOTE. Owing to a case of serious illness in Professor Marucchi's family at the time of going to press, this article has not had the advantage of his personal Correction. The Editor is therefore responsible for any errors, if there should be such.

V.

THE ROMAN CITIES OF THE SOUTH OF FRANCE

BY

Contessa GAUTIER (née Hamilton)

It has seemed to me that it might be interesting, if in my lecture this year, I spoke to you of the vestiges which remain of the Romans in the South of France, and of some of the Cities which they founded and adorned in that Provence, which has been well called the ante chamber of Italy. Of all their colonies it was the preferred of the Romans, it was always designated specially as "La Provincia", Cesar writes of it in his Commentaries by this name, which it has always retained, together with its other attributes of soft airs and sunny skies, of hills covered with vines and olives, of sheltering mountains, and shores lapped by the "summer swell", of the waves.

To give anything but the merest aperçu of the history of Provence would occupy far more time than I have at my disposal. I cannot even touch on the question of the Greek settlements which lay along the coast of the Mediterranean from Nice to Marseilles, but one may say broadly that the Romans conquered and colonised the region between 154 and 120 B. C. The Allobroges and the Arverni, two powerful tribes on the left and right banks of the Rhone, were defeated in 121 B. C. at the confluence of the Rhone and the Isère by Q. Fabius Maximus, in whose honor was erected in the Forum a triumphal arch, whose fragments still lie strewn between the temple of Antoninus and the house of the Vestals. In the same year the Allobroges were again and finally defeated by Domitius Ahenobarbus, one of the ancestors of Nero, and respecting whose name of "Red Beard", a quaint legend is related. It is said that when Castor and Pollux, the Great Twin Brethren, rode into Rome on their milk white steeds, and thus miraculously announced the victory just gained by the Romans over the Latians at Lake Regillus, they first showed themselves to one of the Domitian family, and to confirm the truth of their tidings, they touched his hair and beard, which instantly turned from jet black to ruddy gold! Of all the indigenous inhabitants of the northern seaboard the hardest to subdue were the Ligurians, who, some say, had once occupied all the Mediterranean coasts of Italy,

and had even penetrated inland along the shores of the Tiber. The struggle between them and the Romans lasted more than 200 years, their final submission taking place in 14 B. C., to which occasion and date is attributed the Tower at La Turbie above Monaco.

It does not enter into my subject to speak of the invasion by Hannibal of this part of Gaul, which indeed was the original reason for the Romans despatching an army there, but I must mention the important and famous victory of Marius in 102 B.C. over the invading tribes of the Teutones and Ambrones, whom he smote hip and thigh, and so saved Italy from the horrors of another Barbarian invasion. This battle was fought on the great plain, which is known to this day as « Pourrières » in ghastly memory of the thousands of bodies which rotted and putrefied under the southern sun. The next year, says Plutarch, the Massilians walled in their vineyards with the bones they found on the field, and the rain which fell in the following winter, soaking in the moisture of the putrefied bodies, the ground was so enriched by it that it produced the next season a prodigious crop. Plutarch's account of the battle is very graphic and realistic, especially when he relates the horrors of the night which intervened between the two combats, when the Roman soldiers were petrified with terror at the hideous cries which issued from the Barbarian camp in the darkness: « Not like the sighs and groans of men, but like the howling and bellowing of wild beasts ».

Although more than 2000 years have passed, the memory of the « famous victory » has never been obliterated from the minds of the country people, and still on the 26th of June a procession, once pagan, now Christian chanting *Victoria-Victoria*, winds its way up the steep slopes of the strangely shaped Mont de la Victoire, from whence the legions of Marius poured down on the Barbarian host.

Another instance of the hold which these long past events has taken on the popular mind is the belief, that the triumphal Arch at Orange, (of which I shall speak later on), was erected to commemorate this victory, and one of the medallions on it, representing a woman with her hand to her ear, is called by the country people: « the Sybil of Marius ».

Now Plutarch tells us that Marius was always accompanied by a Syrian woman named Martha, who was said to have the gift of prophecy. She was carried about in a litter with great respect and solemnity; the sacrifices he offered were all by her direction, and she assisted at them dressed in a purple robe, holding a spear adorned with ribands and garlands. She was sent to Marius by his wife, to whom she had foretold the winner in a gladiatorial combat.

Another popular reminiscence of the old Roman general who fought and conquered more than 100 years before the birth of Christ, is the prevalence

in this part of France of the name of Marius. The names of Mary and Martha which also occur to a large extent among the people, do not however derive from Marius and his Sybil, but from the Sisters of Bethany, who, according to a very ancient tradition, landed on the coast of Provence with their brother Lazarus, when fleeing from the persecution of the Jews in Syria. At Tarascon Saint Martha bound the terrible Tarasque with her girdle, and the cave of the Saint Bahm was the death chamber of St. Mary Magdalena. But this is Christian archæology, and like many other interesting details of the Middle ages in Provence, is outside my present subject.

Twenty years before Marius's great victory the town now known as Aix en Provence was founded 122 B.C. by Sextus Calvinus who was consul in 124 B.C., and who had defeated the Saluvii and other tribes in Cisalpine Gaul.

The site was no doubt chosen on account of the mineral springs, which could furnish forth the baths so dear and so necessary to Roman life, but there already existed in the neighbourhood a Ligurian city or oppidum, which was placed on rising ground about 2 miles north of the Aquae Sextiae. The place is now known as Entremont, and on the twin plateaux one can still trace the walls of uncemented stone; although in many place overgrown with brushwood. Here and there they rise to some 10 or 12 feet, and on the western plateau there is a foot way raised within the wall. About 60 years ago some curious bas reliefs were discovered here, probably executed by the aboriginal Ligurians. Apparently they are funeral stele: one represents a horseman, while on the other are two heads, or rather death masks, seemingly of a man and a woman. They are in the museum of Aix. The waters of Aquae Sextiae seem to have lost some of their medicinal qualities even so far back as the time of Augustus, and now they serve chiefly to adorn the quiet old city with fine fountains and canals, which reflect the magnificent plane trees that line the principal street.

The seat of the Roman government remained here for some years, till the colonization of Narbo Martius — now Narbonne — in B. C. 218, under the consulship of Q. Marcius Rex. By a combination of river lake and canal it became an important port, though 12 miles from the coast; the seat of government was transported there; it gave the name of Gallia Narbonensis to the whole district, and was a flourishing and handsome city. It is therefore all the more disappointing to find at Narbonne, as at Aix, that really nothing remains of Roman buildings, except here and there the excavated foundations of a basilica or a temple. It was devastated by the Goths and the Saracens successively, and these latter fortified it with walls of exceeding strength, which, on being demolished in 1867, were found to have been constructed with great fragments of Roman buildings, temples, theatres, triumphal arches, all hacked and defaced. The best

preserved of them, with some inscriptions, are in the Museum; but the searchers after Roman antiquities need not waste their time at Narbonne. Another important sea port of La Provincia was Forum Julii, the modern Fréjus, founded by Julius Cæsar in 44 B C, and where on June 13th A. D. 37, was born Agricola, who was destined to be the governor of far distant Britain, and also to be handed down to posterity in the eloquent Life written by his son in law Tacitus. Fréjus, like Narbonne, has ceased to be a port, the sea has receded more than a mile from it; and a plain, dry or marshy, according to the season, lies between it and the shore at Saint Raphael. But still one can trace the tough old lichen-covered walls of the arsenal and port, with their watch towers, or light houses, and vaulted magazines like those at Porto d'Anzio. The walls were of considerable extent with handsome gates, to judge from the one which remains, and is called Porte d'Or, the Golden Gate, it is said from the great gilt nails with which it was studded.

The train now dashes past it, and goats are herded below it. There was of course also a theatre, and an amphitheatre of which the remains are extensive, and the city was supplied by water from the neighbouring hills by an aqueduct, whose long line of ruined arches remind one of those on the Roman Campagna, and are as worthy a subject for a painter, with the purple outline of the Esterel mountains in the distance. As Narbonne was the principal port for commerce with the Iberian coast, so was Forum Julii for the Italian, but it was not only by the sea board that the Romans approached their Provincia.

Two great roads led there from Rome, of which the principal and most direct was the Via Aurelia, so called from its probable maker, that Aurelius Cotta, who was consul about 119 B. C., although Mr Bullock Hall would attribute it to an earlier Aurelius Cotta.

It started from the Pons Æmilius, the so called Ponte Rotto, of which only two arches are now left, near to the new Ponte Palatino. It passed by the street now called the Lungaretta, crossed on artificial structures the swampy plain of Trastevere, issued from Rome by the Porta Aurelia, which was somewhere near the Porta San Pancrazio, and ran over hill and down dale till it arrived at Centum Cellæ, now Civita Vecchia. There it turned up the coast northward through Etruria to Vado Volaterrana, the sea port of « Lordly Volaterra where scowls the far-famed hold, built by the hands of giants for godlike Kings of old. » Thence, in B. C. 109, it was carried on by the Censor Æmilius Scaurus by Pisa, Luna and Genua to Vado Sabato, the present Vado near Savona, and thus to the river Varus, or Var on the other side of Nice.

This section of the road bore the name Via Emilia: it avoided the direct

coast line, and scrambled up along the side of the mountain, where many traces of it have been found, as in the grounds of Sir Thomas Hanbury's Villa at Mortola above Mentone, and its course was carefully investigated by Mr Bullock Hall, who records it in detail in his book « The Romans on the Riviera ».

The other, but more roundabout route from Rome to Provence, was by a continuation of the Via Flaminia with which we are all familiar, and which, on arriving at Rimini, was carried on 175 miles to Piacenza by Æmilius Lepidus, consul 187 B. C., who gave his name to this second Via Æmilia and to the district it traversed, known to this day as the Emilia.

It then continued to Dordona (Tortona), crossed the Cottian Alps at the Mont Genève, ran North of the river Druentia (Durance), parallel with the Via Aurelia, finally joining it, and terminating at Arles. In France, as in Italy, the course of these Magnificent Roman roads may still be traced in many places by their paving, their milestones, their viaducts over marshes, their bridges over rivers. Of these last, that at Saint Chamas, a little town on the line between Arles and Marseilles, is one of the finest specimens extant. It crosses the insignificant river Touloubres, and is known as Le Pont Flavien, though it is of the time of Augustus; at each end is a small triumphal arch, which seems a unique arrangement.

Two of the most interesting Roman monuments in Provence are those of San Rémy, a pretty little town in a fertile country abounding in vines, figs, peaches and olives, with mulberry and tall plane trees shading the roadway. It stands at the foot of the charming little range of hills known as Les Alpines, sacred to the memory of Daudet's delightful Tartarin of Tarascon. Here there once stood an important city called Glanum Livii, or Salivii, as some think from the name of the Salys, the original Gaulish tribe. Strabo does not mention it, but it occurs in the Itinerary of Antoninus, and in the Peutinger Table, and also in Pliny and Pomponius Mela.

It is conjectured that a Greek colony from Marseilles may have established itself here, and induced the people to adopt the Grecian blouse or mantle (glaunos) instead of the wide pantaloons of the aboriginals, which gave the name or sobriquet of Gallia Braccata, or Breeched Gaul to this part of France. In support of this theory, it is said that « glaudo » is still Provençal for mantle. However all this may be, it is certain that here there stood till the 5th century, when it was destroyed by the Visigoths, a rich and important city, of which nothing now remains but a triumphal arch, and a beautiful mausoleum, standing in utter solitude by the roadside, though why these two monuments should have escaped destruction, or why, or when they were erected, is so far an unsolved question.

The triumphal arch has but one opening, and apparently was not of

lofty proportions, but the upper portion is wanting, as well as the capitals of the fluted columns, which were probably Corinthian; but the fine caissons in the vault are well preserved, and so is the archivolt, a perfect garland of leaves and fruit in relief, reminding one of della Robbia work.

The sculptures on the panels are much mutilated, but one can still distinguish figures of men and women bound to trees, a conventional way of representing captives. A Roman soldier is depicted on a smaller scale, and this peculiarity, along with that of exaggerating the size of the prisoner's muscles, was intended as a flattery to the victor. One opinion is that this arch was erected in honour of the victories of Marcus Aurelius on the Danube: another attributes it to the honour of Nero Claudius Drusus, dedicated by Marcus Livius, from whom some authors derive the second name of Glanum, while a third theory is, that it was constructed to honour the same individuals, whose tomb stands close by. This is the famous Mausolée des Jules, whose inscription declares that Sextus, Lucius, Marcus, sons of Caius Julius erected it to their parents.

This tomb is really finer and better preserved than any in Rome. Its base is square, ornamented with fine bas reliefs in fair preservation representing spirited scenes of battle and the chase, but whether of mystical subjects, or real events it is impossible to say; above is a square portico, and on the top of this an elegant little circular temple with cannelated columns, below which stand the draped figures of a man and woman. Their heads are modern, the originals having been carried off by an Englishman, who performed this idiotic exploit in a night, although the tomb stands nearly 60 feet high. The purity of its style, the finely shaped letters, and the use of the diphthong *ei* for *i* in *sueis* of the inscription, would seem to indicate its date at the end of the Republic, or of the early Empire. In the neighbourhood are remains of a paved road, of a tower, and a reservoir, while all the fields around are still irrigated by the subterranean canalisation constructed by the Romans to bring water to Arles from springs in the Alpines.

The splendid triumphal arch of Orange, the ancient Aransio, is as fertile a subject of discussion to archeologists as the monuments of St. Remy. Some would date it 121 B. C., and attribute it to those Roman generals who were the earliest conquerors of Transalpine Gaul: Fabius, or Sextius the founder of Aix, or Marius. Others think that the arch commemorates the victory of Tiberius over Julius Sacrovir, who, in 21 A. D. raised a revolt in Gaul against the Emperor. They base this opinion on a study of the holes left by the letters of the inscription, and also from the recurrence of the name Sacrovir on shields in the bas reliefs. But as there are also the names of Mario, Dacuno and Udilles on other shields, and as the greater part of the sculpture represents maritime trophies, this theory is hardly

conclusive. Besides the bucklers already mentioned there are standards, cordages, prows of vessels, masts, anchors, and in the corners mermaids brandishing oars; a spirited combat of soldiers is represented, and a head of Apollo surrounded by sunrays. And he who this splendid monument was built to honour has left not even a name behind!

In the middle ages, like the Arch of Titus, it was incorporated into a fortress by Count Raymond des Baux, and later the Princes of Orange dated many of their decrees from le Chateau de l'Arc.

A sinister association with it is that in the time of the « Terreur » of the Revolution, which raged so hotly in the south of France, the guillotine was set up close to the old Roman Arch, and there did its ghastly work on the victims to the names of Liberté, Egalité and Fraternité. The Roman Theatre of Orange is, I believe, the finest and most perfect in existence. The external wall is 36 metres high, and 103 long, and the great simplicity of the vast pile is striking. In front of it was a sort of portico about one third lower, which sheltered the actors as they passed through the doors behind the stage, and this wall still existed and was drawn by Giuliano San Gallo at the end of the 15th century. In the upper part of the existing wall are projecting stones, of which the upper row were pierced with holes for the masts which supported the velum, as we see in the Colosseum, and the stage was protected by a wooden roof, which was disposed so that it did not interfere with the view of any of the spectators, however high up their seats might be; and so perfectly was it constructed on acoustic principles, that even at the present day, all ruined as it is, the actors no longer aided by cothurn and mask, every word pronounced on the stage is audible on the highest range of seats. These are hewn out of the hill side, a system continually resorted to by the Romans for their theatres and amphitheatres as economical both of material and labour. They were faced with stone, on which are lines and figures indicating the divisions of the places. The stage was richly decorated with columns and panels of precious marbles, white Carrara, verde antico, giallo antico, breccias of all sorts. Seven thousand spectators could be seated there, and of equally large proportions was the neighbouring amphitheatre, also partly hewn out of the hill, but of this hardly anything is left. Very different to the magnificent amphitheatre of Arles, which could once contain 26,000 spectators, and which still is thronged when bull fights are given there. Such a spectacle, and also that of the theatrical representations in the theatre of Orange, when the gradins are covered with gaily dressed people of the dark and passionate Southern type, seem to carry us back to the days when their Latin ancestors shouted and gesticulated in the same fashion. This amphitheatre was probably constructed in 46 B. C. by Clau-

dius Tiberius Nero, the first husband of Livia and father of Tiberius, and, like the Colosseum, it was converted into a fortress in the middle ages; some of the towers still exist, and it was entirely filled up with houses, and even churches, which were cleared away only in 1825 to '30.

More interesting than the Arènes is the theatre of Arles, which in many respects resembles a Greek rather than a Roman type from the proportions of the orchestra, which in the Greek theatres was not occupied by the spectators, but was consecrated to the solemn dances or evolutions of the chorus, whereas in the Roman theatres, the orchestra was diminished in size, and spectators admitted into it, the theatrical representations having no religious character as in Greece. At the theatre of Arles some of the fine marble paving is still in situ, and also two beautiful columns, one of African breccia, one of giallo antico, still stand at what was the back of the stage. At the time when the theatre like the amphitheatre, was filled up with dwellings, these columns stood in the court yard of a house belonging to two brothers, and here in 1651 was found the beautiful statue in Hymettus marble, which is known as the Venus of Arles. In an unfortunate moment it was presented to Louis XIV, both the arms were most injudiciously restored by the sculptor Girardon, and it has ever since remained in Paris. The theatre was almost intact until the 5th century when, in 446, under the episcopate of St. Hilary, it was destroyed by a fanatic priest named Cyril with his barbarous followers. Many other pieces of sculpture were found among the débris of the theatre, as for instance a fine head of Augustus, and a bust of Livia in the character of Venus, whose worship were popular at Arles, from the town being under the special patronage of the Julian family. These are now placed in the museum within the desecrated church of St. Anne, and with them is a charming though headless figure of a dancing girl, an altar to Apollo, a very singular statue of Mithras, and a very interesting altar of the Bona Dea, dedicated to her by her priestess the freedwoman Caiena. This museum is singularly rich in sarcophagi, both Christian and Pagan: I regret that I have not time to describe them, or to speak of their inscriptions, but I must just mention one, on which are represented little genii busily engaged in gathering olives, and another with an inscription to Julia Tyrannia, a young woman who died at 20 years and 8 months, and whose musical tastes are shown by the sculpture on her sarcophagus, where are represented a guitar, a sort of organ or harp, and on an altar a Pan's pipe: there is also the sarcophagus of a little girl of 3 years, 2 months and 27 days, Crysogena, whom « her parents will mourn all the days of their life »: and, when this sarcophagus was opened, the little body wrapped in a tissue of crimson and gold was found in it.

The sarcophagus representing the death of Hippolytus was not found at Arles but in the Camargue, not far from les Saintes Maries. All these other sarcophagi however came from that most singular cemetery known as Les Alys camps, the Champs Elysés, which, desecrated and destroyed as it is, still impresses one with its weird solemnity, its melancholy avenues of trees, along which stand the massive monolithic tombs which remind one of those of the sacred bulls at Memphis.

One can imagine how they must have impressed Dante when he came here on his way to or from Paris about 1310, and how years afterwards he describes the place « at Arle » where the Rhone widens as a lake, and where sepulchres make all the plain uneven; and out of one of these enormous stone chests, he imagines Farinata degli Uberti rearing his stately form amid the flames, and pouring out his passionate reproach against ungrateful Florence.

The people of the Middle Ages accounted for the vast quantity of these sepulchres by a quaint legend which Ariosto refers to, and tells that after Charlemagne had defeated the Saracens in a bloodthirsty battle, in which many Christians were slain, he was greatly troubled how he should distinguish their corpses, so as to give them proper burial, and at night offered a special prayer for help, when the next morning it was found that all the Christians bore on their foreheads a writing indicating their name and baptismal name, and also that their sepulchres had been miraculously provided! Most of the public edifices of Arles have vanished, as well as the bridge which Constantine threw across the river to the suburb of Trinquetaille, but some remains still exist of his palace known as La Trouille, which apparently vulgar word comes from the Latin Trolia, the name of the Imperial Palace at Constantinople, where in 692 was held the Council called « in Trullo ».

The architecture of this fragment reminds one of that of the Palace of the Caesars at Trèves.

The ancient Forum is characteristically called « La Place des Hommes ». It was originally of much larger extent, and so crowded with statues even up to the 5th century, that when the writer Sidonius Apollinaris returned to Arles, where he had always been a favorite, he was astonished to notice that, on walking in the Forum, all his former friends and acquaintance studiously avoided him by either hiding behind, or slipping between the pedestals of the statues! At last he discovered the reason of these manoeuvres was that he had been accused of calumniating the townspeople, who took this means of avoiding him till the mistake was cleared up. Under the surrounding houses are vaults and arcades, and in a room of the hotel which I once occupied, a great piece of richly sculptured architrave and cornice projected from the ceiling.

At Barbegal are remains of the aqueduct constructed by Constantine to bring water to the town. The water supply of the neighbouring city of Nîmes was far more abundant, and indeed the very name of the city, Nemansus, came from the deity who presided over the springs which still flow abundantly in the charming public gardens of the town. They rise at the base of the Mont Cavallier on the summit of which stands the massive ruins of the Tour Magne, another enigma for the archeologist. Was it a tomb or a tower? It may have been both, and certainly at one time it formed part of the city wall built in the early days of the Empire. The base formerly was constructed around a tumulus of solid earth, but this was excavated in the 16th century by a gardener named Trancat, who had heard that the celebrated astrologer Nostradamus had predicted that a provençal gardener would find under the Tour Magne a hidden treasure in the form of a golden cock! The credulous fellow obtained the Royal permission to excavate, because he had been instrumental in the cultivation of the mulberry trees which were introduced into Provence under Charles IX, in 1564. But he learnt to his cost to put no trust in astrologers, for he found neither cock nor hen, nor even the least little egg of gold!

As I have already said, at the foot of this hill rises the lovely Fontaine which gives its name to the charming Public Gardens full of grateful shade, and the « liquid lapse of murmuring streams » which still flow through the slender columns, and over the marble floors of the Romans baths, transformed and destroyed though they have been by the constructions of the time of Louis XIV.

Close by them stands the little temple long called of Diana, but more probably of Nemansus, the divinity of the spring itself.

It is known that Augustus consecrated a temple in his honour, but the existing one is probably of the time of Antoninus Pius, whose family came from Nemansus. At distant Baalbec, where this Emperor also built a temple to Jupiter, has been found an altar dedicated to the divinity Nemansus by a Syrian.

The vault of the temple is constructed after a peculiar fashion; there are mysterious subterranean chambers, and twelve niches, where probably stood statues of Vesta, Isis, Serapis, Hypnos, etc., as dedications to these divinities have been found close by. It is wonderful that anything remains of this poor temple, so many are the transformations it has undergone.

Besides these beautiful and abundant springs, Nîmes also received the waters of the river Eure, by means of that stupendous aqueduct now called the Pont du Gard, because it is carried in three lines of superposed arches above the stream of the Gardon.

Nothing can be imagined grander or more beautiful than this wonderful monument, so perfectly proportioned in height and length, so light, so solid after its existence of 20 centuries, for it dates from 19 B. C., and was constructed by Agrippa, who gave the Aqua Vergine to Rome. It is supposed that the name Veronius, inscribed in ancient letters on an arcade of the second row, is that of the architect. A little altar was found with the inscription: « Augusti Laribus, cultores Uræ fontis », showing that the waters of the Eure were considered as a divinity, and proving once more how carefully the water supply was regulated and cared for by the Romans.

Henry Beyle visited the Pont du Gard by moonlight, and writes thus of it: « On n'y trouve aucune apparence de luxe et d'ornement: les Romains faisaient de ces choses étonnantes, non pour inspirer l'admiration, mais simplement et quand elles étaient utiles ».

The Arena at Nîmes is more perfect than that of Arles, though in the Middle Ages it was also converted into a fortress, and houses constructed within its circles for defence against the Goths and Saracens, and the parish church of St. Martin des Arènes occupied part of the Gallery of the 2nd floor.

Some authorities attribute the amphitheatre to the Antonines, others believe it was constructed in the time of Augustus, as one of the entrance is decorated with bull's heads, like the City Gate known as the Porte d'Auguste with an inscription which dates it at 16 B. C.

The bull's heads, as we know, were considered as an allusion to that street on the Palatine where Augustus was born.

But the gem and pride of Nîmes is the lovely, but absurdly mis-named *Maison Carrée*.

It is neither square, nor a house, but a rectangular temple of the most perfect greco-roman architecture. It is of the style denominated *pseudo periptera*, that is to say the columns are partly engaged in the side and back walls, leaving only those of the portico detached. The 30 columns are all fluted, with corinthian capitals, the proportions are perfect, and so is the decorative work, even in the places where it was least visible. The extensive portico which surrounded the temple was curved at the back, to avoid a public road which passed there, with that respect the Romans always showed to public property. Within the portico were probably offices, and shops, to one of which may have belonged a basrelief, now in the Museum, representing a young girl vending flowers, with the inscription: « I sell my garlands only to lovers ». For some time it was supposed that the temple had been dedicated to M. Aurelius and L. Verus, adopted sons of Antoninus Pius, but a study of the holes in the architrave left by the nails which held the letters of the inscription — as at the Pantheon — proved to the archeologist Leguier in 1750, that it was erected to Caius and Lucius, sons of Agrippa and

Julia, and grandsons of Augustus. As they are thus designated in the inscription, Agrippa was probably already dead, (12 B. C.), and as Caius was Consul in the year A. D. 1, it is probable the temple was then dedicated, as both the poor boys died in the following year. At Nîmes the young princes were very popular, Caius being termed officially Protector of the Colonia Nemansensis, and Suetonius relates that, when the Nîmois heard that Tiberius was intriguing against the young brothers, they threw down all his statues and busts.

A very singular form of medal, peculiar I believe to Nîmes, has a paw of a wild animal attached to one end: on one side are the heads back to back of Augustus and Agrippa, on the other a crocodile chained to a palm tree, an allusion to the battle of Actium. These medals were worn attached to the neck, and evidently also were thrown as *ex votos* into the fountain of Nemansus, where some were found in 1739 by English travellers. The Museum, which is in the *Maison Carrée*, is rich in statues, busts, mosaics and inscriptions.

Before concluding, I would like to say a few words about the city of Vienne, although it really lies beyond my limits, being in Dauphiné rather than in Provence.

But it is interesting to compare its temple to that of Nîmes, although it is less fine in execution, and also terribly defaced by being made into a church in the 11th century, when its beautiful isolated columns. — for it was peripteral, that is detached, — were walled up. It was dedicated to Augustus and Livia, and is therefore probably about the same date as the *Maison Carrée*. It was formerly called *Le Pretoire*, from a popular tradition that Pontius Pilate administered justice under its portico, for, like so many other towns, Vienne claims to have been his birthplace. It was the capital of the *Allobroges*, a warlike tribe conquered by that Domitius Ahenobarbus of whom I have already spoken, and finally under Tiberius it became a Roman colony, and was called *Pulchra* from its beautiful situation on the banks of the Rhone. All the country around must have been covered with lovely villas. Mosaic floors are often found in tilling the fields: a very fine one, representing Achilles discovered among the daughters of Lycomedes, was found in 1775, but the proprietor of the field destroyed it on account of the number of people who bored him by coming to see it.

In another vineyard, also at the end of the 18th century, was dug up a perfectly preserved group, now in the Museum. It represents two boys, one of whom holds a dove, which the other tries to take from him by biting his arms; on two trunks of trees by the children, are sculptured respectively a serpent, and a lizard catching a butterfly, and it has been suggested that these reptiles are indicative of the name of the sculptors, as is said of the columns

at San Lorenzo fuori le mura. At Sainte Colombe on the other side of the Rhone was found, with others, the beautiful headless statue of a woman crouching down, which is now in the Louvre, and is known as *La Venus accroupie*. But the matronly form, and the presence of baby hands both on the back and thigh would confirm the theory that it represents Latona, who, when fleeing from the angry Juno with her babies Apollo and Diana, begged shelter in a village whose inhabitants reviled and stoned her. As she knelt with her children clinging round her, to implore aid from Jupiter, the wrathful god suddenly transformed the village into a lake, and the inhabitants into its croaking denizens. Thus Latona may have been presented in this garden in an island in a pond, with the frogs in perpetual deprecatory chorus around her.

A short distance from Vienne stands a pyramidal structure known as *l'Aiguille*, it is raised on a square base supported by arcades, and is 72 feet high. It may have been a tomb, or a monument commemorating some victory, and there were also other monuments of vast size to judge from the fragments preserved in the museum. On the height above the town was the citadel, the theatre and the amphitheatre, which was visited by our countryman, John Evelyn of Wotton, on the 30th September 1644. Another of our countrymen, Arthur Young, also visited Provence, and writes in enthusiastic terms of the *Maison Carrée*, which he went to see twice in one day, and on the 26th and 27th July 1787. In 1492, and again in 1496, Giuliano San Gallo travelled in the South of France, and his sketch books, with their careful and interesting drawings, are still preserved in the Barberini collection, now in the Vatican Library. Nearly a century later, about 1560, Palladio also visited and studied these Roman monuments, and writes of the « *Mason Quarrée* », in his work on Architecture, and Vignola and de Micheli followed in his footsteps.

I have not time even to allude to the Christian and Mediaeval monuments of Provence, which rival the classical in beauty and interest, but I cannot conclude without a mention of two Provençaux who are still living to maintain the glory of their Provincia in Science and in Poetry. *Gustave Boissier* must have drawn in Archæology with his native air of Nîmes, and is now, I think, the doyen of the Professors at the Collège de France in Paris. *Frédérique Mistral* the « sweet singer » of Mireille Mireio still lives at his birth place, the village of Maillane near St. Rémy, and this year has gained together with the Spanish poet Echegaray the Nobel prize, so that a portion of the vast fortune made out of dynamite and smokeless gunpowder has come to a son of Provence, and with it he has bought the old Roman palace at Arles to serve as a Provençal Museum.

VI.

A VISIT TO CRETE

The Land of Minos and the Labyrinth

BY

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« Let the dead Past bury its dead » is a sentiment not shared in by Mr. Arthur Evans, and fortunately so, for by his excavations and explorations at Gnosso he has revived the buried Past of Crete, revealed to us another 2000 years of Mycenaean history and shown that ancient Hellas owed much of its grandeur to Crete, which transplanted to it its artistic knowledge and civilisation. Reading of the excavations and how the classic Labyrinth — the palace of Minos — suggestive of Theseus, Ariadne and the Minotaur, had been discovered after more than 3000 years, I was filled with a strong desire to see all these wonders for myself.

The traveller in Crete has many difficulties to contend with; there are no railways, and, hardly even forty miles of carriage road in the entire island; locomotion is performed on mules or horses over rough and ill-kept bypaths, which often wind over ranges of lofty mountains, or merge in rapid streams fraught with peril to the wayfarer.

Except at the coast towns of Candia, Canea and Retimo, hotels are non-existent, and accommodation must be sought in the peasants' houses. The language is another difficulty, for a corrupt form of modern Greek is alone spoken or understood in the interior of the island; and, as for victuals, nothing is available beyond bread, eggs and wine. Then there is the question of personal safety to be considered, for whilst the traveller would be perfectly secure in the principal coast towns, it would be distinctly imprudent to venture into the interior of the island unaccompanied. In order to overcome some of these obstacles I engaged a dragoman in Athens, who supplied me with a cook as well as an agogiat, or man to attend to the horses. He also brought provisions for the journey and a bed for my use when hotels were not obtainable. He was a Greek from the Ionian islands, spoke English fluently, and was an excellent guide: for the advantage of other travellers I may mention that his name was John Metaxites.

of them have been disinterred in a comparatively short time, the work being only begun in 1901. Another fortunate circumstance was, that the site seems not to have been interfered with for thousands of years, and, consequently, no towns have been built over it as in the case of Troy. Like Troy, however, Gnosso has known a great conflagration, and almost everywhere the marks of fire are clearly visible. When and how the city was made a holocaust of is unknown; possibly it was done by the Dorians, or by some piratical expedition more than a thousand years before the Christian Era. The lower portions of the Palace, or Labyrinth, are constructed of huge gypsum blocks, on which the symbol of the *Labrys* or double axe frequently occurs. Much of the Palace was three stories high, as is evident from the excellently preserved staircase with fragments of the floors attached. These upper stories consisted, as Mr. Evans tells us, of « clay and rubble walls artfully concealed under a brilliantly painted plaster and contained and supported by a woodwork framing ». I entered a long corridor on which numerous magazines opened; these contained ancient jars often nine feet high, for wine and oil, and there were grooves in the floor leading to reservoirs into which the latter flowed. The winding passages, the topsy-turvy location of the various apartments where one easily went astray, proclaimed it a labyrinth, as one now-a-days understands the word. All over the Palace is carved the double axe, the symbol of the Cretan Zeus, and called in Greek « labrys ». The primary meaning of labyrinth was « the place of the double axes », but with lapse of time this signification was lost, and a labyrinth came to mean any involved construction like this Palace, where it was difficult to find one's way. Here there is, in all probability, the original labyrinth sung of by Homer and Virgil, and built by Daedalus, the artificer of Minos, where Theseus slew the Minotaur, guided by the clue from the loving hand of Ariadne. In wandering through the ruins I saw subterranean chambers, probably dungeons, perhaps the very ones that gave rise to the legend of the captive Athenian youths and maidens. There is one room of surpassing interest, the council chamber of the ancient kings, still bearing well-preserved frescoes of rural scenes: along the wall are stone benches, and between them stands a high-backed throne of gypsum, resting on a stone base, and still showing traces of coloured decoration. Here most likely sat the great law-giver, Minos, when delivering those lucid and impartial judgements which made his successors believe that after his death he became judge in the nether world. This room was the Sanctum Sanctorum of the Palace.

The lower portion of an Egyptian figure was found, dating from the Twelfth Dynasty, affording another proof of the great intercourse that existed between Egypt and Crete in early days, and in an adjacent portion

of the Palace was found a Pithos which contained Egyptian beans « similar », as we are told, « to those now imported from Alexandria and sold in the market-place at Candia. » A very high state of civilisation can be inferred from the elaborate system of drainage, from the numerous light-shafts, and from the remains of lovely frescoes and reliefs, as well as from the delicate Minoan pottery and splendid bronze vessels. Interesting as these discoveries are, they simply fade into nothingness beside the wonderful find of over 1000 tablets covered with writings. Mr Evans is naturally enthusiastic about the script, which he calls « highly developed form, with regular divisions between the words, and for elegance hardly surpassed by any known form of writing. » Many of the tablets evidently contain lists of objects in the magazines or in other parts of the Palace, as is clear from the pictorial illustrations upon them, such as arms, horses, barley, etc. There are, however, numerous tablets devoted to other uses, and possibly containing the earliest Cretan chronicles. Up to the present, experts have not been able to decipher the script, and like the letters on the wall of Belshazzar's Palace, they stand « unknown and awful still. » There are hopes that some Ariadne-like clue may turn up and guide us through the maze; perhaps some object similar to the Rosetta stone may place within our hands the key to one of the most fascinating historical discoveries of modern times, and reveal fully to us the heroic age of Hellas. Though the Labyrinth has now been almost completely laid bare, there is much of the site of the city of Gnosso itself yet to explore, including extensive cemeteries, so that it is possible that many further brilliant discoveries are in store for us.

The more primitive part of my journey was now beginning. I rode from Heraklion at 8 a. m. on a bright morning, en route for Hagioi Deka, a village among the ruins of old Homeric Gortyna, the second most famous city of Crete.

The way lay through three long valleys, each one opening into the other, and a mountain torrent, swelled by recent unusually heavy rains, but which in summer, like nearly all Cretan rivers is dried up, accompanied me during the whole day.

The road was rough and rocky, and were it not that the Cretan horses are wonderfully sure footed, accidents certainly would have been our portion.

I saw considerable quantities of game, especially partridges; as for noxious animals they are non-existent, Zeus having done for Crete what St. Patrick did for Ireland. I passed several remote villages, and stalwart Cretans riding donkeys, and usually attired in baggy blue trousers, gaiters and turbans of many « different shapes and dyes. » In this, as well as in

other districts of the island, the archaic custom of marriage by capture, is still in vogue, and those parents blessed with handsome daughters have to guard them carefully, lest some Cretan Romeos should carry them off into seclusion, till they obtain perforce the parental blessing, with perhaps a pecuniary settlement, to which they usually raise no strong objection. The celebrated classical, medicinal herb, the *dictamnion*, is found on the neighbouring hill. Our own old littérateur, George Sandys, gives a rather hyperbolical account of it when he says that it was « sovereign for wounds, and that its virtue was first found out by stags and bucks, that by eating thereof ejected the arrows wherewith they were wounded. »

I now crossed three great ranges of mountains, and towards four o'clock in the afternoon saw stretching out before me the vast plain of Messara, in which Gortyna lay, whilst the guide pointed out directly below the pretty-looking hamlet of Hagioi Deka, where I was to pass the night. I stopped at the small and flat-roofed house of the Demarch, or Mayor; the guest-chamber assigned to me was immaculately clean, with whitewashed walls and rafter ceiling, but was almost destitute of furniture, with the exception of a long divan occupying one side of the room. There was no glass in the windows, nor indeed is there in any of the villages, shutters merely being used, so that in stormy weather daylight is an impossible luxury. In the garden were numerous torsos, and the flight of steps leading up to my quarter was formed of richly-carved capitals of columns found in the surrounding Gortyna.

In the evening the villagers, hearing that a foreigner had arrived, came to offer trifling antiquities for purchase. They had an unlimited supply of coins, chiefly Roman, but as for statuettes, old lamps and other articles spoken of by former travellers, they were conspicuous by their absence.

Next morning I rode over to the ruins of Gortyna.

Gortyna was the second most important city of ancient Crete.

Homer speaks of it as being « famous for its walls », and Plutarch alludes to the great reputation its inhabitants enjoyed for wisdom. Like most of the Cretan cities, it was independent, coined its own money and had its own laws. The watchword of Crete was « everyone for himself ; » the island, as Homer tells us, being inhabited by various distinct races, speaking different languages and intensely jealous of each other.

The mountains also, as in the case of Hellas, separated them, so that there was little political cohesion in the island, which accounts for its non-interference with the course of Hellenic history, for, excepting during the Trojan war and at the débâcle of Greece, it stood severely apart, taking no share in the Persian or Peloponessian wars. Gortyna was of vast extent, and the widely separated villages of Ambelousa, Metropolis and

Hagioi Deká are now built over its ruins. I rode through the great plain of Messara, largely planted in vineyards, and passed fields of anemones and the classic acanthus. The excavations are by no means extensive, but rich results will, in all probability, reward future explorers.

Close to a ruined old Byzantine church are by far the most interesting remains of Gortyna — a circular wall, closely covered with inscriptions, the tables of the famous law of Gortyna, dating from more than 2000 years B. C. — There are about twelve feet of wall exposed, the rest lies under a cultivated field, which, as the report goes, the owner refused to sell for less than one hundred Napoleons. It is said that in the middle of the circle formed by the wall, is a chair, whence legal judgments were delivered. On more than one occasion the Turks sent from Constantinople to carry off the « tables », but the natives of Hagioi Deká buried them for concealment, and the would-be despoilers had to retire, baffled. I saw subsequently in that village a huge block of stone covered with inscriptions, said by specialists to be of still greater antiquity. In the vicinity of the old Byzantine church were several blocks of marble and torsos lying on the ground, and in many of the houses of Hagioi Deká I saw portions of statues, as well as a beautifully carved marble sarcophagus, now used as a receptacle for potatoes. On a hillside near Gortyna are several Mycenaean tombs, short and stunted-looking like those I had already seen in the museum at Heraklion. Two hours' riding always across the plain of Messara brought me to the foot of a steep hill some 300 feet high, the Acropolis of Phaistos. Here I enjoyed a glorious view of the blue sea, which rolls for some two hundred miles unbroken till it washes the African shores. I had now crossed the island in its broadest part, about 36 miles, for it must be remembered that Crete, though nearly 150 miles long, has an average breadth of about 10 miles, and on a small map looks merely a line.

The ruins of Phaistos are superbly situated, almost directly under snowy Ida, and though yielding in interest to those of Gnosso, the remains of a Palace have been discovered with a splendid *megaron*, or hall, with magazines containing huge jars and portions of what are apparently bathrooms. The excavations of Phaistos proper were rather disappointing, and were discontinued some few years ago to be resumed, however, about the beginning of March 1903 a mile distant, at a place called Hagia Triadha, by Professor Halbherr. The remains of a country residence or palace were here discovered. When I visited the ruins, Prof. Halbherr, as I was informed, was absent at Candia, but the person in charge of the excavations very kindly showed me all that was of interest. The fifty workmen employed had laboured less than two months, but nevertheless had laid bare a very large district. Numerous drains, bases of pillars and foundations of

magazines with the old familiar jars had been unearthed, besides some gold-leaf, a few bronzes and numerous tablets with script similar to that at Gnossos. We learn much of the splendour of Cretan art from the frescoes at Hagia Triadha, and here again the influence of Egypt is distinctly traceable. Every object of interest that is discovered is at once carefully packed and forwarded to the museum at Heraklion. I watched the men digging for some little time, but they came across nothing but fragments of pottery.

In the evening I rode back to my sleeping quarters at Hagioi Deki. The following morning, accompanied by the Demarch, I had a very lively ride to Heraklion (Candia), accomplishing the distance in about half the time I had taken coming.

I left by a Greek steamer the next day en route for the Piræus, touching at the Cretan towns of Retimo and Canea sufficiently long to see all of interest.

We coasted very near to the island, which presents a singularly mountainous outlook, appearing from the sea to have no level ground whatever. The natives have gone a long way towards ruining the fishing industry, for, too lazy to employ legitimate methods they have resorted to dynamite, almost exterminating the finny tribe. Six hours' steam brought me to Retimo, with its old Venetian walls and lovely situation between Mount Ida and the Leuke Ore, or White Mountains, alluded to by Strabo.

The town is smaller than Heraklion, and offers very similar characteristics, having a mixed population of Christians and Mussulmans, and consequently mosques, oriental houses, a bazaar and a Greek church. The streets are wider and the shops more spacious than at Heraklion, where the latter are often little larger than stalls. After an agreeable saunter through the town I continued my voyage and, towards nightfall, passed the entrance to Suda Bay, the chief roadstead in Crete, and of world-wide fame owing to its occupation by the International fleets during the last insurrection. Hence Canea can be reached by steaming to the foot of the Bay and taking a short carriage drive, but our vessel chose the long course round the huge peninsula of Akro Tiri, passing off Cape Maleka, and only arriving at our destination in the small hours of the morning.

The Capital has a population of 20,000, little more than half that of Heraklion; adjacent are steep, green hills, with an amphitheatre of snowy mountains immediately behind: these with the blue expanse of water and the rosy shadows of the dawn afforded a charming feast of colour. Like the other ports, it had Venetian battlements and a mixed population of Christians and Mussulmans, African negroes also being en évidence. I drove to Halepa, the pretty suburb where Prince George resides.

I left Crete with regret, hoping to see it again in a few years when good government will have developed its vast latent possibilities. Blessed with a genial climate and splendid olives and grapes, its oil and wine, if properly manufactured, should bring in wealth to the country, and corn and tobacco-growing become extensive and remunerative industries.

Crete ages ago formed part of the Hellenic mountain chain which now-a-days terminates in Cape Malea, reappearing in the intervening island of Cythera, and thus both geography and sentiment hold it indissolubly linked to Greece.

VII.

THE REGIA

BY

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In the most ancient traditions of Rome that have come down to us, we find all the religious rites that have to do with the various related tribes occupying the heights and hills around us, all these religious cults of every kind brought together under one organisation, attributed to King Numa. The Royal house which the King or chief of the Latin people occupied in those days acquired the name of the Regia or King's house. « Regia ubi Rex habitat », the house where the King dwells. We have only to go back to the early traditions of any ancient civilization, and we shall come on one central fact common to all. In those days the person we call the King, the leader of the war hosts in battle was also the public sacrificer in religious rites, like the person enigmatically mentioned in scripture as Melchizedek « king and priest ». The attribution of all religious things to Numa then shows us that in the Royal Palace on this spot the State sacrifices were made. It follows that this humble little place, a place of grass and sherds of marble, all that the Farnese princes have left us of the once noble building, after their digging for marbles in 1545 — this spot was the axle-tree of the early form of the Roman Empire. Around this spot grew what Varro and Dionysius tell us the settlers called the Septimontium — not the least in the order given in Guide books for « the seven hill of Rome » but something much humbler. —

The people divided the Palatine into three, the *Germalus*, *Palatine* and *Velia* — the ridge on which now stands the Arch of Titus. These are three of the mounts: the other four are the Esquiline, divided into two, the *Oppian*, where is now S. Pietro in Vincoli, and the *Cespian* to the right, and an inclined slope full of beech trees called the *Fagutal*. The seventh place was not really a mount, but a slope at the back of Via Cavour, the *Clivus Subura*. These made what was known as the Septimontium. The recent discoveries of my friend Giacomo Boni have shown, beyond the possibility of cavil even from the greatest sceptic, that the people belonging to this settlement afterwards became a « synaxis » a community with a common

religion. Mommsen and Hülsen are agreed that they were not greatly different in race, even if not absolutely of the same stock, and they had all their religious rites in common. They buried their dead after a strange ritual fashion in the space adjoining the Regia, in the Sepulcretum. The Sepulcretum was discovered by the spade of a workman slipping accidentally into a hole. They dug down, and came upon a huge dolium, the lid broken — not by violence, but by the pressure of the enormous weight of the Antonine temple. There they found the wonderful vases, the little black clay huts, which we call « *tuguri* », the dedicatory vases in which the ashes of the Latian community were laid by their relations, and around which they placed vases full of ritual food, so that the dead person should not pass to the gods below without food for his journey. These hut urns as nearly as possible resembled the clay huts thatched with straw in which the people lived, so that a man carried his house with him into the regions of the gods below. On the Capitol and on the Palatine, till a late period of the Empire, there were preserved two huts fully natural size, the house of Romulus on the Palatine, which whenever it showed signs of decay was thatched with freshly blessed straw. . On the Capitol was the house of Faustulus, said to be the tutor of Romulus.

These hut urns were used in the common burial place of the tribes, and when Antoninus Pius, in 141. A. D. erected his Temple to the elder Faustina, his architects in digging the foundations knew more than we know, for they sunk their foundations — 27 feet in depth — right down through the middle of the ancient Cemetery. Every sort of ritual burial was practised there, we have found four distinct varieties, marking four distinct periods, going back, according to the computation of the latest authorities on the subject, certainly to the year 1000 B. C., many say to 1100 B. C.

In examining the ritual, we came on evidence fully confirming the fact which was before well known, the extraordinary conservatism of the early Romans. The *praefericula*, or different forms of the various ritual and vessels used in it have shown us that these are almost identical with those found in digging around the little Vesta podium, and others found in the *tholos* here, and others again in the basement of Domitian's Equestrian Statue last year. From the earliest days onward these little jars, the Vasi Numae, were used down to the end of the Pagan cults in Rome, preserving always the same form and make. In other things they showed the same fidelity, from which may have been derived some of the moral strength which characterised the Romans, and aided their development from a merely agrarian highland people, coming from the Alban mount to this particular region.

King Numa then is credited with having lived on this spot in the first

edition of the Royal House or Regia. When that critical day came in which the last of the Kings of Rome brought about a violent revolution against the State by his high-handed conduct, then occurred a cataclysm in the centre of the religious world, where the King had combined the offices of chief priest and chief statesman. In the cataclysm this is what occurred, as far as we can make out; the King handed over his priestly functions to the Rex Sacrorum, who became the King of the Sacred things, and for some time had his dwelling here at the Regia.

The magisterial power of the King was vested in two people, the annual Consuls, who watched over each other, and held office only for one year, a keen safe guard over the abuse of political power. What became of the rest of the important priestly functions? As in the early days of the ritual State family, the King was the chief power, his daughters were the Vestals, his sons the priests or Flamines, so when the King was abolished, it was like the bursting of a shell into fragments; the political fragments were gathered up by the Consuls, and the priestly ones by the Pontifices and Vestals. The ritual centre was the Vestal temple, and the adjoining house, the house of the public priest, called the Domus Publica, and the Regia.

The Sacrarium of Vesta was the first and chief of the Sacra - the chapels - of the Regia; the Vestals were the daughters of the State, the custodians of the peculiar, perhaps magical treasures known as the public Penates. They were chosen from the first families in Rome. They represented, as we have said, the daughters of the early Kings, and the Flamines, of Jupiter, Mars and Quirinus, represented the King's sons - the ritual State family.

Now with regard to Mars, we may brush aside the legend of his being the father of Romulus, by the daughter of the King of Alba Longa, who was herself a Vestal. This legend arose in later Republican times, but the fact remains that of all the gods, Mars is looked upon as the State father of the Roman people and their destinies. In the Regia the chief sacrarium was that of Mars. Mars was not in the early days looked upon as exclusively the war god. He was regarded chiefly as the god of vegetation. When the expulsion of the last king of the Tarquin dynasty took place, historians tell us that the hatred of the people was such for the iniquity of Tarquin that they took up the grain in the Campus Martius, the State fields, and cast it into the Tiber as a thing accursed, that it might be carried away to sea, and after eradicating the crop in the King's fields because he had become odious to them, they lustrated the fields from the ancient altar, which stood near the Mausoleum of Augustus in the Via de' Pontefici, the Ara Martis, which stood outside

the city in the field, consecrating the whole surroundings, and showing the peculiar devotion of the Romans to the God Mars. This would not be sufficient proof that Mars was the god of vegetation; but the proof is here. Cato tells us that when the husbandman and the woodman cut down trees or blessed the fields, in the hopes that drought would not hurt them, and that there would be a good season, it was to Mars they prayed. Cato gives us the actual form observed by the Roman husbandman in his prayer to Father Mars. The most ancient agrarian confraternity in Rome was that of the *Fratres Arvales*. In their temples, which were in an active state down to 260 A. D., their worship was all to the *Dea Dia* and to the God Mars. That being so, we come back to the *Regia*. The chief *sacrarium* in the centre of the city was that of Mars. Until Caesar's time, when the calendar underwent great alterations, March was the first month of the Roman year, named after the God Mars, and for the first twenty-four days sacred to his festival. It was also the month in which the Roman husbandmen put in the first seeds. On the first of March at the door of the *Regia* stood the chief priest, the Holy Father of the old Romans, the *Pontifex Maximus*, attended by ten members of the Sacred College. The chief house of meeting was the *Regia*, so the *Pontifex Maximus* stood at the door, dressed in his long white woollen robe with a purple stripe and scarlet shoes. The sanctuary was newly decked with laurel, sacred to Mars, as in Greece to Apollo. They met here, and passed over by the little lane into the *Temenos* or sacred enclosure of Vesta, and there the *Vestalis Maxima*, in a crible or sieve, brought a portion of the sacred fire, made from the sacred logs, and kept alight in the Temple. At a certain moment of the ritual the *Pontifex Maximus* blew out the fire, and instantly relighted it from the lighted embers. So with the old fire the old year had gone, and with the new fire, the new year had come in. When this great lighting of the new fire was done, there appeared coming down the *Sacra Via* from the *Palatine* the whole College of twelve priests of Mars, who like the *Vestals* were elected from the most high caste families in Rome. These twelve *Salii* for the twelve months of the year were dressed in the « *toga picta* » and « *trabia* », the old dress of the warriors of the war-host, with peculiar helmets on their heads, and a peculiar club, like a short sword. They took down from the walls of the *Regia* the twelve shields of Mars, called the *Ancilia*, and brought them to the *Sacrarium Vestae*, and then commenced their war dance, which lasted for twenty four days in succession. They danced from the *Regia* to the *Palatine* on the first day, to the House of the *Salii*, which was merely a chapel, and then from one of their chapels to another, beating on the shields with their clubs, and

singing the Salic hymn, which Quintilian and Petronius, in the first century, tell us was impossible to be understood in their day. They sang it over three times. The dances were like our Morris dances in England, indeed some have derived the name of Morris from Mammonis, a personage named in the Salic hymn. The Morris dances in England took place on Plough Monday, when the crops were beginning to rise: so the Sali with their dances came when the corn was first sown. Fraser, writing on the tribal ritual common to all, says that the higher the priests danced, the higher the corn would grow.

In examining the Regia we see the floor below of a much lower level; this was used for some residences in the 7th-and 8th centuries of our era, some three hundred years after the Regia ceased to be used. These people found the Regia entire, lived in it and had public offices there, and left a great deal of the building uninjured. The architect Pirro Ligorio, who is not much to be trusted, but who has left us a memorial, for the sake of which much may be forgiven him, (*Villa d'Este at Tivoli*) tells us of what he saw. So it remained until the Farnese with their six hundred workmen came and carted away masses of the building, and dug tunnels under it to find the marbles. As we know they found the marbles of the ancient public records, incised flags on the *outer* walls, covered with the names of ancient heroes and the glorious records of Rome, so that every citizen who ran might read. These *Fasti* were given to Michael Angelo, to put up on the walls of the Capitol Museum.

In the summer of 1899, Boni had attacked two or three points of the Forum, and decided to attack the Regia. Having excavated the little lane, he came round and began work, and the first result was the discovery of this platform with the round base of an altar: As the largest *Sacrarium* in the Regia, there was no doubt that it would be that of Mars, the Patron God of Rome. The other temple of Mars near the *Arco de' Pantani*, which was rebuilt by Hadrian, was in its original form a round temple. Vesta, Hercules and Mars had round temples. We can see clear traces of what are called the « setting-off lines », of holes for the posts to support the jambs of the doorway, by which one entered the shrine. It was orientated to the East. Inside was the altar of Mars; around were walls of marble, on which were hung the twelve *Ancilia* which were taken out on the 1st of March. There were also suspended two wooden spears, which were watched by persons chosen by the Pontifex Maximus. When these spears were seen to tremble, it was regarded as a sign of the anger of Mars — being in truth caused by an earthquake. The moment the spears were observed to tremble, the Pontifex Maximus was informed, and he sent a nuncio to the Senate to tell them, and to

consult with the Rex Sacrorum as to what sacrifice should be offered, whether a great sacrifice or a smaller one. Six instances are recorded between 177 B. C. and 96 B. C. when the *Hastae Martis* moved. It was taken as a sign either that war was to be declared with Rome, or that Rome was to make war. This superstition died out in later days. On one hot day in July 1899, when the work was going on here, there was found one broken head of a spear — also a coin with the Janus head and Roma.

The other chief *Sacrarium* was that of the Goddess Ops, and it is possible that we see the remains of the *sacrarium* of Janus in the circular podium on a small square platform.

In Greece there were several of these store houses, for this circular pit is the sacred State Store of the Goddess Ops, the goddess of plenty, wife of Saturnus the sower. Now Juvenal and Macrobius tell us that beside the *Sacrarium* of Mars, the All Father of the Roman husbandmen, Saturnus, the sowing god had a statue, and his wife Ops, the goddess who sent up the grain had her *Sacrarium*. Here then was the State Store; hundreds and thousands of gallons of wheat were poured down it. It is 17 ft deep, and has three coats of exquisitely fine cement on the inside, to prevent any percolation. On the exterior it was lined for 14 inches with a coating of chocolate coloured cement, brought from the large quarries beyond Cecilia Metella, the only place where that clay is found. This also acted as a preventive of percolation, so that nothing impure could penetrate into the sacred granary. The mud was brought up by pailfuls, and examined by Signor Boni who, as you know, has not only a microscopic eye, but has the Röntgen rays in it, so that he can see through the soil. We found in one afternoon 27 beautiful bone styli or pens, and the number was afterwards increased to 84, representing every kind of stylus. At the very bottom was found a piece of travertine inscribed in Republican letters with the single word *Regia*.

There was also a *tabellum* or writing tablet, a rectangular slab of oak, on which had been spread a layer of wax. The sharp new stylus of bone had penetrated within the wood and left bits of letters marked on it. Now how did all these pens come there? The little *sacrarium* of Ops, though so near to that of Mars, was not entered by the priest of Mars. Varro says that nobody except the Rex Sacrorum and the Vestals was allowed to enter it.

The Vestals entered it on the feast of Ops, and brought the new grain, which they were the first to gather in the consecrated fields of the State with the sacred sickle, and out of this was made the *Mola Salsa*, the sacred cake used in all State sacrifices. Then hundreds of bushels of this fine wheat were poured into the State Store, a rigid record being kept of them,

and it may be that the youngest Vestal, among her many duties, had this of recording the amount that went into the State Penus. It might easily happen that the small bone stylus behind the woman's ear, might slip and fall into the pit as she stood looking down and counting the jars that were poured in. The stylus slipped into the corn and sank to the bottom.

At any rate, here were these 84 styli, of different ages. The actual date of this Store is difficult, if not impossible to ascertain. There is one on the Palatine, near the house of Livia, where the same chocolate putty has been used, and the quality of the interior cement is the same. The tholos on the Palatine has been cut in half by the later walls of some great building. Now these walls are built of large blocks of tufa, having exactly the same masons' marks as those on the Servian Wall. Therefore the tholos must be older than the Servian Wall, having been destroyed by the wall passing through it. We may therefore safely attribute it to the 4th, 5th or 6th century B. C. But dates are not safe things to deal with!

A word as to the chief events with regard to the worship of Mars. On the 15th of October every year there took place in the Campus Martius a chariot race. One chariot belonged to the people living on the Sacra Via, the Sacravienses, the other to the people of the Subura, who were of a more plebeian origin.

The moment the winning chariot had been greeted, there appeared in full priestly panoply, crowned with the laurels of Mars, the Flamen Martialis. The off horse was stripped of its harness, and taken out, and then, with a spear sacred to Mars, the horse was killed, and its head and tail cut off. A special messenger ran from the Ara Martis - near San Carlo al Corso - up to the Regia. Here were waiting the six Vestals in white, each with one of the loaves of the Mola Salsa, and as the messenger came up with the tail he sprinkled each loaf with some drops of blood. The Mola Salsa was not perfect till it had received these drops of blood of the horse sacred to Mars. But what became of the horse's head? The « Gamins » who called themselves Sacravienses and the other « Gamins » who called themselves Suburienses had a horrid game of football with the head, and if the Suburienses got possession of it, they took it to a little tower called the Torre Mammilia. We do not know exactly where this tower was, but it was somewhere up the Via Cavour. Here the Suburienses placed the head. If the Sacravienses got possession, they brought it up here, to the chaste walls of the Regia, the white walls inscribed with the names of Consuls and heroes, and nailed to the walls this gory object, and thought it a great thing done. Thus all the six months from March to October were sacred to Mars, the All Father of the Roman people, and the traditional father of Romulus, their first King.

I may perhaps be allowed to mention that my friend Giacomo Boni allowed me to plant the two laurels before the Regia, in memory of the two laurels sacred to Mars, which always stood there. In one of the four burnings of the Regia in 127 B. C., the only thing that escaped was the two laurels sacred to Mars. So as Signor Boni and I were both intensely interested in sacred trees, and perhaps because I had given the first lecture on sacred trees ever given in Rome, he allowed me to plant those laurels. I should like to add that on Saturday morning I became the discoverer of one of the rarest antiquities it has ever fallen to any lot to meet with — a perfect stone inscription of a sacred grove, and I have brought it here for you to see, for it is then going into the German Institute where Hülsen and Petersen will give a conference on it on the 7th April.

It is very rare to find such a stone unbroken. It marked a grove sacred to a God or Goddess. Three years ago I thought I had found an unknown temple to an unknown God. I may yet discover the name. A drawing of the temple was made three years ago, the work is of the best first century opus reticulatum. Here was a temple and a sacred grove, in the Campagna, at a place two miles behind the Villa of Hadrian. The last fragment of the inscription giving the name of the owner was found by M^{me} Gautier, so we have now his name Plautius Verus.

The stone bears the words *Lucu Sanctu*. An Oxford scholar objected that it could not be a genuine inscription because, as he said, it should be « *Luco Sancto* ». He was not accustomed to the formulas, amounting to a dialect, used by the priests. At any rate, *lucu sanctu* it is.

Hülsen said on seeing it « It seems to me that it is not so late as you think. From the form of the letters I should judge it to be of the age of Commodus. » A contadino who watched it being dug up exclaimed on seeing it « È San Luca ! ».

VIII.

GROTTA FERRATA

BY

'Professor TOMASSETTI

On the 1st of May the members and associates of the Society visited the Byzantine Exhibition of Grotta Ferrata, under the able guidance of Professor TOMASSETTI, who gave the following concise but interesting account of the place itself.

He said: This is a place which, however often visited, always presents a new attraction and a new interest.

Firstly concerning its name, for there has long been a discussion among authors respecting its origin.

Having studied the « Catastro » or register of the estates and possessions of the Abbey in the 15th century, of the time when they were administered by the famous Cardinal Bessarione, I found that amongst these farms or estates, the « Monumentum ferratum » was mentioned as the one nearest to the Abbey, on the side facing Rome. In this place « ferro » iron was found, and here were ancient iron foundries.

On the spot itself I found numerous traces of iron, and of this ancient industry, which continued in working up to the 17th century. I also found that when Cardinal Francesco Barberini was the « Commendatario » or chief of the Badia, the poet Giulio Antonio Ridolfi, wrote these lines:

Cryptam me duro ferratam nomine dicunt
Quod semper ferrum hic ars operosa domat

Thus the name of Grotta Ferrata derives from « Ferriera » (iron foundry), and not from the ancient Roman Legion Ferrata, nor from the « crates ferreae » (iron gratings) before the altar of this Abbey which belongs to the Greek ritual; both these derivations having been advanced by authors as the origin of the name.

Another important question is whether the spot agrees with the site of the Villa of Cicero. « Tuscolanum Ciceronis ». This question we may also consider as settled. The Villa of the great orator stood on the slopes of Tusculum, but the « fundus », or estate which depended on it, extended down

into the valley Marciana to the borders of the Ager Tusculanus on the Roman territory. All around Grotta Ferrata are found considerable remains of walls and constructions belonging to Roman Villas. At *Bagnara*, at *Le Ginestie*, below the Abbey itself are ruins of no small extent. The building itself is founded upon a large construction of Imperial times. The courtyard of the Abbey is full of sculptured marbles, of capitals of columns, of objects which must all have belonged to ancient Villas. It is generally stated that Pope Gregory I, of the house of the Conti Tuscolani, founded the Abbey in 1004, as a donation to San Nilus, the Greek abbot of Rossano in Calabria. This is true, but it must also be remembered that the earliest settlement of San Nilus was below Mont Algidus, at Sant'Agata, of which nothing now remains but a tiny rural chapel dedicated to Sant'Angelo in the valley of the Algidus. The Abbey was really built under Abbot Paul, successor to San Nilus, and was always under the protection of the Counts of Tusculum, lords of all the land of Latium, from Palestrina to Marino.

An important event in the middle ages was the act of protection granted by Otho III to San Nilus and the Greek Monks, because (a fact which modern writers have not yet understood) it signified the important tentative of alliance which Otho endeavoured to conclude between the German Empire and the Eastern Empire, by means of which he would have prevented the Greek Schism, would have regained Jerusalem, and would have brought back the seat of Imperial Government to Rome. With this object in view he was preparing for himself a palace on the Aventine, that hill which recalls the position of Constantinople, and where was the Greek colony and commerce in Rome. And thus we may say that Grotta Ferrata represents the historical memory of one of the greatest political visions that man ever made!

The monuments which are dispersed about the Abbey, as well as those collected in the Museo Latino, are all of importance.

Among those which are dispersed the most remarkable is the baptismal font in marble, of the 5th century, which proves that long before the building of the Abbey, a Christian church existed in this spot. This font is now in the chapel of San Nilus.

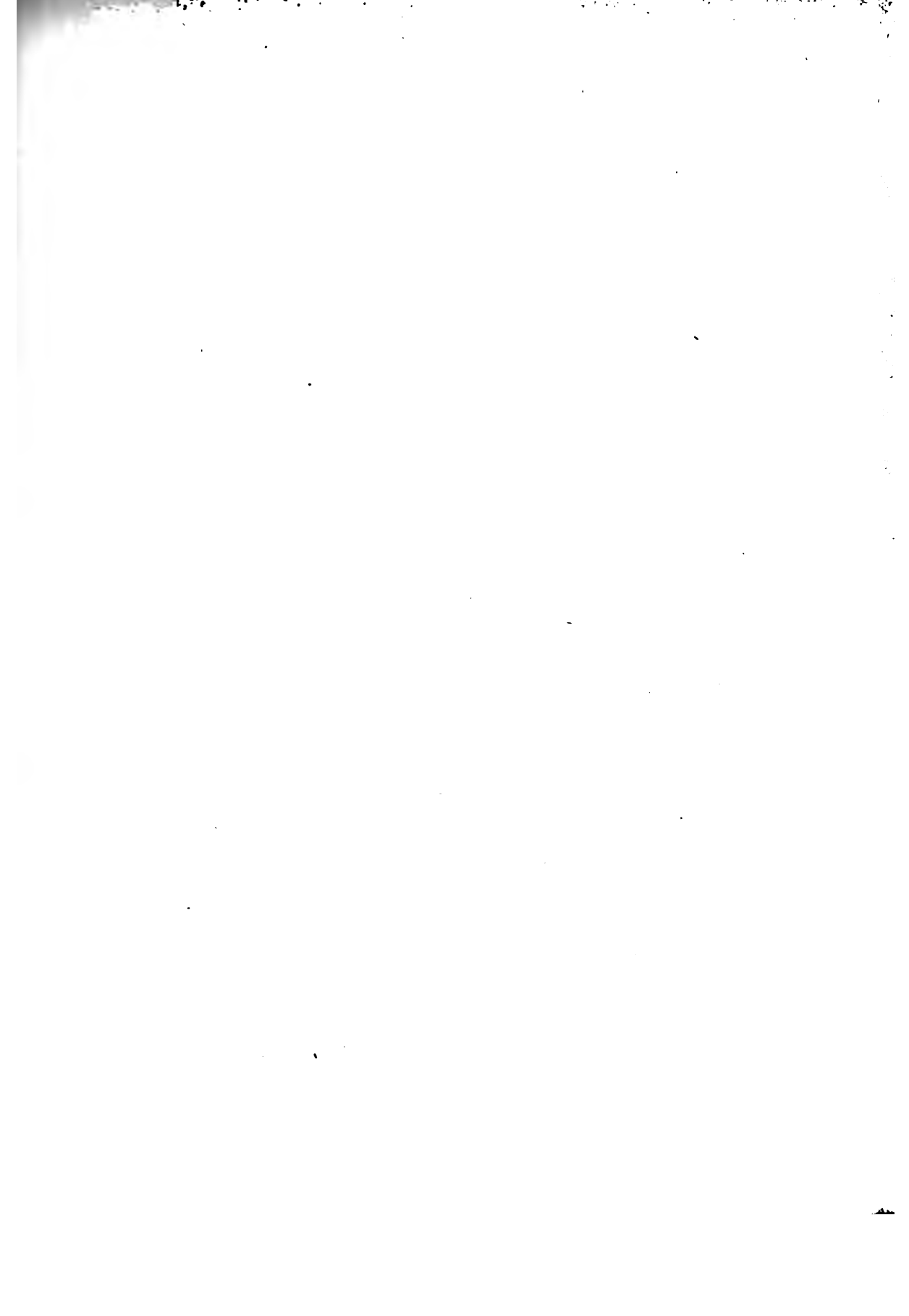
In the Museum is especially remarkable the fragment of a throne and of the figure of an Egyptian Empress (Faraonessa) of the XVIII dynasty; the inscription in hieroglyphics has not yet been deciphered.

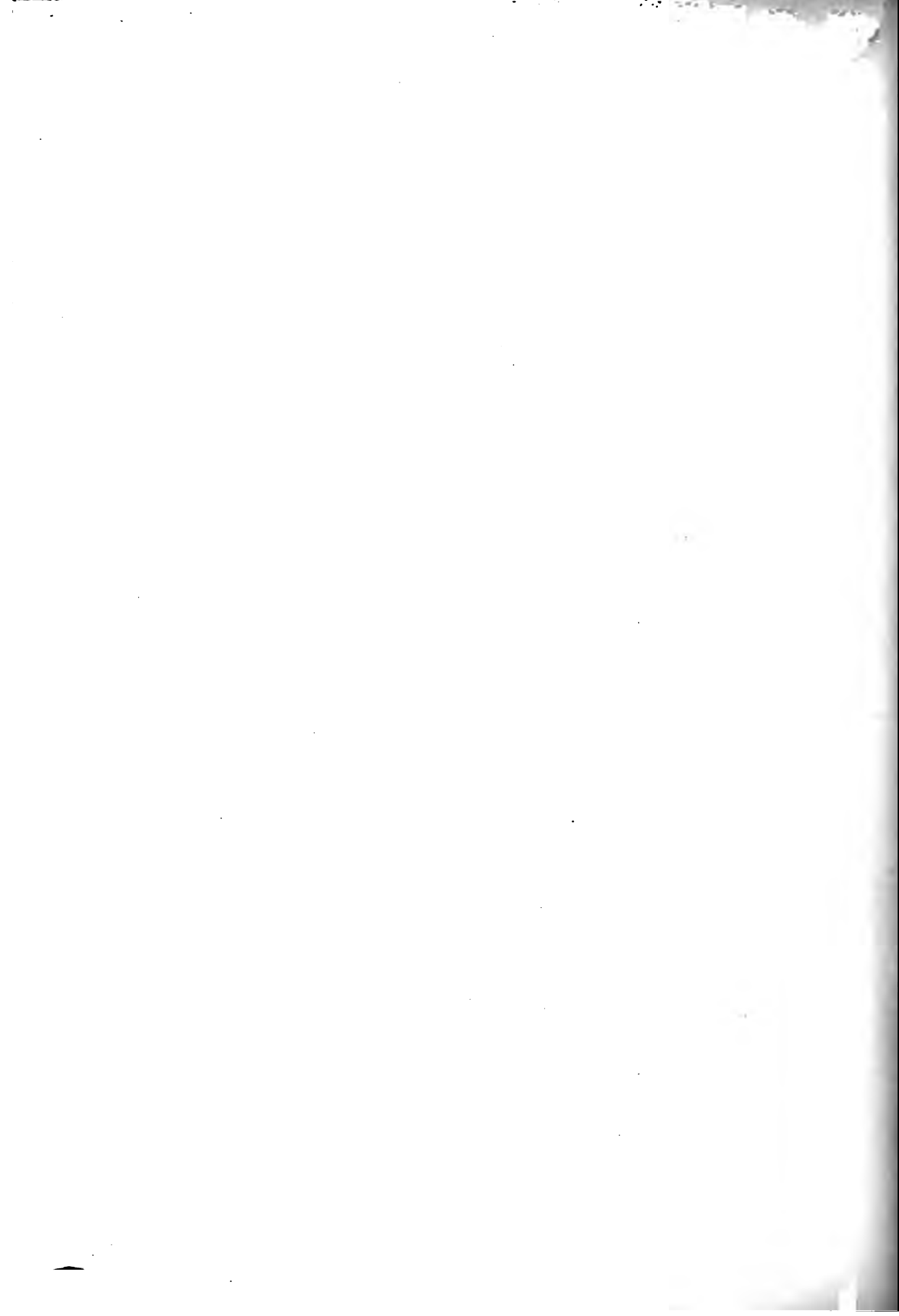
This statue was found in my presence in the neighbouring castle of Borghetto (Villa dei Tavoleni), and it was at my request that it was placed in this Museum. Here is also an admirable greek bas-relief of a seated youth, which (as the inscription below states) escaped the rapacity of the

Emperor Frederick II, when, in 1242, he carried off numberless objects of value, amongst them a statue of the Attic school of the 5th century B. C., and also the famous Cow of the Greek sculptor Myron. The existence of this famous bronze statue leads to a new explanation of the seal of the Abbey, which represents a cow, the old explanation being that allusion was thus made to the benevolence and abundance of the Monastery. The same cow is seen in relief in the architrave of the ancient portal of the church, and there is no doubt that this bas relief is a memorial of the bronze cow which once stood on the piazza before the monastery, and which was stolen by Frederick II. The chronicler Riccardo di San Germano speaks of it, and writes that the water gushed out of its nostrils, that is to say that it was a fountain.

Nibby concludes that it was one of the famous cows of Myron which Propertius speaks of on the Palatine, and which the Greek epigrams of the *Antologia Palatina* relate were so absolutely true to nature, that the calves passing near, ran lowing to them as to their mothers! But Nibby did not know of the bas relief of Grotta Ferrata, and I believe that it and the seal of the monastery were made in solemn memory of the stolen statue. My belief also is that when the Counts of Tusculum were in possession of the Palatine, they transported thence to their own estates not only this statue of the cow, but many other antiquities.

Finally the visit to Grotta Ferrata has gained a new interest by the discovery in 1904 of the frescoes of the 11th century found above the actual ceiling of the church, which was reconstructed in 1600. They are of much importance; they represent The Holy Trinity and a glory of angels, and by the delicacy of the painting recall Giotto's work, though they are anterior to him by two hundred years. I had already observed these frescoes in 1886, and have written of them in my « *Campagna Romana* », Vol. II, p. 167.





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WITH LIST OF MEMBERS

Session 1905-1906

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Geographical Society of California.

The following serials are received by the Society.

Notizie degli Scavi dell'Accademia dei Lincei.
Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects.
Bulletin of American Geographical Society.



Nº 1



Nº 2



Nº 3



Nº 4



Nº 5



Nº 6

BRITISH AND AMERICAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY

OF ROME

N. 72, via San Nicolò da Tolentino, first floor.

ANNUAL REPORT — SESSION 1905-1906.

Mr. C. A. Mills took over the duties of Secretary from Mr. W. Heath Wilson, who had resigned the appointment at the close of the session 1904-05.

The opening lecture of the season was given by Professor Clifford H. Moore, Ph. D. (Professor of Latin, Harvard University) at the Continental Hotel, on the subject « Some aspects of later Paganism ». The audience was very large, and the chair was taken by the Working President, Mr. C. C. Morgan, British Consul at Rome.

There were no lectures in aid of the Funds of the Society during the Session, and it is therefore satisfactory to note that when the accounts were closed on the 1st July 1906 there was a small balance of cash in the Secretary's hands, lire 25, and a debit balance at the Bank of Lire 16.45. The net balance in hand therefore is Lire 8.55. The debt which had accrued at the beginning of the working season has therefore been paid off, and there should be a small balance available for the purchase of books during the ensuing season, if it should prove equally favourable. The capital invested in Italian Rentes remains, as before, lire 5000. The accounts have been duly audited by the Rev^d Dr. Gordon Gray and Dr. Fenwick.

In addition to the opening lecture at the Continental Hotel there were six lectures at the Society's room, one at the rooms of the British School, (by kind permission of the Committee), one at the Campo Santo Tedesco at the Vatican, one at the Museo dei Gessi, Testaccio, and there were also five excursions.

The Library was open every day during the season, with the exception of a week at Eastertide.

During the season the following gentlemen were added to the list of Honorary Members:

T. Ashby Esq., D. Litt. Director, British School.

The Rev^d Monsignore L. Duchesne, Membre de l'Institut, Director, French School.

Arch.^o G. B. Giovenale.

Prof. Ch. Hülsen, German Institute.

Baron Rodolfo Kanzler.

Prof. G. Körte, German Institute.

Prof. E. Loewy, University della Sapienza.

Prof. G. Tomassetti, ditto.

Prof. A. Venturi, ditto.

The Rev^d Monsignore J. Wilpert.

The Society has sustained a great loss by the death of Dr. Edmonston Charles, one of its oldest and most highly regarded Members. The Committee forwarded a suitable letter of condolence to Mrs Charles, expressing the sympathy of the Society with her in her great loss. The Committee also deeply regret to have to record the death of the Rev^d. Dr. Nevin, Rector of the American Church in Rome; who, although he had ceased to belong to the Society for the past three years, had for many years previous been a most valued Member of the same. During the year one other Member died, one resigned on account of serious ill health, and there was one other resignation from a Member who did not intend to return to Rome. The names of four other Members, who had either left Rome, or having failed to pay their subscriptions, have shown that they no longer desire to remain Members of the Society, have been removed from the list of subscribing Members. On the other hand, twelve new Members have joined the Society during the year, and nineteen new Associates have been added to our numbers. Fifteen of the Associates of the season 1904-905 did not rejoin this year. The increase of Members and Associates has therefore been a very satisfactory sign of the growing popularity of the Society, and at the close of the year the numbers were, Honorary Members 19, Members 47, Associates 32, there being no subscriptions unpaid.

The Society wishes to express in this Report its best thanks to ladies and gentlemen who have so kindly helped it by giving lectures during the past year.

The following books have been added to the Library during the year

Publications of Societies

- American Geographical Society. — Vol. XXXVII, N° 12; vol. XXXVIII, N° 1, 2 and 3.
- Royal Institute of British Architects. — Vol. XII, 11-20; vol. XIII, 1-10 (and Calendar.).
- Ethnological Survey of America. — Vol. I; vol. II, Part I.
- Papers of British School, Rome. — Vol. III.
- Report of Davenport Academy of Sciences.
- Report of Wisconsin Academy of Sciences.
- Report of University of California. — Register 1904-'05. — Bulletins; vol. VI, vol. VII.
- Report of Bureau of American Ethnology. — 1899, 1900, 1901.
- Report of Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society. — 1904-'05.
- Rivista Storia Benedettina. — Anno I; fascicoli I and II.
- Notizie degli Scavi, Lincei. — Vol. XIV; fascicoli 1 to 4. — For 1905; fascicoli 1 to 12.
- Catalogue Cambridge University Press.

By Gift.

- Paper on the Harbour of Ostia by Sir John Rennie, from the Proceedings of the Inst. C. E. London for 1845.

By Purchase.

- Hülßen — Forum Romanum.
- Petersen — Comitium, Rostra und Grab des Romulus.
- Searle — Tibur Superbum.
- Proceedings of the German Archaeological Institute for 1906, N° 4.

The Notizie degli Scavi of the Accademia Lincei for the years 1899, 1900, 1901-02-03 and 1904 have been bound and added to the Library, and the Bollettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma has been ordered to be supplied in future by Messrs Loescher and C°, the publishers.

Before closing this Report the Secretary wishes to express his thanks to Miss Holden, Assistant Secretary and Librarian, for her invaluable help, and to inform the Members and Associates that he hopes, with her aid, to have the Library entirely rearranged according to subjects, and the Catalogue brought up to date by the commencement of next working season.

Rome, November 1906.

C. A. MILLS
Hon. Sec. and Librarian.

List of Lectures and Excursions during Season 1905-'06.

- N° 1. January 16th. — Professor C. H. Moore, Ph. D. — Some aspects of later Paganism.
- N° 2. January 23rd. — Mr. W. Miller, M. A. — The Frankish Conquest of Greece.
- N° 3. January 30th. — Miss Weeden-Cooke. — The letters, posts and despatches of ancient Rome.
- N° 4. February 6th. — The Rev. Father P. P. Mackey, O. P. — A visit to Argos.
- N° 5. February 13th. — The Rev. Dr. Gordon Gray, D. D. — Additional researches as to the site of the house of Aquila and Priscilla on the Aventine.
- N° 6. February 20th. — Mr. W. Miller, M. A. — Frankish Society in Greece.
- N° 7. February 27th. — Mr. J. D. Paul. — The Monumentum Ancyranum and Augustus.
- N° 8. March 6th. — Mr. A. J. B. Wace, Fellow of Pembroke Coll. Cambridge. — Roman Art in Portraiture.
- N° 9. March 13th. — Mr. T. Ashby D. Litt. — Gabii.
- N° 10. March 20th. — Comm. Prof. O. Marucchi. — The site of the Crucifixion of St. Peter.
- N° 11. March 26th. — Prof. Emanuele Loewy. — Some remarks on ancient Sculpture.
- N° 12. April 3rd. — Prof. G. Tomassetti. — Porto and Isola Sacra.
- N° 13. April 10th. — Contessa Gautier. — Veii.
- N° 14. April 17th. — Comm. Prof. O. Marucchi. — Palestrina.
- N° 15. April 24. — Prof. G. Tomassetti. — Ostia.

The Society is indebted to Messrs Vasari and C^o. Photographers, Via della Mercede, Rome, for permission to use their collection of reproductions of Busts for the purpose of the illustrations to Mr. Wace's paper, and to Miss Polkinghorne for the drawings (from Rich's Dictionary of Antiquities) illustrating the paper on the " Letters, Posts and Despatches of ancient Rome ".

Accounts for the Year 1905-1906.

ANNUAL REPORT

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Libre	Cent
Balance 1 st July 1905	87. 40
Interest on Rendita 5 %	200. 00
Subscriptions	2,041. 15
Subscriptions special, for Furniture	100. 00
Receipts for Tickets, Journals, etc.	156. 70
Interest on Bank deposit	8. 35
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	2,593. 60
Balance in favor of Bank	16. 45
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Tuesday, January 16th.

I.

ON SOME ASPECTS OF LATER ROMAN PAGANISM

BY

Professor CLIFFORD H. MOORE, of Harvard University.

The lecturer, having been introduced by Mr. Ceccarelli-Morgan, British Consul, spokê in part as follows :

I make no apology for the subject I have chosen for this afternoon, for if it does not deal directly with the monuments themselves, it is concerned with the message conveyed to us by those monuments. It is a well-known fact that in the fourth century, when the struggle between Christianity and Paganism had become acute, that the protagonists of the older religion were no longer the gods of the Greco-Roman world but rather the Great Mother, Isis, and Mithras. It is on these, for example, that Firmicus Maternus pours out his wrath, while he treats the gods of ancient Rome with but scant respect. On every side there is evidence that a great change had taken place since the days of the Roman Republic. The divinities which I have named were foreign, Asiatic or Semitic. Their devotees were militant proselytes, filled with religious passion and ecstasy - a marked contrast to the followers of the older divinities. It is to some aspects of this later Paganism that I invite your attention. It is important, because without an understanding of it we cannot comprehend the history of society or of Christianity in that period.

A brief review of the history of Greek or Roman religion is necessary to explain this apparently strange development. Of the changes produced by the Second Punic War Professor Carter spoke to you last year. In 217 B. C. the circle of the twelve Greek Gods was fully established at Rome. In 205 a new era was marked by the invitation extended to the Great Mother of the gods, who arrived the following year and in 191 was established on the Palatine. The next century saw Greece complete he

conquest of Roman thought. Religion was affected through art, literature, and philosophy. Beginning with the capture of Syracuse, 212 B. C., the treasures of Greek art found their way to Rome, and fixed the types for the representation of divinities. Greek myths were made known through literature; Ennius by his translation of Euhemerus contributed to undermine belief in the older faith. As early as the year 181 the fear of philosophy had become so great that the conservatives succeeded in having burnt some recently discovered books which purported to contain philosophic documents; and again and again attempts were made to expel philosophers from the city, but all in vain. In this period Stoicism was very influential, especially in the circle of the younger Scipio; its effect is clearly shown by its influence on such men as Quintus Scaevola, who held that the Stoic doctrine of the gods was alone correct, while he clung to the common beliefs for State purposes, since Stoicism was unfitted for common folk. Varro's great work was permeated with Stoicism; Cicero in all his writings gives little or no hint of a sense of personal dependence on the gods of the state; Virgil's divinities are literary; and Horace is frankly atheistic. The great priesthoods had become political offices: the colleges of the Pontifices and of the Augurs had lost the technical knowledge formerly possessed by them; the office of Flamen Dialis was unfilled from 87 to 11 B. C. In many cases the lesser priesthoods were abandoned, and the very gods to whom they belonged forgotten; many religious festivals were no longer celebrated. Yet we should make a mistake if we thought of this as an irreligious time. The gods of the State were no longer vital powers, but Lucretius would never have devoted his life to putting into lasting verse arguments against immortality, if that belief had not been a vital part of the thought of his day. Religious sentiment and aspiration were still alive.

When Augustus came to power he attempted to call back the State religion, but his very efforts in part hastened the decay. It is true that he rebuilt eighty two temples and reestablished abandoned sodalities, but he turned religion to the support of the Imperial house: Apollo was given a magnificent temple on the Palatine in connection with the Emperor's palace, while Vesta was housed within the palace itself. The temple of Mars Ultor turned men's thoughts toward the Imperial family, as had earlier the worship of the deified Julius and the association of the genius of the Emperor with the household gods. In the first three centuries of our era many changes took place; a large number of abstract divinities were introduced to Rome, and a flood of gods brought in from abroad. Yet the Capitoline triad maintained itself at the head of the State deities, and the gods of the household, agriculture, and trade, the Lares, Diana, Silvanus, and Mercury still lived. The old re-

ligious festivals too continued in a large measure, and it was quite evident that in spite of all the changes the old religion, on its formal side, was significant; so much so, that Eusebius was greatly impressed with the fidelity of the Romans to their earlier gods and faith. Nevertheless this fidelity was more apparent than real, and we must consider some of the causes that led to the change which had come about. The Great Mother was the first of the Orientals to reach the West, but the campaigns of the last century of the Republic in the East made many new divinities known to the Romans, and through the soldiers also others were brought from the North and from Africa. Traders too, brought with them their native gods, and first through the lower strata of society, introduced them to the western world. Such divinities as Isis, for example, or Jupiter Heliopolitaneus, as well as the Dea Syria, owed their introduction to traders. The soldiers brought in Mithras, Baal of Doliche, and many others. Slaves also did their share. So that by the second century A. D. a bewildering number of strange divinities were firmly established in the West.

Between the Oriental divinities and the older gods there was a great contrast. The old religion was formal, practical, and consisted in the exact performance of ritual. Virtue lay in the doing of the thing itself, and only ceremonial purity was required. It offered little satisfaction to the spiritual nature of man, and exacted little personal loyalty, save in connection with loyalty to the State and the Imperial House. But the new divinities exacted spiritual devotion. They appealed to the imagination and religious sense by processions in which all took part, by rites of symbolic moral cleansing, through the secrets of their initiation with the attendant revelations, and by the assurance of security which they gave for time and for eternity. For example, in the worship of Isis there were processions of priests and devotees clad in white linen robes, religious music, mysterious symbols, and representations of the gods by the priests. The initiate was sprinkled with holy water from the Nile; the ritual book was in hieroglyphics; even the garments which were put upon him were covered with symbols. He was introduced through three grades of initiation, each of which required tests of fitness, abstinence, fasting, and prayer; and every day he saw the goddess worshipped with matin and vesper services. So in the cult of Mithras there were two periods of initiation, in each of which the initiate passed through three grades, until he attained to the rank of those who were *sacrali*.

Just what was done in these mysterious ceremonies we do not know, but the effect upon the initiate is as certain as the effect upon those

who are initiated in the mysteries at Eleusis. Apuleius makes his Lucius say, « I have approached the bounds of death, and after passing the threshold of Proserpina and being carried through all the elements, I have returned into the upper world. At midnight I have seen the sun flashing with a brilliant light. The gods of heaven and of hell I have approached in very person, and done them obeisance face to face ». Such a report as this shows the influence of the ceremonies. The same effect was produced in other mysteries, e. g. in those of Mithras, and also by the rite of the taurobolium as practiced in the ritual of the Great Mother in the fourth century. Those who submitted to it proclaimed themselves as born again.

Another and most striking characteristic of these divinities is the claim that each made to be supreme and all-comprehending. This concept appears rather early. According to Plutarch the Syrian goddess is « that natural cause which furnishes the seeds and the beginnings of all things ». Lucian saw in her the characteristics of not less than six Greek goddesses and of the Fates as well; and in the third century a military tribune set up an inscription on the line of Hadrian's wall in Britain, in which he identifies the Syrian Goddess with the *Virgo Caelestis* of Carthage, giver of grain, inventress of justice, foundress of cities, and makes her mother of the Gods, Peace, Virtue, Ceres, goddess who holds the scales of life and law. Mithras was identified with the *Sol Invictus*, and we have in a fragment of a hymn a description of Dionysus as « One Zeus, one Hades, one Sun, one Dionysus », which the Emperor Julian later repeated in but slightly changed form. Of Attis also it was said in a mystic hymn, « Thee the Assyrians call Adonis most desired, all Egypt Osiris, Hellas in her wisdom the heavenly horned Moon, the Samothracians Adamas the revered, the Haemonians Corybas, the Phrygians now Papas, now the dead, a god, the fruitless one, the shepherd ». But the fullest expression of this claim is to be found in Apuleius where Isis appears in a vision to Lucius and reveals herself as follows; « Lo, I am here, the parent of the universe, mistress of the elements, the primal force of the ages, greatest of divinities, queen over the Manes, first among the Celestials, the single form of gods and goddesses, I who by my nod rule the bright lights of heaven, the healthful breezes of the sea, the gloomy silent shades below. To my divinity, one in itself, the entire world does reverence under many forms, with varied rites and manifold names. Hence it is that the primal Phrygians call me at Pessinus the Mother of the Gods, hence the Autochthones of Attica name me Cecropian Minerva, the wave-beat Cyprians Paphian Venus, the archer Cretans Dictynnan Diana, the Sicilians with their triple tongues Stygian Proserpina,

the people of Eleusis ancient Ceres, others Juno, others Bellona, some Hecate, again Rhamnusia, but the Ethiopians on whom shine the glowing rays of the sun at its birth, the Aryans, the Egyptians, mighty through their ancient learning, worship me with the proper rites, and call me by my true name, Queen Isis ». This claim represents the culminating point of syncretism.

I shall now ask you to consider with me some of the causes of this syncretistic tendency. A student of religion finds constantly working in religious thought two forces, one centrifugal, the other centripetal. The centrifugal force tends to multiply divinities by giving independent existence to the characteristics of a god: so, for example, the Roman Terminus developed from an epithet of Jupiter, and the same Jupiter as god of faith gave rise first to a *Dius Fidius*, and then, by the third century B. C. to *Fides*. On the other hand it is a tendency of human thought to lay stress on the similar characteristics of divinities, and to identify those which have little in common. So the Roman soldier identified with his own Jupiter many of the chief local divinities in the lands that he conquered. Another cause is to be found in the temper of the age. The desire for knowledge which existed in Cicero's day and still more in the first century of our era, led to a religious passion in the third and fourth centuries. Scientific and philosophic pursuits failed to satisfy, and men turned to the mysteries of religion. In the Augustan age Rome was the centre of men's thoughts, but the changes of the first three centuries made men feel themselves no longer citizens of a city but of a world. In the earlier period religion had been national, linked with the central city. By the third century it had become individual and personal, there had grown up a desire for individual salvation; as Boissier well puts it, « From Cicero to Marcus Aurelius Roman society passed from incredulity to devotion ». So that the world in the third and fourth centuries was penetrated with the religious spirit, as is abundantly testified. The causes of this were partly negative, partly positive. There was no impulse to action in political life; there was little patriotism. Men had a deep sense of having tried and found lacking the things of this world. In the pages of Marcus Aurelius there is a sad sense of the hopeless vanity of all things. On the positive side there was a passion for a moral ideal superior to that of tradition. Amid the crowd of divinities and the multitude of religious practices there grew up and took possession of men a belief that in the last analysis the gods were but varied manifestations of one supreme Being, and thus it was that syncretism was dominant from the third century. It was helped and supported by philosophy. First of all by later Stoicism, which commended itself to western thought and gained favor with all ranks of society by its religious character and its eclecticism. Stoicism is ess

tially pantheistic, and in time develops a systematic theology of pantheism, and became for a time the bulwark of the educated pagan world. But in spite of the fact that large elements of stoicism passed on as a permanent heritage the essential weakness of it became evident by the second century. In Marcus Aurelius its character appears. His meditations show us human sympathy, kindliness, a new humanity, but the dominant note of the Emperor's thoughts is sadness. The stoic was without hope, his divinity was an abstraction, and only annihilation remained for the souls of men. He must content himself with a poor solace.

« This alone should be the object of our thoughts: to live with resignation in midst of the injustice and falsity of men, never deviating ourselves from truth and justice ».

In the third century Neo-Platonism as introduced into the West by Plotinus contributed its support. Its divinity was an inexpressible First, an absolute Unity, above thought and being, pure creative activity, comprehensible only as a first and a final cause. Such abstract monotheism was supplemented by Iamblicus, who attempted to support polytheistic paganism by a speculative theology in which allegory and the Pythagorean doctrine of numbers played a great part. Neo-Platonism had a brief success, and the Emperor Julian hoped to use it to revolutionise the religious world. But it was after all a symptom rather than a cause of the thought of its time.

It should be said, furthermore, that philosophy did not create this syncretism but systematised it. Plutarch was the first to state a philosophy of religion when he said « not different gods for different peoples, but as there is one sun, one moon, land and sea, there is one intelligence, one Providence; names, forms, symbols vary ». Philosophy explained polytheism as due to the weakness of human intelligence, the varied gods represented the parts of truth, they formed intermediate steps to reality, or they might be compared to subordinates of a royal master.

Syncretism was obviously subjective and dependent on the aspirations and preferences of the devotee, who disregarded contradictions and chose to see affinities in unimportant characteristics. Syncretism, however, was the logical development of paganism. The old Roman religion itself was pandæmonistic: its divinities were faintly conceived, a condition which in the beginning favoured syncretistic change. As I have pointed out, the syncretistic tendency was fostered by the mysteries, by philosophy, and the natural tendency of human thought. In the end it became solar. The Neopythagorean movement of the third century regarded the sun as the supreme manifestation of divinity,

and although the attempt of Heliogabalus to make his sun-god chief divinity of the Roman state was short lived, Aurelian firmly placed him there. Ninety years later Julian's god was also a solar divinity. The best expression of the thought of the time is uttered by Praetextatus in Macrobius's *Saturnalia*: « If the Sun rules the other lights of heaven, and if these control our destinies, the Sun must be Lord and author of all. The lesser deities are only the effects, the potencies of this supreme power ».

Finally the growth of Christianity was a cause which we must not neglect. In the third century its influence was sufficient to cause paganism to fear, in the fourth century it brought former enemies into an alliance. Rome was the centre of the struggle where paganism valiantly contended every step of advance. The great leaders of pagan thought arrayed themselves with all the prominent divinities; so Vettius Praetextatus, who was prefect of the city in 367, was priest of Vesta, priest of the sun and Quindecimvir, an official of the cult of Hercules, an initiate in the mysteries of Eleusis, hierofant of Hecate, neocorus, had performed the rite of taurobolium, was chief of the « consecrated » of Mithras. Such men as he represented much of the best life of the time, and were animated by impulses which gave to paganism its vitality. New ethical ideals had grown up between the second and fourth century. Later stoicism, whatever its weaknesses, brought men to feel that the human will was unequal to the ethical task set it, and so turned them to seek the aid of the gods. Furthermore mankind had now come to look beyond lesser and temporal blessings to the goal of eternal security. So the third century saw the rise of pagan asceticism, of a desire to expiate sin by penitence and penitential acts. Thus vitalised paganism was able to prolong its losing battle, and to have a profound effect upon its victorious foe.

Tuesday, January 23rd.

II.

THE FRANKISH CONQUEST OF GREECE

BY

WILLIAM MILLER, M. A.

Professor Krumbacher says in his « History of Byzantine Literature », that, when he announced his intention of devoting himself to that subject, one of his classical friends solemnly remonstrated with him, on the ground that there could be nothing of interest in a period when the Greek preposition *πρό* governed the accusative, instead of the genitive case. I am afraid that many people are of the opinion of that orthodox grammarian. There has long prevailed in some quarters an idea that, from the time of the Roman conquest in 146 B. C. to the day when Archbishop Germanós raised the standard of Independence at Kallavryta in 1821, the annals of Greece were practically a blank, and that that country thus enjoyed for nearly 20 centuries that form of happiness which consists in having no history. Forty years ago there was, perhaps, some excuse for this theory; but the case is very different now. The great cemeteries of Mediæval Greece — I mean the Archives of Venice, Naples, Palermo and Barcelona — have given up their dead. We know now, year by year, yes, almost month by month, the vicissitudes of Hellas under her Frankish masters, and all that is required now is to breathe life into the dry bones, and bring upon the stage in flesh and blood that picturesque and motley crowd of Burgundian, Flemish and Lombard nobles, German knights, rough soldiers of fortune from Cataluña and Navarre, Florentine financiers, Neapolitan courtiers, shrewd Venetian and Genoese merchant princes, and last, but not least, the bevy of high-born dames, sprung from the oldest families of France, who make up, together with the Greek *Archons* and the Greek serfs, the persons of the romantic drama, of which Greece was the theatre for 250 years.

The history of Frankish Greece begins with the Fourth Crusade.

I need not recapitulate the oft-told story of that memorable expedition, which influenced for centuries the annals of Eastern Europe, and which forms the historical basis of the Eastern question. We all know, from the paintings of the Doge's Palace how the Crusaders set out with the laudable object of freeing the Holy Sepulchre from the Infidel, how they turned aside to the easier and more lucrative task of overturning the oldest Empire in the world, and how they placed on the throne of all the Caesars Count Baldwin of Flanders as first Latin Emperor of Constantinople. The Greeks fled to Asia Minor, and there at Nice, the city of the famous Council, and at Trebizond on the shores of the Black Sea, founded two Empires, of which the latter existed for over 250 years.

When the Crusaders and their Venetian allies sat down to partition the Byzantine Empire among themselves, they paid no heed to the rights of nationalities or to the wishes of the people whose fate hung upon their decisions. A fourth part of the Byzantine dominions, consisting of the capital, the adjacent districts of Europe and Asia, and several of the islands, was first set aside to form the new Latin Empire of Romania. The remaining three-fourths were then divided in equal shares between the Venetian Republic and the Crusaders, whose leader was Boniface of Montferrat in the North of Italy, the rival of Baldwin for the throne of the East. The Greek provinces in Asia, and the island of Crete had originally been intended as his share of the spoil; but he wished to obtain a compact extent of territory nearer his own home and his wife's native land of Hungary, and accordingly sold Crete to the Venetians, and established himself as King of Salonika with sovereignty over a large part of Greece, as yet unconquered. The Venetians, with their shrewd commercial instincts and their much more intimate knowledge of the country, secured all the best harbours, islands and markets in the Levant — an incident which shows that an acquaintance with geography may sometimes be useful to politicians.

In the autumn of 1204 Boniface set out to conquer his Greek dominions. The King of Salonika belonged to a family, which was no stranger to the ways of the Orient. One of his brothers had married the daughter of the Greek Emperor Manuel I.; another brother and a nephew were Kings of Jerusalem — a vain dignity which has descended from them, together with the Marquisate of Montferrat, to the present Italian dynasty. Married to the affable widow of the Greek Emperor Isaac II., Boniface was a sympathetic figure to the Greeks, who had speedily flocked numbers to his side, and several of whom accompanied him on his march through Greece. Among these was the bastard Michael Angelos, of whom we shall hear later as the founder of a new dynasty. With the King

Salonika there went too a motley crowd of Crusaders in quest of fiefs, men of many nationalities, Lombards, Flemings, Frenchmen and Germans. There were Guillaume de Champlitte, a grandson of the Count of Champagne; Otho de la Roche, son of a Burgundian noble; Jacques d'Avesnes, son of a Flemish crusader who had been at the siege of Acre, and his two nephews, Jacques and Nicholas de St. Omer; Berthold von Katzenellenbogen, a Rhenish warrior who had given the signal for setting fire to Constantinople; the Marquis Guido Pallavicini, youngest son of a nobleman from near Parma, who had gone to Greece because at home every common man could hale him before the courts; Thomas de Stromoncourt, and Ravano dalle Carceri of Verona (1). Just as the modern general takes with him a band of war-correspondents to chronicle his achievements, so Boniface was accompanied by Rambaud de Vaqueiras, a troubadour from Provence, who afterwards boasted in one of the letters in verse which he addressed to his patron, that he "had helped him to conquer the Empire of the East and the Kingdom of Salonika, the island of Pelops and the Duchy of Athens." Such were the men at whose head the Marquis of Montferrat marched through the classic vale of Tempe, the route of so many armies, into the great and fertile plain of Thessaly.

While the Crusaders are traversing the vale of Tempe, let us ask ourselves for a moment, who were the races, and what was the condition, of the country which they were about to enter? The question is important, for the answer to it will enable us to understand the case with which a small body of Franks conquered, almost without opposition, nearly the whole of Greece. The bulk of the inhabitants were, of course, Greeks; for no one, except the present Italian Ambassador at Madrid, now believes the theory, so confidently advanced by Professor Fallmerayer 75 years ago, according to which there is not a single drop of Hellenic blood in the Greek nation, but the Kingdom of Greece is inhabited by Slavs and Albanians. At the time of the Frankish conquest, the Slavonic elements in the population, the survivals of the Slavonic immigrations of the dark centuries, were confined to the mountain fastnesses of Arcadia and Laconia, where Taygetos was known as "the mountain of the Slavs." The marvellous power of the Hellenic race for absorbing and hellenising foreign nationalities — a power like that of the Americans in our own day — had prevented the Peloponnesos from becoming a Slav state, a Southern Serbia or Bulgaria, though such Slavonic names as *Charvati* near Mycenae and *Slavochorio* still preserve the memory of

(1) Brother of the *podestà* Realdo, whose name still figures on the *Casa dei Mercanti* there.

the Slavonic settlements. As for the Albanians, they had not yet entered Greece; had they done so, the conquest would probably have been far less easy. Besides the Greeks and the Slavs, there were Wallachs in Thessaly, who extended as far South as Lamia, and who had bestowed upon the whole of that region the name, which we find employed by the Byzantine historian Nikéas, of "Great Wallachia." That the Wallachs are of Roman descent, scarcely admits of doubt; at the present day the Roumanians claim them as their kinsmen; and the "Koutso" — or "lame," Wallachs, so-called because they cannot pronounce *chinch* (or *cinq*) correctly, form one of the most thorny questions of contemporary diplomacy. The Jewish traveller, Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Greece about 40 years before the Frankish conquest, argued from their Scriptural names and from the fact that they called the Jews "brethren," that they were connected with his own race. They showed, however, their "brotherly" love by merely robbing the Israelitish, while they both robbed and murdered the Greeks.

In the South-East of the Peloponnesos were to be found the mysterious Tzakones, a race which now exists at Leonidi and the adjacent villages alone, but which then occupied a wider area. Opinions differ as to the origin of this tribe, which still retains a dialect quite distinct from that spoken anywhere else in Greek lands and which was noticed as a "barbarian" tongue by the Byzantine satirist, Mázaris, in the fifteenth century. But Dr Deffuer of Athens, the greatest living authority on their language, of which he has written a grammar, regards them as the descendants of the ancient Laconians, their name as a corruption of the words *Τοῖς Ἀζωνυγῶν*, and their speech as "new Doric." Scattered about, wherever money was to be made by trade, were colonies of Jews. Benjamin of Tudela found the largest Hebrew settlement at Thebes, where they were, in his day, "the most eminent manufacturers of silk and purple cloth in all Greece. . . Among the 2000 Jewish inhabitants of that ancient city, whence, in the middle of the twelfth century, the Sicilian Admiral, George of Antioch, had carried off sufficient spoil to build out of his share the Church of La Martorana and the Ponte dell'Ammiraglio, which still bears his title, at Palermo, there were also "many eminent Talmudic scholars." It is curious to find mention of a colony of Jewish agriculturists living, at the time of the worthy Rabbi's visit, on the slopes of Parnassos; an example of rural Judaism, of which I have seen a modern parallel near Salonika.

The rule of the Franks must have seemed to many Greeks a welcome relief from the financial oppression of the Byzantine Government. Greece was, at the date of the Conquest, afflicted by three terrible plagues: — the tax collectors, the pirates, and the native tyrants. The Imperial Govern-

ment did nothing for the provinces, but wasted the money which should have been spent on the defences of Greece, in extravagant ostentation at the capital. Byzantine officials, sent to Greece, regarded that classic land, in the phrase of Nikéatas, as an "utter hole," an uncomfortable place of exile. The two Greek provinces were governed by one of these authorities, styled *praetor*, *protopraetor*, or "general," whose headquarters were at Thebes. We have from the pen of Michael Akominátos, the last Metropolitan of Athens before the conquest and brother of the historian Nikéatas, a vivid account of the exactions of these personages. Theoretically, the city of Athens was a privileged community. A golden bull of the Emperor forbade the *praetor* to enter it with an armed force, so that the Athenians might be spared the annoyance and expense of having soldiers quartered upon them. Its regular contribution to the Imperial Exchequer was limited to a land-tax, and it was expected to send a golden wreath as a coronation offering to a new Emperor. But, in practice, these privileges were apt to be ignored. The indignant Metropolitan complains that the *praetor*, under the pretext of worshipping in the Church of "Our Lady of Athens," as the Parthenon was then called, visited the city with a large retinue. He laments that one of these Imperial Governors had treated the city "more barbarously than Xerxes," and that the leaves of the trees, nay almost every hair on the heads of the unfortunate Athenians, had been numbered. The authority of the *praetor*, he says, is like Medea in the legend; just as she scattered her poisons over Thessaly, so it scatters injustice over Greece — a classical simile, which had its justification in the hard fact, that it had long been the custom of the Byzantine Empire to pay the Governors of the European provinces no salaries, but to make their office self-supporting, a practice still followed by the Turkish Government. The Byzantine Government, too, following a policy similar to that which cost our King Charles I. his throne, levied shipmoney, really for the purpose of its own coffers, nominally for the suppression of piracy.

Piracy was then, as so often, the curse of the islands and the deeply indented coast of Greece. We learn from the English Chronicle ascribed to Benedict of Peterborough, which gives a graphic account of Greece as it was in 1191, that many of the islands were uninhabited from fear of pirates, and that others were their chosen lairs. Cephalonia and Ithaka, which now appears under its mediæval name of Val di Compare — first used, so far as I know by the Genoese historian, Caffaro, in the first half of the twelfth century — had a specially evil reputation, and bold was the sailor who dared venture through the channel between them. Near Athens, the island of Ægina was a stronghold of corsairs, who injured the property of the Athenian Church, and dangerously wounded the nephew of the Metropolitan. Yet the

remedy for piracy was almost worse than the disease. Well might the anxious Metropolitan tell the Lord High Admiral, that the Athenians regarded their proximity to the sea as the greatest of their misfortunes.

Besides the Byzantine officials and the pirates, the Greeks had a third set of tormentors in the shape of a brood of native tyrants, whose feuds divided city against city and divided communities into rival parties. Even where the Emperor had been nominally sovereign, the real power was in the hands of local magnates, who had revived, on the eve of the Frankish conquest, the petty tyrannies of ancient Greece. Under the dynasty of the Comneni, who imitated and introduced the ways of western chivalry, feudalism had already made considerable inroads into the East. At the time of the Fourth Crusade, local families were in possession of large tracts of territory which they governed almost like independent princes. Of all these *Archons*, as they were called, the most powerful was Leon Sgourós, hereditary lord of Nauplia, who had extended his sway over Argos « of the goodly steeds », and had seized the city and fortress of Corinth, proudly styling himself by a high-sounding Byzantine title, and placing his fortunes under the protection of St. Theodore the Warrior. The manners of these local magnates were no less savage than those of the western barons of the same period. Thus, Sgourós on one occasion invited the Archbishop of Corinth to dinner, and then put out the eyes of his guest, and hurled him over the rocks of the citadel. The contemporary historian Nikéas has painted in the darkest colours the character of the Greek *Archons*, upon whom he lays the chief responsibility for the evils which befell their country. He speaks of them as « inflamed by ambition against their own fatherland, slavish men, spoiled by luxury, who made themselves tyrants, instead of fighting the Latins ». The Emperor and historian, John Cantacuzene, gives much the same description of their descendants a century and a half later.

Such was the condition of Greece, when Boniface and his army emerged from the vale of Tempe and marched across the plain of Thessaly to Larissa. He bestowed that ancient city upon a Lombard noble, who henceforth styled himself Guglielmo de Larsa from the name of his fief. Velestino, the ancient Pheræ, the scene of the legend of Admetos and Alcestis, and the site of the modern battle, fell to the share of Berthold von Katzenellenbogen, whose name must have proved a stumbling-block to his Thessalian vassals. The army then took the usual route by way of Pharsala and Domokó — names familiar alike in the ancient and modern history of Greek warfare — down to Lamia and thence across the Trachinian plain to Thermopylae, where Sgourós was awaiting .

But the memories of Leonidas failed to inspire the *Archon* of Nauplia to follow his example. Nikéas tells us that the mere sight of the Latin knights in their coats of mail sufficed to make him flee straight to his own fastness of Acrocorinth, leaving the pass undefended. Conscious of its strength — for Thermopylae must have been far more of a defile then than now — Boniface resolved to secure it permanently against attack. He therefore invested the Marquis Guido Pallavicini, nicknamed by the Greeks « Marchesopoulo », with the fief of Boudonitza, which commanded the other end of the pass. Thus arose the famous Marquisate of Boudonitza, which was destined to play an important part in the Frankish history of Greece, and which, after a continuous existence of over two centuries, as guardian of the Northern marches, has left a memory of its fallen greatness in the ruins of the castle and chapel of its former lords, of whose descendants, the Zorzi of Venice, there are still living — so Mr. Horatio Brown informs me — some thirty representatives in that city. Following the present carriage-road from Lamia to the Corinthian Gulf, Boniface established another defensive post at the pass of Graviá, so famous centuries afterwards in the war of Independence, conferring it as a fief on the two brothers Jacques and Nicholas de St. Omer. At the foot of Parnassos, on the site of the ancient Amphissa, he next founded the celebrated barony of Salona, which lasted almost as long as the Marquisate of Boudonitza. Upon the almost Cyclopean stones of the classic Akropolis of Amphissa, which Philip of Macedon had destroyed fifteen centuries before, Thomas de Stromoncourt built himself the fortress, of which the majestic ruins — perhaps the finest Frankish remains in Greece — still stand among the corn-fields on the hill above the modern town. According to the local tradition, the name of Salona, which the place still bears in common parlance, despite the usual official efforts to revive the classical terminology, is derived from the King of Salonika, its second founder. The lord of Salona soon extended his sway down to the harbour of Galaxidi, and the barony became so important that two at least of the house of Stromoncourt struck coins of their own, which are still preserved.

Boniface next marched into Boeotia, where the people, glad to be relieved from the oppression of Sgourós, at once submitted. Thebes joyfully opened her gates, and then the invaders pursued their way to Athens. The Metropolitan thought it useless to defend the city, and a Frankish guard was soon stationed on the Akropolis. The Crusaders had no respect for the great Cathedral. To these soldiers of fortune the classic glories of the Parthenon appealed as little as the sanctity of the Orthodox Church. The rich treasury of the Cathedral was plundered,

the holy vessels were melted down, the library which the Metropolitan had collected was dispersed. Unable to bear the sight, Akominátos quitted the scene where he had laboured so long, and, after wandering about for a time, finally settled down in the island of Keos, whence he could at least see the coast of Attica.

Thebes with Boeotia and Athens with Attica and the Megarid were bestowed by the King of Salonika upon his trusty comrade in arms, Otho de la Roche, who had rendered him a valuable service by assisting to settle a serious dispute between him and the Emperor Baldwin, and who afterwards negotiated the marriage between Boniface's daughter and Baldwin's brother and successor. Thus, in the words of a monkish chronicler, « Otho de la Roche, son of a certain Burgundian noble, became, as by a miracle, Duke of the Athenians and Thebans ». The chronicler was only wrong in the title which he attributed to the lucky Frenchman, who had thus succeeded to the glories of the heroes and sages of Athens. Otho modestly styled himself *Sire d'Athènes*, or *Dominus Athenarum* in official documents, which his Greek subjects magnified into « the Great Lord » (Μέγας κύρις), and Dante, who had probably heard that such had been the title of the first Frankish ruler of Athens, transferred it by a poetic anachronism to Pisistratos. Half a century after the conquest, Otho's nephew and successor, Guy I., received, at his request, the title of Duke from Louis IX. of France — and Shakespeare in « *Midsummer Nights' Dream* » and Chaucer in « *The Knight's Tale* » have by a similar anachronism conferred the ducal title of the De la Roche upon Theseus, the legendary founder of Athens. Contemporary accounts make no mention of any resistance to the Lord of Athens on the part of the Greeks. Later Venetian authors, however, actuated perhaps by patriotic bias, propagated a story, that the Athenians sent an embassy to offer their city to Venice, but that their scheme was frustrated « not without bloodshed by the men of Champagne under the Lord De la Roche ».

We naturally ask ourselves what was the appearance and condition of the most famous city of the ancient world at the time of Otho's accession, and the voluminous writings of the eminent man who was Metropolitan at that moment, which have been published by Professor Lampros of Athens, throw a flood of light upon the Athens of the beginning of the thirteenth century. The only Athenian manufactures were soap and the weaving of monkish habits, but the ships of the Piræus : it took part in the purple-fishing off the lonely island of Gyáros, the « *Porphyrean Bay* » of the Roman Empire. There was still some trade at the Piræus, for the Byzantine Admiral had found vessels there. It was then

guarded by the huge lion, new in front of the arsenal at Venice, which gave the harbour its mediaeval name of Porto Leone, and on which Harold Hardrada, afterwards slain at Stamford Bridge, had scratched his name nearly two centuries before. We may infer, too, from the mention of Athens in the commercial treaties between Venice and the Byzantine Empire that the astute Republicans saw some prospect of making money there. But the « thin soil » of Attica was as unproductive as in the days of Thucydides, and yielded nothing but oil, honey, and wine, the last strongly flavoured with resin, as it still is, so that the Metropolitan could write to a friend that it « seems to be pressed from the juice of the pine rather than from that of the grape ». The harvest was always meagre, and famines were common. Even ordinary necessities were not always obtainable. Akominátos could not find a decent carriage-builder in the place; and, in his despair at the absence of blacksmiths and workers in iron, he was constrained to apply to Athens the words of Jeremiah: « the bellows are burnt. » Emigration, still the curse of Greece, was draining off the able-bodied poor, so that the population had greatly diminished, and the city threatened to become what Aristophanes had called « a Scythian wilderness ».

Externally, the visitor to the Athens of that day, must have been struck by the marked contrast between the splendid monuments of the classic age and the squalid surroundings of the mediaeval town. The walls were lying in ruins, the houses of the emigrants had been pulled down, the streets, where once the sages of antiquity had walked, were now desolate. But the hand of the invader and the tooth of time had, on the whole, dealt gently with the Athenian monuments. The Parthenon, converted long before into the Cathedral of Our Lady of Athens, was almost as little damaged, as if it had only just been built. The metopes, the pediments, and the frieze were still intact, and remained so when, more than two centuries later, Cyriacus of Ancona, the first archæologist who had ever visited Athens during the Frankish period, drew his sketch of the Parthenon, which is still preserved in Berlin and of which a copy by Sangallo may be seen in the Vatican library. On the walls were the frescoes, traces of which are still visible, executed by order of the Emperor Basil II. « the slayer of the Bulgarians », nearly two centuries earlier. Over the altar was a golden dove, representing the Holy Ghost, and ever flying with perpetual motion. In the cathedral, too, was an ever-burning lamp, fed by oil that never failed, which was the marvel of the pilgrims. So wide-spread was the fame of the Athenian Minster, that the great folk of Constantinople, in spite of their supercilious contempt for the provinces and their dislike of travel, came to do obeisance there. Of the other ancient buildings on the sacred rock,

the graceful temple of Nike Apteros had been turned into a chapel; the Erechtheion had become a church of the Saviour, or a chapel of the Virgin, while the episcopal residence, which is known to have then been on the Akropolis, was probably in the Propylaea. The whole Akropolis had for centuries been made into a fortress, the only defence which Athens then possessed, strong enough to have resisted the attack of a Greek magnate like Sgourós, but incapable of repulsing a Latin army. Already strange legends and new names had begun to grow round some of the classical monuments. The Choragic monument of Lysikrates was already popularly known as « the lantern of Demosthenes », its usual designation during the Turkish domination, when it became the Capuchin Convent, serving in 1811 as a study to Lord Byron, who from within its walls launched his bitter poem against the filcher of the Elgin marbles. But, even at the beginning of the thirteenth century, many of the ancient names of places lingered in the mouths of the people. The classically cultured Metropolitan was gratified as a good Philhellene, to hear that the Piræus and Hymettos, Eleusis and Marathon, the Areopagos and Kallirhoe, Salamis and Ægina were still called by names, which the contemporaries of Periklēs had used, even though the Areopagos was nothing but a bare rock, the plain of Marathon yielded no corn, and the « beautifully-flowing » fountain had ceased to flow. But new, uncouth names were beginning to creep in; thus, the partition treaty of 1204 describes Salamis as « Culuris » (or, « the lizard »), a vulgar name, derived from the shape of the island, which I have heard used in Attica at the present day.

Of the intellectual condition of Athens we should form but a low estimate, if we judged entirely from the lamentations of the elegant Byzantine scholar whom fate had made its Metropolitan. Akominátos had found that his tropes, and fine periods, and classical allusions were far over the heads of the Athenians who came to hear him, and who talked in his cathedral, even though that cathedral was the Parthenon. He wrote that his long residence in Greece had made him a barbarian. Yet he was able to add to his store of manuscripts in this small provincial town. Moreover, there is some evidence to prove that, even at this period, Athens was a place of study, whither Georgians from the East and English from the West came to obtain a liberal education. Matthew Paris tells us of Master John of Basingstoke, Archdeacon of Leicester in the reign of Henry III., who used often to say, that whatever scientific knowledge he possessed had been acquired from the youthful daughter of the Archbishop of Athens. The young lady could forecast the advent of pestilences, thunderstorms, eclipses and earthquakes. From learned Greeks at Athens Master John professes to have heard some things of which the Latins had no knowledge; he four

there the testaments of the twelve Patriarchs, and he brought back to England the Greek numerals and many books, including a Greek grammar which had been compiled for him at Athens. The same author tells us, too, of « certain Greek philosophers » — that is, in mediaeval Greek parlance, monks — who came from Athens at this very time to the Court of King John, and disputed about nice sharp quilllets of theology with English divines. It is stated, also, though on indifferent authority, as Mr. F. C. Conybeare of Oxford kindly informs me, that the Georgian poet, Chota Roustavéli, and other Georgians spent several years at Athens on the eve of the Frankish conquest.

Otho de la Roche showed his gratitude to his benefactor, the King of Salonika, by accompanying him in his attack upon the strongholds of Sgourós in the Peloponnesos. The Franks routed the Greek army at the Isthmus of Corinth, and while Otho laid siege to the noble castle above that town, Boniface proceeded to the attack on Nauplia. There he was joined by a man, who was destined to be the conqueror and ruler of the peninsula.

It chanced that, a little before the capture of Constantinople, Geoffroy de Villehardouin, nephew of the quaint chronicler of the Fourth Crusade, had set out on a pilgrimage to Palestine. On his arrival in Syria, he heard of the great achievements of the Crusaders, and resolved without loss of time to join them. But his ship was driven out of its course by a violent storm, and Geoffroy was forced to take shelter in the harbour of Methone on the coast of Messenia. During the Winter of 1204, which he spent at that spot, he received an invitation from a local magnate to join him in an attack on the lands of the neighbouring Greeks. Villehardouin, nothing loth, placed his sword at the disposal of the Greek traitor, and success crowned the arms of these unnatural allies. But the Greek *Archon* died, and his son, more patriotic or more prudent than his father, repudiated the dangerous alliance with the Frankish stranger. But it was too late. Villehardouin had discovered the fatal secret, that the Greeks of the Peloponnesos were an unwarlike race, whose land would fall an easy conquest to a resolute band of Latins. At this moment, tidings reached him that Boniface was besieging Nauplia. He at once set out on a six days' journey across a hostile country to seek his aid. In the camp he found his old friend and fellow-countryman, Guillaume de Champlitte, who was willing to assist him. He described to Champlitte the richness of the land which men called « the Morea » — a term which now occurs for the first time in history, and which seems to have been originally applied to the coast of Elis and thence extended to the whole peninsula, just as the name Italy, originally a part of Calabria, has

similarly spread over the whole of this country. He professed his readiness to recognise Champlitte as his liege lord in return for his aid, and Boniface consented, after some hesitation, to their undertaking. With a hundred knights and some men-at-arms, the two friends rode out from the camp before Nauplia to conquer the peninsula.

The conquest of the Morea has been compared with that of England by the Normans. In both cases a single pitched battle decided the fate of the country, but in the Morea, the conquerors did not, as in England, amalgamate with the conquered. The Hastings of the Peloponnesos was fought in the olive-grove of Koundoura, in the North-East of Messenia, and the little Frankish force of between 500 and 700 men easily routed the over-confident Greeks, aided by the Slavs of Taygetos, who altogether numbered from 4000 to 6000. After this, one place after another fell into the hands of the Franks, who showed towards the conquered that tact which we believe to be one of the chief causes of our own success in dealing with subject races. Provided that their religion was respected, the Greeks were not unwilling to accept the Franks as their masters, and on this point the conquerors, who were not bigots, made no difficulties. By the year 1212, the whole of the peninsula was Frankish, except where the Greek flag still waved over the impregnable rock of Monemvasia, the St. Michael's Mount of Greece, and where at the two stations of Methone and Korone in Messenia Venice had raised the lion-banner of St. Mark. Insignificant as they are now, those twin colonies were of great value to the Venetian traders, and there is a whole literature about them in the Venetian Archives. All the galleys stopped there on the way to Syria and Crete; pilgrims to the Holy Land found a welcome there in « the German house », founded by the Teutonic Knights, and as late as 1532 there was a Christian Governor at Korone. The population was then removed to Sicily, and of those exiles the present Albanian monks of Grottaferrata are the descendants.

I have now described the conquest of the mainland; it remains to speak of the islands, which had mostly been allotted to Venice by the treaty of partition. But that shrewd Government saw that its resources could not stand the strain of conquering and administering the large group of the Cyclades. It was, therefore, decided to leave to private citizens the task of occupying them. There was no lack of enterprise among the Venetians of that day, and on the bench of the Consular Court, as we should now call it, at Constantinople, sat the very man for such an enterprise — Marco Sanudo, nephew of « the old Doge Dandolo ». Sanudo descended from the bench, gathered round him a band of adventurous spirits, equipped eight galleys and was soon master of seventeen islands, some of which

he distributed as fiefs to his comrades. Naxos alone offered any real resistance, and, in 1207, the conqueror founded the Duchy of «the Dekánnesos» (or «Twelve Islands», as the Byzantines called it), which soon received the title of the «Duchy of Naxos», or «of the Archipelago» — a corruption of the name «Ægeopelagos», which occurs as early as a Venetian document of 1268. This delectable Duchy lasted, first under the Sanudi, and then under the Crispi, till 1566, while the Gozzadini of Bologna held seven of the islands down to 1617, and Tenos remained in Venetian hands till it was finally ceded to the Turks by the peace of Passarowitz in 1718. For persons so important as the Dukes it was necessary to invent a truly Roman genealogy; accordingly, the Paduan biographer, Zabarella, makes the Sanudi descend from the historian Livy, while the Crispi, not to be beaten, claimed Sallust as their ancestor, and may, perhaps, be regarded as the forbears of the late Italian Prime Minister, Francesco Crispi.

The two great islands of Crete and Eubœa had very different fortunes. Crete, as we saw, was sold by Boniface to the Venetians, and remained a Venetian colony for nearly five centuries. Eubœa, or Negroponte, as it was called in the Middle Ages, was divided by Boniface into three large baronies, which were assigned to three Lombard nobles from Verona, who styled themselves the *terciers*, or *terzieri*. We have no English equivalent for the word; perhaps, borrowing a hint from Shakespeare, we may call them «the three Gentlemen of Verona». But Venice soon established a colony, governed by a bailie, at Chalkis, the capital of the island, and the subsequent history of Negroponte shows the gradual extension of Venetian influence over the Lombards.

The seven Ionian Islands naturally fall into three divisions. Kythera (or Cerigo) in the far South; the central group, consisting of Zante, Cephalonia, Ithaka, and Levkas (or Santa Maura); and Corfû and Paxo in the North. Of these divisions, the first fell to the share of a scion of the great Venetian family of Venier — a family which traced its name and descent from Venus, and naturally claimed the island, where she had risen from the sea. Zante, Cephalonia and Ithaka had a very curious history — a history long obscure, but now well ascertained. They belonged to Count Maio (or Matteo) Orsini, a member of the great Roman family, who came, as the Spanish Chronicle of the Morea informs us, from Monopoli in Apulia. This bold adventurer, half-pirate, half-crusader, — a not unusual combination in those days — thus succeeded to the realm of Odysseus, which was thenceforth known, from his title, as the County Palatine of Cephalonia. Corfû with its appendage of Paxo, was at first assigned to ten nobles of the Republic in return for an annual payment. But, ere long, those two

islands, together with Levkas, which is scarcely an island at all, were included in the dominions of a Greek prince, the bastard Michael Angelos, who had slipped away from the camp of Boniface, and had established himself, by an opportune marriage with the widow of the late Byzantine governor, as independent Greek sovereign of Epiros. His wife was a native of the country; his father had been its governor; he thus appealed to the national feelings of the natives, whose mountainous country has in all ages defied the attacks of invading armies. A man of great vigour, he soon extended his sway from his capital of Arta to Durazzo in the North, and to the Corinthian Gulf on the South, and his dominions, known as the principality, or Despotat of Epiros, served as the rallying point of Hellenism — the only portion of Greece, except Monemvasia, which still remained Greek.

I would fain have said something of the inner life of Frankish Greece — of its society, of its literature, and of the great influence which women exercised in its affairs. But for these subjects there is no time left. I would only add, in conclusion, that the Frankish conquest of Greece affords the clue to one of the vexed problems of modern literature — the second part of Goethe's « Faust », which an American scholar, Dr. Schmitt, has shown to have been inspired by the account given in the « Chronicle of the Morea », a work which was first printed by Buchon in 1825, at the time when Goethe was engaged on that part of his famous tragedy. Its origin is obvious from the following lines, which he puts into the mouth of his hero: —

« I hail you Dukes, as forth ye sally

« Beneath the rule of Sparta's Queen! » — an absolutely historical fact, because the Princes of Achaia claimed to be suzerains of the two Dukes of Athens and Naxos. —

« Thine, German, be the hand that forges

« Defence for Corinth and her bays:

« Achaia, with its hundred gorges,

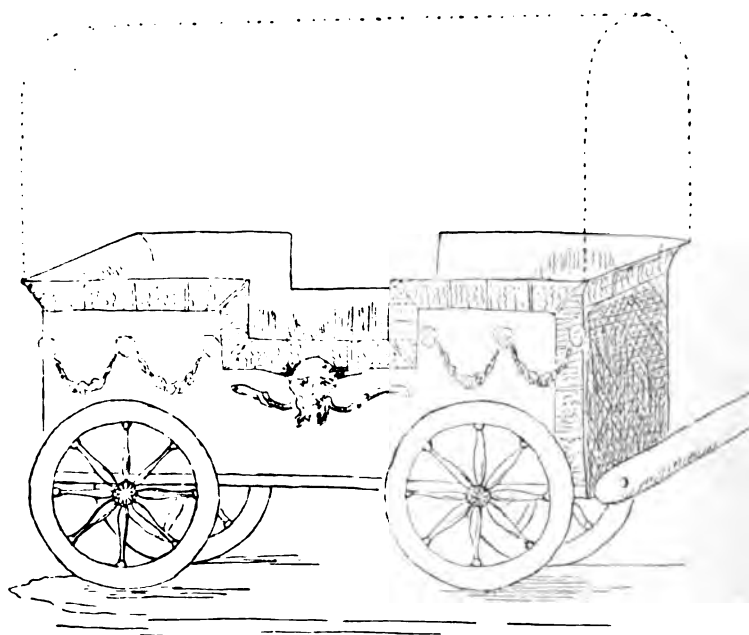
« I give thee, Goth, to hold and raise.

« Towards Elis, Franks, direct your motion;

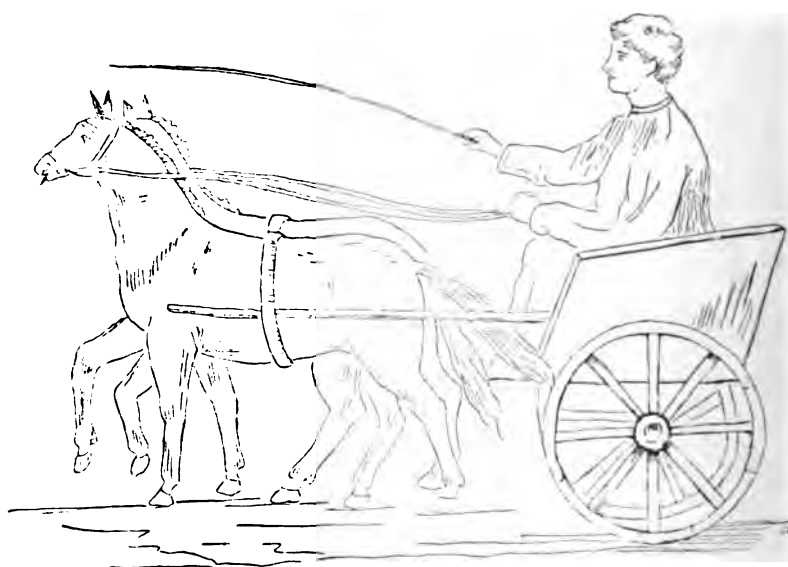
« Messene be the Saxon's state:

« The Norman claim and sweep the Ocean,

« And Argolis again make great ».



RHEDA (AFTER GINZROT)



CISIUM (BAS-RELIEF ON MONUMENT AT IGEL)

THE LETTERS, POSTS, AND DESPATCHES
OF ANCIENT ROME

Tuesday, January 30th.

III.

THE LETTERS, POSTS AND DESPATCHES OF ANCIENT ROME

BY

Miss WEEDEN COOKE

From the earliest times history records some more or less adequate means of the rapid transmission of news amongst men: and we find that as civilisation advanced the want of means of communication was so much felt that a postal service was instituted which became gradually more and more perfected. The post existed in remote ages in China, Egypt, Assyria, Media and Persia.

Herodotus attributes to Cyrus, King of Persia, the invention of posts, which were continued by his successors. « There is nothing » says Herodotus « more expeditious than the way of transporting messages invented and used by the Persians. Upon every road are placed, at certain distances and within a day's march of each other, changes of men and of horses at stations made expressly for that purpose. Snow, rain, heat, darkness, nothing was to prevent the couriers from performing their task with the utmost celerity. The first to arrive passed his despatches to a second and he to a third and so on until the message arrived at its destination ». And Montaigne tells us how that same prince (Cyrus), in order to receive news from all parts of his empire in the quickest and most convenient way, had experiments made as to the distance a horse could travel on an average continually day after day; and how he then established men at certain distances who were to provide horses for those who carried the news. He organised a regular postal service through his provinces, establishing stations and an officer or Master of the Post, who undertook the management of the correspondence and of the couriers whom he supplied with horses. The couriers were first called *angari* or royal messengers, with authority to force anyone on the road to dismount and change horses if the courier's horse was tired. This was afterwards much abused and the couriers took not only horses but jewels, money, or anything they liked from the traveller

who was so unlucky as to meet them. From *angari* came the word *angariare* or *angheriare*, to oblige against one's will, whereas its original meaning had been a *royal messenger*. This service was established all through the vast dominions of the King of Persia, but was reserved entirely for the use of the state and of the sovereign himself.

Homer often speaks of messengers and of letter-carriers, but gives no particulars of their service.

In the Book of Esther ch. VIII, v. 10, we find that Ahasuerus, King of the Medes and Persians, sent couriers into all the provinces of his empire with letters to revoke the edict against the Jews. « and he wrote in the King Ahasuerus' name, and sealed it with the King's ring; and sent letters by posts on horseback, and riders on mules, camels and young dromedaries ». These letters were sent to all the rulers over the 127 provinces over which King Ahasuerus had dominion, v. 14 « So the posts that rode upon mules and camels, went out, being hastened by the King's commandment ».

This was in the year 510 B. C.

Prescott, in his History of Peru, tells us that the Incas of Peru had swift runners for the conveyance of news. Each courier carried a sack on his back containing despatches, in spite of which incubus he was almost as swift as a horse. On arrival at a station he dexterously threw the sack on to the shoulders of another man, who thereupon set off immediately and so on till the destination was reached. By the same author we are told that wooden towers were erected at certain distances from each other for the transmission of news by shouting from the top. The Persians also had similar towers with sentinels on them, by means of whom news flew from one to another in the most marvellously rapid way. The Gauls also did the same.

In Rome it was a mystery how news flew; often accounts would be dispersed over the city of a battle, a defeat, a victory, the death of a general, a revolt, long before any definite message was brought by a messenger or courier. The Romans attributed this to the ancient goddess *Fama*, of whom Virgil gives the following description: « during the day she mounts to the summit of all high buildings and monuments in order to be able to see everything; and during the night she traverses the sky proclaiming all she has seen ».

The Romans are known to have had a postal service in Republican times, though not so carefully organised as later on, and it is said that the Consul L. Posthumius in 225 B. C. was the author of it. In the war with Antiochus, King of Syria, the young Sempronius Gracchus accomplished with extraordinary rapidity the journey between Amphissa in Locris near

the Corinthian Gulf and Pella in Macedonia, a distance of about 200 miles, arriving when King Philip was at dinner on the 3rd day. The stations where he stopped may be considered as posts already established and not created then and there especially for his convenience. Under Julius Caesar various stations had already begun to be established where carts and carriages could be obtained. Augustus improved the service immensely by his military and consular roads, taking advantage of the peace which reigned over the Empire. The couriers or runners were afterwards superseded by horsemen and then by carts. A regular postal service reserved exclusively for the State was not established until the time of Augustus, the able and fortunate successor of Julius Caesar, who with great activity and wisdom set to work to re-organise all the branches of public administration and, amongst others, that of the *posts*, so necessary for a state which had extended its dominions over the greater part of the civilised world. There were already the great military roads, constructed by the censors during the Republican Age. Augustus, as censor, continued the care of these roads, and appointed a chief administrator for each principal one. So we find that the Appian Way had a *Curator Viae Appiae* of senatorial rank, who represented the Emperor himself and had his residence in Rome. The chief reform was in establishing fixed stopping places, regular stations, and in this Augustus followed the example of his great uncle, who had made known the news by means of horsemen who were placed at various fixed stations and who carried the news from one to another and so on to Rome.

Under Julius Caesar the service of the couriers was so well regulated in Gaul and in Italy that of two letters written by him to Cicero in Rome whilst he himself was in Britain, the first arrived in 26 days and the second in 28 days. For those times it was a great feat. Caesar, in his commentaries (XXII, 9) explains the rapid system of correspondence in use amongst the Gauls. Runners were placed at certain distances, each man on receiving the message ran as fast as he could to the next and so on to the end. News and commands were transmitted by these means from one point to another with so much rapidity that what happened at Orléans was known in Auvergne the same evening, a distance of nearly 200 miles.

There were a great number of roads leading from the gates of Rome to the surrounding country, of which the most ancient were: the Via Appia, Via Flaminia, Via Labicana, Via Latina, Via Laurentina, Via Nomentana, Via Ostiensis, Via Praenestina, Via Salaria, Via Tiburtina, and the Via Tusculana. These are all so well known that it would be superfluous to describe them or the ancient cities to which they led. It will be sufficient to mention that of these eleven thoroughfares two only were the main

arteries which led from the heart of the Empire to the distant provinces north-west and south-east, namely the Via Appia and the Via Flaminia.

The *Via Appia*, as we all know, was the first paved road and was made by Appius Claudius Caecus, the Censor, in 312 B. C. It led from Rome to Capua and was afterwards continued on to Brindisi, a distance of 350 miles. Being the chief line of communication with southern Italy, Greece and the Eastern provinces of the Empire, it was naturally the road traversed by the couriers and bearers of letters and despatches to and from these important branches of the vast Roman Empire.

The *Via Flaminia* was made by the Consul Caius Flaminius in 220 B. C., and led from Rome to Ariminum (Rimini), a distance of 360 miles. Macrinus had the superintendence of the posts of the Flaminian Way, which office was afterwards assumed by the Empire, and Nerva organised the *cursus publicus* or public posts along this road.

Gibbon, in his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, tells us that « the public highways issued from the Forum of Rome, traversed Italy, pervaded the provinces and were terminated only by the frontiers of the Empire ». He also goes on to say « if we carefully trace the distance from the Wall of Antoninus to Rome and from thence to Jerusalem, it will be found that the great chain of communication from the north-west to the south-east point of the Empire, was drawn out to the length of 4080 Roman miles or 3740 English miles (Page 70, vol. I, note 85). The public roads were accurately divided by milestones and ran in a direct line from one city to another, with very little respect for the obstacles either of nature or private property. Mountains were perforated and bold arches were thrown over the broadest and most rapid streams.

The middle part of the road was raised into a terrace which commanded the adjacent country, consisted of sand, gravel and cement, and was paved with large stones, and in some places near the Capital with granite. Such was the solid construction of the Roman highways, whose firmness has not entirely yielded to the effort of fifteen centuries. They united the subjects of the most distant provinces by an easy and familiar intercourse; but their primary object had been to facilitate the marches of the legions; nor was any country considered as completely subdued, till it had been rendered, in all its parts, pervious to the arms and authority of the conqueror. »

The Roman roads, as Gibbon tells us, and as we all know, ran in a straight line from one place to another and may still be traced in many parts of England, France and other countries. A story is told of how the Czar of Russia, about 50 years ago, on having a map placed before him and being asked by what towns the railway from St Peter

burg to Moscow should pass, took a pen and with a ruler drew a straight line from one city to the other, with ~~no~~ deviations to any other place, and so it was made.

There were, of course, inns, along the public roads, for the accommodation of travellers. Several names are mentioned by various Latin authors for these country inns: *cauponae* *popinae*, *vinariae*, *tabernae*, this last was the more general term. The most famous on the Appian Way are those three called the Tres Tabernae, the site of which is still so much disputed, and also the Tabernae Caediciae near Sinuessa (beyond Formia) so called from the name of the owner. It was easy for the proprietor of vineyards close to the main roads to build a little tavern and sell his wine and the fruit and vegetables grown on his own land. Soon also a little cooking was instituted according to the advice given by Varro (*De re rustica*, I. 2. 23) who suggests that this should be done.

The journey was not as a rule continued by night and Horace (I Sat. V. 1) mentions Ariccia as being his first stopping place after leaving « great Rome » and that he was received in a very mediocre inn.

The Romans had many means of transport, some very ancient and of national origin such as the *vehiculum* and the *currus*, but mostly of foreign and particularly of Gallic origin. One of the most ordinary types was the *Rheda*, (see plate I.) an elegant carriage with rich ornaments having four wheels, with many commodious seats and a place for luggage; it was large enough, Juvenal says, to accommodate a whole family, (Juv. Sat. III. v. 10), a kind of family coach in fact. Light and capable of extreme rapidity was the *cisium*, (see plate I.) an elegant calèche on two wheels, generally for only two persons and most useful for rapid travelling. This was the vehicle generally used for the Imperial post after the runners were superseded by horsemen and carriages. Many other carriages were also used, such as the *essedum*, *covinnus*, *pilentum*, *thensa*, *carpentum*, (see plate II.) *carruca* and *plaustrum*. The *cisium* and *essedum* were light two-wheeled conveyances; the *essedum* was probably a Gaulish war-chariot as the *covinnus* was a British war-chariot. The fourwheeled *pilentum* came also from Gaul, it was drawn by mules and generally used by the servants and suite. The *pilentum* and *covinnus* were used on state occasions; these were both covered carriages, the *pilentum* had four wheels, the *covinnus* two; but the *covinnus*, often mentioned in the literature of the Empire, had four wheels and resembled a *rheda*. The general term for waggons was *plaustra*, some had two, some four wheels; they were generally drawn by oxen, asses or mules, and if destined to carry very heavy loads the wheels were made of one piece without spokes. An example of this may be seen on the Arch of Septimius Severus in the Forum. Wag-

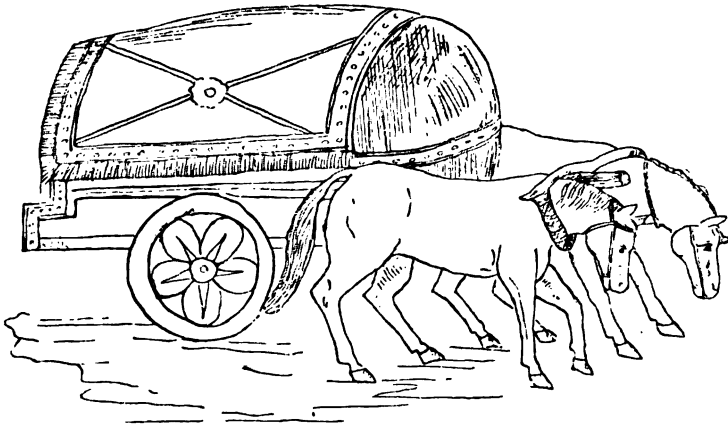
gons were forbidden by Caesar, with a few exceptions, to ply in the city between sunrise and the tenth hour (4 p. m.). The *carruca* was a carriage of even greater luxury than the *rheda*, it was large, with four wheels, richly and artistically ornamented in gold, silver, ivory and bronze. At first it seems to have been used exclusively by the Emperors and the highest State dignitaries. Suetonius tells us that Nero never journeyed with less than a thousand *carrucæ*, though other writers say five hundred. During the hottest hours of the day in summer the traveller was often overcome with sleep, and so, although the journey was not generally continued at night, yet, we find mention made of a *carruca dormitoria* (the remote ancestor of our sleeping-car), this was well covered and adapted for excluding light and heat, and it contained a couch or bed.

Travelling was in Imperial times made quite luxurious, and to alleviate the long hours of the day pocket editions of favourite authors were issued for those who enjoyed reading. (Martial Epig. I. 2. V. 1-3 and also XIV. 188). Pliny the Elder, who died during the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 A. D., was so fond of reading that he employed the tedious hours spent on journeys making notes from his favourite authors, his secretary sitting beside him with his tablets (*pugillares*) and stilus ready for his master's dictation and, in winter, his hands carefully gloved to prevent them getting stiff with the cold. Some illustrations have been found of these Roman travelling carriages with a rounded hood or covering resembling very strongly an English carrier's cart (see plate II.).

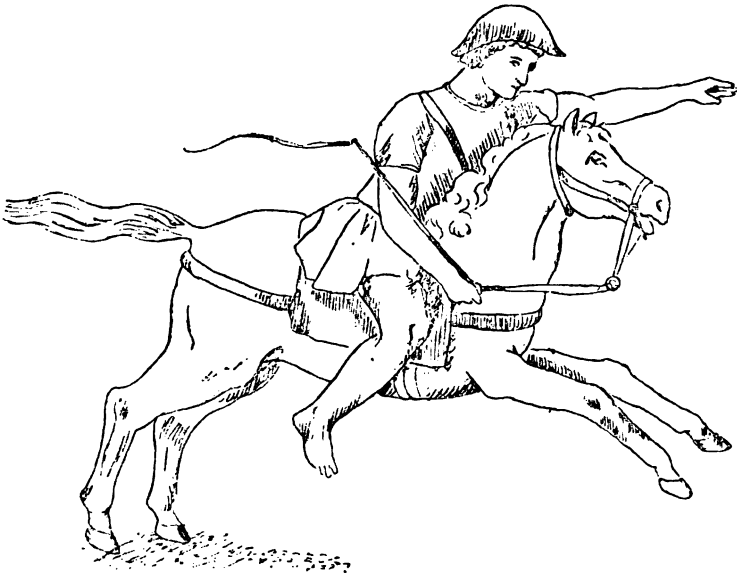
The postal service established by Augustus was reserved entirely for State affairs and was only on very rare occasions and by special permission used by any one else, consequently all private persons had to send special messengers. The richer Romans had special slaves called *Tabellarii*, (see plate II.) who carried their master's correspondence about the town and also went on short journeys to the neighbouring villas in the *campagna*. Special men were also sent occasionally on long journeys by their masters.

Tabellarius was the general name for these messengers, whether they carried *tabellæ*, the tablets smeared with wax and written upon with a *stilus*, or whether they bore *litteræ* or *epistulæ* written on parchment or *papyrus* with a pen or *calamus* and *atramentum*, ink. Their dress was adapted for rapid travelling and they wore the characteristic hat or *petasus*, a flat felt hat with a broad brim for sun or rain, so well known in the representations of Mercury, the astute messenger (or postman) of the gods. The *tabellarii* (see plate II.) sometimes went on foot but they more often rode swift horses.

Sometimes several *tabellarii* started together and went as far as a certain point on the road where they would divide for their respective



CARPENTUM (FROM AN ETRUSCAN PAINTING)



TABELLARIUS (FROM A SEPULCRAL BAS-RELIEF)

THE LETTERS, POSTS, AND DESPATCHES
OF ANCIENT ROME

destinations. These private messengers were often sent to ask if certain friends of their masters' had any letters or messages for them to deliver en route, as we learn from Cicero, who complains to his friend Atticus that « they are in too great a hurry, they come to me with their hats on their heads saying their companions are waiting for them at the gate ». A second category of *tabellarii* was formed of those who were charged by the Senate or the magistrates either of Rome or the provinces to carry the orders, reports, requests for re-inforcements either of soldiers or necessities (such as food, weapons, clothing etc.) and in fact any news which might be of service to the State. In time of war, naturally, these occasions were more frequent and we often read in Caesar or Livy that fleet horsemen took charge of the service of information. They are called *exploratores* and *speculatores*; but besides these, there were the regular *tabellarii*, as Cicero says in a letter to his brother Quintus, an officer under Julius Caesar in Gaul « as soon as I come to Rome I will not let any *tabellarius* of Caesar go without giving him letters to you ». A third class of *tabellarii* were the private ones, either freedmen or trustworthy slaves, which the richer Romans sent on their own account, paying of course the expenses of the journey, with letters or parcels to whomsoever they wished. These were also mentioned by Cicero, calling them mine, our, thine, and sometimes even giving their names as Filotimus, my freedman. This private service was neither so swift nor so certain as the *cursus publicus* instituted by Augustus, in fact sometimes private individuals had to give up their correspondence for want of able and trustworthy messengers. Sometimes also these men were subject to great dangers as Cicero again tells us (*Ad famil. X. 31. 1*) « the forest of Castulona (in Spain)... has become still more dangerous being infested with robbers who arrest our *tabellarii* and search them; so that if letters had not arrived by sea I should know nothing of what is going on ».

A fourth and last class of *tabellarii* were those who seem to have executed commissions for others. These men probably did their business by frequenting the busiest parts of Rome and the principal gates of the city, where there was the greatest concourse of people, and where they were most likely to find work.

As the Roman State extended itself more and more over Southern Italy and the Eastern provinces, and commercial relations became more and more complicated and important, it was necessary for the great capitalists to have frequent and fast communication with their branch establishments; this they had themselves to provide as the State would not take any measures for their convenience and the postal service was reserved exclusively for the government.

In that world of vast speculations the most important capitalists were the publicans or tax collectors, who were not paid officials, but contractors or farmers of taxes, who belonged to the equestrian order, as the senators were excluded from such business. These men became a powerful class of capitalists by the immense revenues they made, and eventually joint-stock companies were formed, *societates publicanorum*, whose members received a proportionate return for their invested capital. In order to make the highest possible gain the *publicani* were guilty of the most grievous oppression of the provincials, hence the opprobrious terms sometimes applied to them. « Publicans and sinners » we find constantly classed together in the New Testament. But Cicero, who was their lawyer and knew them well, says of them, « the order of the publicans, which is formed of the flower of the Roman Knights, is the ornament and real strength of the State ».

These publicans had a regular service of couriers, by means of which they were in frequent communication with the capital and with the most important centres of their business transactions.

Cicero being their lawyer, they were quite willing to allow him to make use of their couriers. This service was not always available, so he had at other times to ask private persons to take his letters, these were not absolutely reliable, and sometimes important and well written letters were lost. Cicero tells us that during the war with Mithridates, « a serious and dangerous war for your taxes and customs », the publicans sent letters from Asia every day, describing vividly the sad condition of their affairs, which were not private only, but intimately connected with the finances of the State. It is understood that even persons who were not members of the association or company were sometimes allowed by favour or for some good reason to make use of the *tabellarii publicanorum* for their correspondence.

The most essential innovation made by the Emperor Augustus was the placing of certain determinate stations along the course. These were of two kinds, the *mansiones* and *mutationes*. The *mansiones* were the larger stations, where it was possible even to pass the night, from *manere* to remain; the secondary ones were the *mutationes* from *mutare* (to change) where they changed the horses; eventually they were called *stationes* in general. Each *mutatio* was provided with a certain number of animals, mules or horses, on an average not less than twenty, and there were of course the stalls *stabulae* and the stablemen *muliones*. Some of the *mutationes* by reason of a special local situation acquired a great importance, and in time attained the position of *mansiones*. Close to them arose eventually little wine shops called *Tabernae*, or *stabulae*, and the host *stabularius*, who

were frequented as a rule by the poorer class. Each *mansio* was supplied with all the conveniences for a longer stop than only to change horses and also for passing the night, when, as a rule, the journey was discontinued. For the postal service there were never less than forty horses, a quarter of which were renewed every year, sometimes we find even a greater number mentioned. The outbuildings, stables, barns, etc., were consequently on a very extensive scale, and there were large coach-houses containing many carts and carriages. There was a building annexed for the accommodation of travellers of high rank, and an abundant supply of food was always at hand, for, besides the usual traffic, there might any day be detachments of soldiers passing by. Regular granaries for the storing of corn (*horrea*) were necessary also for the consumption of the establishment, the number of slaves and servants employed being fairly numerous.

The *muliones* or grooms attended to the feeding and cleaning of the animals and had some always ready to put in when the carriage of the *cursus publicus* arrived.

Postilions or *hippocomi* sometimes accompanied travellers, and on arriving at the first station unharnessed the animals and took them back to their own station. The difference between the *mutationes* and the *mansiones* was, that the former had horses to change and were distant eighteen miles from each other, whilst the latter had sleeping accommodation for travellers or couriers and were distant a day's journey one from another, they contained from five to eight stables with room for forty horses and other animals according to Procopius. Even the Emperors sometimes stopped at the *mansiones*, giving notice beforehand of the day and hour of their arrival. Governors also who were going to visit the provinces stopped at these houses when they found no private ones on the way.

The poorer travellers who had either to walk or to use some slower means of transit were obliged to stop more frequently and therefore required inns where they could obtain refreshment and also if occasion demanded pass the night. These according to Gibbon were distant only five or six miles from each other. Certainly they were not provided with the comforts with which the *mansiones* were replete, but had sufficient to supply the wants of drivers, carters, peasants, etc., resembling no doubt the *osterie* of today.

The richer classes either did not stop at night or else slept at the villa of some friend, or, if travelling on affairs of State, they found food and lodging prepared for them at the *mansiones* by the *parochi* of whom Horace speaks in one of his famous satires (l. I, 5, V, 46); the word *parocus* is derived from *παροχος*, *παρ-ίχω* = I offer.

Besides the stablemen and postilions there were also the *catabulenses*,

whose business it was to accompany the couriers and the Imperial baggage and to unload carts at the various stations

There was one stableman (*mulio*) for every three horses; there were blacksmiths, *equarii-medici* or *mulo-medici*, *veterinarii*, who amongst other remedies used to bleed the horses, as we see from a bas-relief representing a horse bleeding from the chest; *carpentarii*, men who made and mended carts or repaired any damage sustained on the road (hence our word carpenter), so called from the *carpentum* (see plate II.) or two-wheeled vehicle which was as a rule covered; there were also the *explo-ratores*, *clauularii mittendarii*, *gerones*, *sagones* all maintained at the public expense, none of them being allowed to receive a salary or to take a tip or reward in any shape whatever; severe punishment was meted out to the man who accepted tips, or worse, demanded money from travellers for doing his duty.

We can well imagine what excitement there must have been at the arrival of the post, the *cursus publicus*, at one of the wayside stations; how all the peasants and people of the neighbourhood must have assembled and clustered round to gape, to wonder and to ask questions. The *tabellarius* who carried sometimes world stirring news, such as the murder of an Emperor, the election of his successor, a battle, a victory, a defeat, must have then been the centre of a most agitated crowd.

As we have already said, the postal service instituted by Augustus was entirely for the use of the State and its functionaries, and it was only by exceptional and special permission that any private person could make use of it. So it was also to a certain extent during the Republic. There was in those days no regular service even for the State, but besides the *tabellarii publici* of whom we have already spoken, all magistrates, when travelling on State business, that is, with a *legatio*, had the right of receiving hospitality and means of transport from the municipalities on the way; and it was the *parochi* already mentioned, who provided the necessaries required. Even in those days some privileged persons sometimes obtained a *legatio* free from the Senate, by which it appeared that his journey was for the State, and he could therefore enjoy all the advantages granted to an official *legatio*, even although he might be travelling only for pleasure or on his own private business. The words *parroco* and *curato* in Italian are derived from the Latin *parocus* and *curator* (the English *parish* and *curate*). During the Empire it was the *diploma* which gave the privilege of the *eoectio*, or of travelling by the *cursus publicus*. These *diplomas* were given by the Emperor by means of certain freedmen called a *diplomatibus* and were signed by the sovereign himself.

Suetonius says that Augustus "in sealing letters-patent, rescripts o

epistles at first used the figure of a sphinx, afterwards the head of Alexander the Great and at last his own, engraved by the hand of Dioscorides; which practice was retained by the succeeding Emperors. He was extremely precise in dating his letters, putting down exactly the time of the day or night at which they were despatched. »

Governors of provinces were given a limited number of these *diplomas* to be distributed at their discretion, but only to those travelling for the good of the State or on very specially urgent business. Pliny the Younger wrote a very apologetic letter to the Emperor Trajan, excusing himself most humbly for giving a *diploma* for the use of his own wife. Whilst governor of Bithynia his wife received the news of the death of an uncle, she wished therefore to go at once to comfort the widow, her aunt, and besought her husband to grant her a *diploma* for the use of the *cursus publicus*. It would have taken too long to wait for an answer if permission were asked of the Emperor; besides which Pliny was certain of a favourable reply, as, not only out of regard for himself, but because it was almost an act of charity the Emperor would certainly not refuse the permission. So he granted the *diploma*, which his wife immediately made use of; then he wrote his letter to the Emperor (CXX.) and the answer was entirely satisfactory. « Trajan salutes Pliny. — Thou wert right, beloved Secundus, trusting in my affection, not to hesitate at all or wait to consult me as to whether you should hasten your wife's journey with the *diplomas* confided to your care, because it was necessary that your wife should by swiftness increase the aunt's pleasure by her presence ». This *cursus publicus* then provided for the Emperors' journeys, that of the high officials, of those privileged ones who obtained the *diploma*, of the carrying of letters and despatches (*cursus publicus*) and also for the service of goods and luggage.

Besides the *cursus velox*, there was also the *cursus clabularis* or *clabularius*, destined for the transport of food and heavy baggage and of that in particular of the soldiers. The carts used for this service were called the *clabulae*, they were very strong and heavy but extremely rough vehicles, they had four wheels and were drawn by mules, sometimes by oxen and only very rarely by horses. All the expenses of the postal service were borne at first, as we have already stated by the municipalities, country villages, and provincial towns through which it passed and the people were so heavily taxed for this purpose that the word *angaria*, (*ἀγγαρος*) originally used by the Persians to signify the postal service, and which passed by means of the Greeks to Rome, became afterwards synonymous with oppression, extortion, heavy taxation, a meaning which it still preserves.

Many of the successors of Augustus had special care of this service and tried to redress abuses and to introduce reforms without altering the funda-

mental conception of its special use for the Government alone. The Emperor Hadrian in particular, who, having passed the greater part of his life in long journeyings, visiting every part of his great Empire and providing particularly for the various wants of his subjects, had acquired such special knowledge and experience in posting arrangements that he succeeded in vastly improving and extending all over the Empire this most important branch of the administration, and he arranged that the expenses « should be borne by the State, so that the provincial towns should not be so heavily taxed. The superintendence of the post also acquired under him a much greater importance; we find the freedman of the Emperor no longer a person in authority over the posts, but a personage belonging to the Equestrian Order, a *vir egregius*, with the title of *praefectus vehiculorum*, prefect of the post, a regular Imperial magistrate; whilst formerly the superintendent had been styled *manceps stationis*, who therefore under Hadrian became an inferior officer. The *manceps* held office for five years, during which time he was never allowed to absent himself except for thirty days once a year.

He had to verify all passports or *diploma* which gave permission for the use of the public posts, to see that the horses and other animals were well treated, that only one post cart should start during the day, and only five horses which carried riders, and finally to see that all Imperial orders were faithfully carried out. In the provinces, the superintendence was confided to the Governor, who had various officers and inspectors under him, who exercised a continual control over the posts and suppressed abuses. It was the Emperor Nerva who partially relieved the people of Italy from the burden of providing animals and vehicles for the post and the Emperor Trajan who did the same for nearly all the provinces. It was then called *Cursus publicus et fiscalis*, and the carriages *vehicula publica* and *rhedae fiscales* (from the *rheda* or cart). Antoninus Pius and Septimius Severus at the end of the second and beginning of the third centuries endeavoured to lighten the heavy contributions and taxes imposed on the municipalities, but even they did not succeed in altogether establishing their reforms, as the complaints were afterwards renewed and continued unabated. In the fourth century Constantine and Julian the Apostate turned their attention particularly to the postal service, and a contemporary of the latter Emperor (Aurelius Victor) describes vividly the complaints of the poor oppressed people. It was not until the fifth and last century of the Western Empire that the laws concerning the postal service were systematically arranged; then was formed the famous Theodosian Code which had an entire section devoted to the *Cursus publicus* (5th of VIII. book).

In ancient times there was no « Society for the protection of animals and the poor horses seem to have suffered from the cruelty of their drive

who beat them unmercifully in order to obtain the greatest speed. In the interests of the State which had to provide the horses, Constantine decreed in 316 that a certain humanity should be observed, and that « as the greater number (of drivers) used knotted and thick sticks to keep the horses at the gallop from the first start; it is ordained: - that no one should use sticks, but a whip or a rod with the point furnished with a short goad, which would serve to harmlessly excite the slow limbs of the horse, and not to exact more from the animal than he should be capable of ». There were thieves and dishonest men even in those days, for we hear mention made of the punishments for those who stole the cloaks of the poor *muliones* (stablemen). The Italian proverb says « L'occhio del padrone ingrassa il cavallo », which is very true. From the Codex Theodosianus we find that some of the *manicipes* or officers of the postal service, in collusion with their subordinates, sold the oats, put the money in their pockets and allowed the poor beasts to die of starvation. A law also was made fixing the limit of the weight to be placed in the cart or carriage. A fine was imposed for loading a horse with more than a hundred pounds weight. The *clabulae* or heavy carts carried a thousand pounds and the *rheda* or *carpentum* two hundred pounds. Although the *rheda* was very much used, yet for very rapid travelling the light two-wheeled *cisium* was preferred. The couriers or men who carried the postal despatches were also called *veredarii* from *veredu* the fiery little Spanish horses they drove; the *veredarii* carried the commands of the Emperor to every part of his provinces. In later times the word *vereda* came to mean the road traversed by the post. Although the couriers and others addicted to the service of the posts had to make use of the *cursus publicus*, yet they were always obliged to show the credentials assigned to them by the Emperor or his representative whenever required to do so by others in office at the various stations, otherwise they were severely punished. Publius Helvius Pertinax, (afterwards Emperor) although Prefect of a cohort in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, having made use of the public horses without a *diploma* was constrained by the Governor of Syria to continue his journey on foot.

Besides prescribing the number of horses to be used in the *cursus publicus*, the Romans also limited the number of days allowed for a journey and the particular use of certain carts and carriages. The limit of time conceded to those who had to appear at court who lived any distance away was twenty miles a day. Delays often happened then, as now, as we find from Cicero, and Seneca speaks distinctly of a letter which arrived several months after it had been sent off.

The pace of the postal service cannot of course be compared to that of our express trains, but, given their means of locomotion, it was some-

times most wonderful. For example, a messenger, sent to announce the death of Sextus Roscius Amerinus, travelled fifty-six miles in ten hours at night in a *cisium*, the light two-wheeled cart generally used for the post and for rapid travelling. (Cicero. *Pro Sex. Roscio Amerino*, VII. 19). And a messenger sent from Aquileia in the Veneto to Rome, changing horses of course, travelled with such rapidity that he arrived at Rome in 4 days. Gibbon says that « in the time of Theodosius, Caesar, a magistrate of high rank, went post from Antioch to Constantinople. He began his journey at night, was in Cappadocia (165 miles from Antioch) the ensuing evening and arrived at Constantinople the sixth day about noon. The whole distance was 725 Roman or 665 English miles. These are exceptional cases, but they serve to show what *could* be done with the means at their disposal.

Horace tells an amusing story of what happened to him and his companions on a journey one night on the way to Terracina. They were in a boat being towed by a mule, and crossing the Pontine Marshes from the Forum Appii to Terracina. The guides being somewhat tipsy were singing songs for some time and then, being tired, they all went to sleep. The mule-driver seeing that the travellers were also asleep thought he would do the same; so he tied the cord to a stone, sent the mule to graze, lay down and was soon snoring comfortably. At break of day the travellers found that the boat had not proceeded one step further since the night, and one of them being furiously angry jumped out and began to belabour both man and mule. So they went on, and at ten o'clock arrived at their destination.

Under Diocletian a post had been arranged to carry letters and goods for private individuals. There was then a post for the fiscal administration and public affairs, a military post and a private one.

Referring to Gibbon again, he says « nor was the communication of the Roman Empire less free and open by sea than it was by land. The provinces surrounded and enclosed the Mediterranean; and Italy, in the shape of an immense promontory, advanced into the midst of that vast lake. The coasts of Italy are, in general destitute of safe harbours; but human industry had corrected the deficiencies of nature; and the artificial port of Ostia, in particular, situate at the mouth of the Tiber, and formed by the Emperor Claudius, was an useful ornament of Roman greatness. From this port which was only sixteen miles from the Capital, a favourable breeze frequently carried vessels in seven days to the Columns of Hercules, and in nine or ten to Alexandria in Egypt ».

The Itinerary of Antoninus describes the maritime stations between Rome and Arles and those of other places speaking of them as *Plagiæ*,

Positiones, *Cothones*, *Refugiae*, *Gradus* with their distances and islands. Also in speaking of the land posts, *mutationes* and *mansiones* are mentioned stating the number of *stadia* or miles between each station, where the couriers had to leave packages or change horses or sleep the night. In this vast Roman Empire, which contained so many seas, rivers, lakes and islands, it was indispensable that arrangements should be made for the post to travel with the greatest possible celerity by sea as well as by land. The postal boats were called *Fugaces*, *Cursoriae*, *Tabellarias*, *Holcades* and *Dromones*. The permission or *diploma* granted for the use of the postal boats was called the *evectio navalis*.

The barbarians who invaded the Roman Empire, and the Vandals in particular, had couriers like the Romans; but the devastation and disorganisation caused by their ravages, completely destroyed the regular service of the Roman posts.

To Charlemagne is attributed the honour of re-establishing the posts after the invasions of the barbarians; about 807 he introduced them into France, Germany, Spain and Italy, that is to say, those parts which were under his dominion, and which together formed the Western Empire. The advantages obtained by these means of communication across the various countries of his vast dominion were enormous, and assisted powerfully to effectuate his conquests. After his death, the post-houses and inns where changes were made and relays of horses furnished, gradually disappeared little by little, and suffered the fate of the other institutions which perished in the darkness of the Middle Ages; consequently the postal service disappeared entirely (except during the reign of Charlemagne) owing to the ruinous condition of things in general.

After this time, the first authentic document treating of the transmission of despatches dates from 1315, in which an order of the King of France Louis X authorised the University of Paris to keep messengers in every diocese for the transport of the letters and baggage of the students and agents, which is as much as to say almost all who in those days knew how to read and write.

In Italy, the division of the country into little states, generally at enmity with each other, was a great obstacle to the establishment of regular postal communication, and the writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were constantly complaining of the difficulties encountered in their correspondence. Macchiavelli, in particular, mentions it in almost all his letters. The service of today with all its defects leaves little to be desired when compared with that of former times. The Apostolic or Pontifical couriers were of very ancient origin, and formed a special corps of themselves in the Papal Court; their chief

was distinguished by the title of *Maestro de Cursori Apostolici del Papa*. The Apostolic courier was called *correrario apostolico*, *cursor* or *viator apostolicus*, because, as in the times of the persecutions, the primitive Church made use of special couriers to carry the letters of the Bishops, give notice to the faithful of the time and place of the meetings, etc.; so, later on, the *correrari* or *cursori apostolici* were instituted. The ancient office of the *cursori apostolici* is mentioned by the annalist Baronius in the year 44, in which he speaks of *cursori* who had to carry the letters of the Bishops to the churches. This office was then entrusted to the readers, the acolytes and the subdeacons. St. Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, speaks of the clerical letter-bearer in his eleventh letter, which is addressed to St. Polycarp in the following words « It becometh thee, most blessed Polycarp, to call together a godly council and to elect some one among you, who is very dear to you and zealous also, who shall be fit to bear the name of God's courier — to appoint him, I say, that he may go to Syria and glorify your zealous love, unto the glory of God ». From this we see in what respect the office of *cursor* was held, and how it was assigned to ecclesiastics of irreproachable conduct. The annalist Rinaldi also tells how, in the times of persecution, as the Christians could not be collected by any public means nor in any settled spot, each Christian was privately advised by a minister of the church, a *cursor*. It is easy to understand what dangers these couriers ran in times of savage persecution, and how much to be admired their conduct and work was.

It seems strange that notwithstanding the well organised postal service of the Romans they had no means of diffusing news generally all over the country. The post did not take the place of the newspaper, as it was only used for the state, and not for the spreading of news. And so eventually a kind of newspaper was evolved

When Julius Caesar became Consul in 59 B. C., in order to obtain power he did all he could to weaken the nobles and to serve the people. The meetings of the Senate had hitherto always been secret and private, and no account was published abroad of their proceedings. No political meeting gains by being made public, so Caesar resolved that full and accurate reports should be published, that is *made public*, in the Forum, and by this means, by showing up their intrigues, the mystery and prestige of the Senate would be gone and their power weakened. The report was to be made in shorthand by the youngest senator with the title of Secretary of the Senate (*ab actis senatus*). This idea of Caesar's was not without

precedent, even in Republican times there had been always a white board (album) on the walls of the Regia, where all the names of the Consuls and magistrates were written, and where victories or important events were announced in a few words. And here flocked all the country people who only came into Rome once a week to see the news, and to find out if possible what was happening to the armies composed mainly of their sons. This board was removed in December and kept in the Archives, where they were all collected together, and called the *Annales maximi*; this was the beginning of the written records of the History of Rome.

The reports published by Caesar of the Acts of the Roman Senate were most useful to a certain class of men, newsmongers or reporters, who went about collecting news, accurate or otherwise, which they made into a kind of chronicle and sent to the provinces. They were a low class of men, generally intelligent Greeks, skilful but unscrupulous in making money, and were looked down upon by most serious people in Rome, who refused to read their chronicles; but the provincials were glad of any news which came from the Capital. Their chronicles were called *compilatio*. After a time, all sorts of local news were published together with the political meetings of the Senate, which eventually almost crowded out the latter, futile information about players, funerals, marriages, divorces and events of the town called *ineptiae*, and so the original idea of Caesar's was frustrated; and Augustus eventually prohibited the records of the Senate to be published. Although this prohibition was perhaps very imperfectly obeyed, yet a very short and incomplete account was given of the proceedings, and so a greater space was left for the local news. They were called the *Acta Senatus et Populi*. Official and semi-official news, all sorts of imperial communications were published in these *acta*; Caesar's refusal of the title of king; accounts of court life; names of people received by the Emperor; important ceremonies, etc. Then came very numerous details of town life and all sorts of curious stories were written up; advertisements of sales, etc., etc. So all the news which had been divided were now united, and the name was changed to *Acta diurna populi Romani*. Its success was enormous. All rich people or functionaries, when they went to the country, had a copy sent to them. Cicero often refers to it and Pliny the Younger also, but it was generally mentioned with contempt, and many people pretended not to read it, for this reason, that it was written in very bad style or rather no style and all, it was merely a dry enumeration of facts. Consequently, as it was thought so little of, it never became of any political importance, from the beginning of the Empire to the end it remained the same and was never perfected.

It never seems to have occurred to the Romans that the *Acta* could

develop or play any other part or exercise a great influence, as do the papers of today.

The great difficulty was in propagating these *Acta*, in spreading the news. But this difficulty could easily have been overcome if they had wished. The Romans were great travellers, there were many couriers and carriages constantly on the roads, and it would have been quite easy to arrange for the carriage of the newspapers. There were also innumerable slave copyists, who were rapid writers and were paid very little. When Cicero wanted to rouse public opinion in his favour in the affair of Catiline, he found enough copyists to distribute his pamphlets all over Italy and the provinces. And Pliny tells us that a man named Regulus having lost his son, sent a thousand copies of the eulogy of the deceased to be read in the public places of all the principal towns in the Roman Empire.

If the *Acta* had been of more importance, printing would most certainly have been invented, for they already had stamps, as we know, which were used to print the name of the manufacturer, place of fabrication, date of making and name of the ruling Emperor or Consul on bricks, vases, tiles, etc., and this was quite a common thing, so only one step more was required, but that never came.

As the Roman Empire developed to such an enormous extent, and civilisation and luxury of all kinds spread over the Empire, we find that the progress of humanity does not depend so very greatly on external things as we are apt to think.

If we consider the greatest revolution the world has ever seen, that of Christianity, we find that without books, or papers, or postal service, or any means of transmitting ideas, except by word of mouth, in less than two hundred years it had succeeded in penetrating into all the countries of the then known world. So, although we have at the present day all the wonderful modern appliances which we think we cannot possibly do without, yet humanity arrives eventually at the same result by other ways and means.

For the great Roman Empire succeeded in attaining that greatness with a very inferior Postal Service.

Tuesday, February, 6th.

IV.

ANCIENT CITIES OF TIRYNS, MYCENÆ, AND ARGOS

BY

Rev. Father **PETER PAUL MACKEY, O. P.**

The lecturer introduced by Dr. Fenwick said :

Our great poet Milton says that one of the delights of the serious man (*il Penseroso*) is to meditate in a lonely tower at night on astronomy, or the works of Plato, or to « let gorgeous tragedy

In sceptred pall come sweeping by
Presenting Thebes or Pelops' line
Or the tale of Troy divine „

Of the spot which forms the subject of the present lecture Sophocles says, « Now thou dost behold the things thou hast so long desired to see, Argos, the shrine of Apollo the wolf-killer, the shrine of Juno, and Mycenæ the home of the children of Pelops, full of blood ».

Another great dramatist speaks of the city of Tiryns with its mighty walls that seem beyond the powers of human builders. These and many other associations are sufficient to attract the traveller's steps to that most ancient of all the cities of Europe, Argos, the scene of important historical events, and of tragedies which are among the greatest creations of the human mind. The road from Corinth leads over the mountain pass where Hercules killed the lion, the skin of which he is frequently represented in art as wearing on his shoulders.

The pass terminates in a plain bounded by high mountains between which the blue gleaming sea is visible. To the left lies Tiryns, to the right Argos, and nearer a temple of Juno, the ruins of which are as large as a small town; at one's feet is Mycenæ.

One of the earliest settlements of the Pelasgians was the city of Argos, the walls of which, called Cyclopean, are the origin of all the architecture of the western world, and command a wondrous and beautiful prospect of earth, sea, and sky.

Here was the scene of the old legend of Io, changed by the wrath of Juno into a cow, and here Danaus ended his journey from Egypt, and made himself King.

Hence went forth the founders of Tiryns, of which Perseus was king when he built his new city of Mycenæ. The year 468 B. C. three centuries after the foundation of Rome, saw great changes in this plain where Argos, Tiryns and Mycenæ form a triangle. This was the year of the termination of the Persian war with victory for Greece. Tiryns and Mycenæ had each sent a contingent to the Greek army, and consequently shared in the victor's laurels, but Argos had refused, and seeing herself therefore cut off from the general rejoicings and honours, she from spite destroyed her rivals. When Sophocles was writing his dramas Tiryns and Mycenæ lay in ruins but little changed till our own day, when at last the spade revealed some of their hidden marvels.

From the time of the destruction of these cities the history of Argos had little to distinguish it from that of the rest of Greece, but previous to that event it had a period of a thousand years of romance and splendour, when it gave the names of Argives and Danai to all the inhabitants of Greece. The approach to these ancient cities is now the commonplace railway, and Nauplia is the only possible place in the neighbourhood where a traveller can establish his head quarters. Nauplia has ancient ruins, but nothing of special interest except that it was the capital of Greece before she won her independence from Turkey. Here reigned King Otho under whom was built the Catholic Church now standing.

Argos is still a large village but its inhabitants are not sufficiently accustomed to tourists to give them liberty to explore undisturbed. The honours of the first visit should be given to Tiryns, which stands on a hill about as high and as extensive as the Pincio, made inaccessible by stupendous fortifications. It was fortified by Proetus with the help of Cyclopes whom he brought from Asia Minor. These were not the Cyclopes of Sicily, to whom belonged Polyphemus connected with the story of Ulysses. They were, according to some authorities, a people from Thrace, and according to others from Asia Minor, the land of the Chimera and of Belerophon, yet they had much in common with their namesakes of Sicily. Aristotle says the Cyclopes were the inventors of high walls and of towers, and if indeed they were one with the Cyclopes of Sicily it might be supposed that the blinding of Polyphemus led them to build such walls in self defence, and that while working under the command of Vulcan in the interior of Etna they learned to make roofs with holes in the centre to admit air afterwards developed into chimneys. The earliest works named from them Cyclopean are the walls of Tiryns. No houses of the inhabitants remain

but the massive walls following every bend of the hill rise to a height of 60 feet, and are in some places 25 feet in thickness. Here and there they are broken, but their ruins have stood unchanged for 2000 years. They are built of vast blocks of stone, twelve, fifteen or even twenty feet in length, and two tons in weight. On one side the approach to the city is by an inclined plane at an angle of 30 or 35 degrees, and flanked by massive walls with gates at intervals. On the other side the entrance is only large enough to admit two persons by narrow steps also flanked by lofty walls, and almost concealed by masonry. In the thickness of these walls granaries have been discovered, evidently for use in time of siege, also staircases and corridors, the object of which has not yet been entirely explained. These wonderful fortifications were almost unknown to the Greeks of history, and only in our own day has their real nature been revealed by the excavations of Schliemann.

Within the city scarcely any building exists, and only the plan can be traced. Of the palace of the king, which was probably of wood, little is to be seen except an altar with the ashes of the last sacrifices, a bathroom paved with a single block of marble, and remains of a channel for water, showing us something of the life of kings whom we usually regard as belonging to the mythological age. Tiryns looks down on the sea across which, according to Herodotus, Io was carried by the Phœnician merchants in retaliation for the rape of Europa borne away by the Greeks, originating the long wars between Europe and Asia. Homer says the plain below was dry and thirsty, drinking up all the streams that flow through it, and that it abounded in horses because of its rich pasture, hence the two epithets, « full of thirst » and « good grazing » by which he describes it. From Tiryns Argos is visible, and Mycenæ near enough to be within view, but just hidden by the slope of a mountain. Tiryns was the birthplace of Hercules; he was made slave by Eurystheus king of Argos three miles off, and was compelled to perform his twelve labours, all of which centred in this spot, though for the carrying out of some of them he was obliged to go to distant lands. Almost in sight is the famous Lernaean marsh where the hydra was killed, and beyond this are the mountains of Arcadia whence the Stymphalian birds and the stag with golden antlers were brought to Argos.

From this region Hercules made his descent into Hades to drag Cerberus thence as his captive; here Danaë was imprisoned in her brazen tower; here Perseus was born, and hence he set out on his adventurous journey. An acquaintance with this world-renowned district throws a new light on the study of the Greek classic writers, and makes their creations living men and women, instead of figments of the imagination.

Mycenae the « corner city » is so called because it stands at the apex of the triangle formed by lines connecting it with Tiryns and Argos.

Its walls according to the Greek story were built by Perseus after the fulfilment of the oracle by his accidental slaying of his grandfather, and in them may be seen the same Cyclopean work as at Tiryns, but on a grander scale. Mycenae stands in a loftier position than Tiryns; the hill on which it is built is more rugged and precipitous, and the water for its use had to be conducted in channels, probably by means of a clepsydra such as that in the Acropolis at Athens; these and other details may be distinctly traced in this city of 1200 years B. C.

As in Rome when dates must be determined, much stress is laid by archaeologists on various systems of masonry; viz. *opus reticulatum*, *opus incertum*, *opus quadratum*, so in Mycenae the great blocks of the first megalithic period date from 1200 or 1400 years B. C., while the later constructions belong to about 500 B. C. just before the destruction by Argos. Yet the one is a development of the other; there is no radical change in the methods employed. Pausanias says that a yoke of oxen could scarcely move some of the blocks of the first period, while peasants say they were carried on the heads of women. There is no mortar of any kind, some of the blocks are propped on pebbles of about the size of a walnut, and thus they have remained for 2000 years. In the work of the first period the blocks are rough and irregularly laid, in that of the last they are smooth and polished, and so evenly laid that a knife blade could not pass between them, but the style remains the same. The blocks are as a rule polygonal, for it was believed that if cut in this way the angles would fit more accurately than if cut in squares.

The modern village is about half a mile from the ancient city, and the inhabitants, accustomed to strangers, leave them to explore undisturbed. At the highest point within the walls of Mycenae stood the palace of Agamemnon and of all the dynasty of the Pelopidae. On entrance is a postern like that at Tiryns; another is the Gate of Lions, perhaps the most wonderful gate in all Europe, standing precisely as it did when the city was destroyed by Argos, unchanged except that the colour of the stone is somewhat altered by exposure to weather.

The lintel is unbroken, and above it is a mass of stone, nine or ten feet in height, carved into the shape of a column on which two lions, one on either side, rest their forepaws as they look towards the entrance.

The column is not merely ornamental; it is here a symbol of Apollo the god of roads, and the protector of Mycenae. It was frequently carved on houses in order to invoke his good offices. At this Lion Gate Eurip-

ides, Sophocles and Æschylus have placed some of the most striking scenes of their immortal dramas, connecting it with the curse that fell on « Pelops' line ». This curse began with Tantalus, because of his having killed his son Pelops, and offered him to the gods to eat. They all suspected and refused, except Ceres who was absorbed in grief for the loss of her daughter, and Jupiter restored the child to life giving him an ivory shoulder to replace that which Ceres had unconsciously eaten.

The descendants of Pelops were ever after distinguished by having the right shoulder white as ivory. Pelops came to Greece, gave his name to the Peloponnesus, and finally settled at Mycenæ. Then followed the series of terrible crimes that gave to the name of the Pelopidae a gloomy celebrity. Atreus, one of the sons of Pelops killed the children of his brother Thyestes and offered them at a banquet to their father to eat. Then came the tragic story of Agamemnon, grandson of Atreus. He gave his own daughter Iphigenia to be offered in sacrifice before his departure from Aulis for the Trojan war. On his return with Cassandra as his captive, he entered Mycenæ by the Lion Gate leaving her without burning with prophetic fire, and foreseeing all the woes of the doomed city. The passage of Æschylus in which Cassandra pours forth her dread visions to the listening chorus is one of the finest in literature perhaps equalled only by parts of Macbeth, but it must be remembered that Æschylus, not Shakespeare, was the creator of tragedy. Cassandra stands gazing at the column, symbol of Apollo of whose vengeance she is the victim and denounces the crimes to be committed in the city, its blood-besmeared streets and the murder of Agamemnon even then being perpetrated by Clytemnestra. Then knowing the fate awaiting her, she too passes within the walls.

Immediately within the gateway was a terrace of which the object was unknown even in the days of Pausanias who visited and described it. It was excavated by Schliemann, and proved to be a group of tombs within a small space of ground enclosed by a double circle of stones. First came a layer of ashes of sacrificial animals, then the bodies, entire, not cremated, which are believed to be those of Agamemnon and the men who accompanied him on his return from Troy, and who were murdered with him. They were buried in their armour with golden crowns, masks, and vases. One, evidently the chief, must have been the body of Agamemnon himself. The gold ornaments are of exquisite workmanship, and they were found in such abundance as to realise the descriptions of Homer and Sophocles. Among these tombs there was no trace of the body of Clytemnestra who was probably buried without the city because

of her crimes, in a great mausoleum which has also been excavated of late years. Standing among these tombs of an ancient race long passed away, whose memory has been preserved only by Homer, a profound melancholy steals over the mind. For a thousand years they lived and reigned spreading even into Italy, where works similar to those of the later period of Mycenæ may still be seen at Alatri, Segni and other towns. But of those who built them in Italy nothing is known; their only memorials are the stones of their fortifications.

The sense of the transitory nature of this world's greatness and glory becomes almost overpowering as we look at these mighty constructions of a bygone age, and the mind turns for consolation to the thought of another world which will not pass away.

Tuesday, February, 13th.

V.

ADDITIONAL RESEARCHES

as to the site of the House of Aquila and Priscilla
on the Aventine

BY

Rev. Dr. GORDON GRAY

For the introductory paper on this subject, entitled « The first Christian Oratory in Rome ». I must refer you to the Journal of our Society, of the year 1904. There you will find, in a lecture given by me on the 7th of March of that year, a summary of what we know as to these two celebrated Roman Christians, as well as the reasons for believing that the Church of S. Prisca on the Aventine is over or near the site of that first of Roman oratories. Our most distinguished archeologist of the past century, Comm. Giov. De Rossi, has the merit of having called attention to the important discoveries made there in the year 1776. He himself came upon the leaf of a Latin codex, bearing the number 9697, in the Paris National Library, and referring to an ancient oratory with frescoes of Apostles on its walls and « near to S. Prisca ». He concluded that it was no other than that of Aquila and Priscilla. In this he was followed by Prof. Lanciani, whose allusion to it, page 111 of his « Pagan and Christian Rome », really furnished the motive for the excavations to which I have to refer. As it was the belief of both these eminent archaeologists that the garden to the south of the Church of S. Prisca covered the site of the famous oratory, leave was obtained through the Italian Minister of Public Instruction and with the consent of the ecclesiastical authorities to search there for the old walls with frescoes, that had been brought to light in the year 1776. The excavations in the convent-garden were in progress in March 1904, and my lecture then made reference to what had been obtained thus far. The definite results were ascertained in the summer of that same year, 1904, and were summa-

rised in Feb. of 1905 by the engineer, charged with the superintendence of the work by the Technical Department of the Government.

To his report there was annexed the diagram explaining it. There were two shafts sunk in the garden almost in line with each other and at right angles from the church wall, one of them yielding no result and carried down but a little way, the other being let down to the virgin soil. The description of what was found in this second shaft is given as follows. « The construction of the walls of tufa go back, according to Comm. Boni, to the period between Sylla and Caesar, and the special workmanship, shown in it, forms one of the most beautiful and rare examples of the buildings of that period. The two stretches of wall that line the descending stair in the building seem to be constructed of pieces of « tegoloni », large tiles, as was the custom, before the use of « mattoni », bricks properly so called, became general under the Empire. A well was found lined in part with slates of peperino, fixed without mortar, in the virgin soil of sandy clay, forming as it were the pavement of the room. In the vault with walls of tufa, in part injured, there must have been, in perfect correspondence with the aforesaid well, a circular opening equal in diameter, as one can still see from part of the surface lining, which, in the thickness of the vault, limited the opening itself. There was found another well with plastered walls and with the characteristic « pedarole » which are met with so frequently in wells of the Roman epoch. When the excavations of this latter well were suspended, there was discovered the top of a gallery, which also had plastered walls and from which there came forth a strong current of air. It is my belief that the said gallery is the same with that which begins from the other well similar to the one described, and which is found at the bottom of the excavations formerly made by Mr. Parker under the convent-garden, but to which there is access from the adjoining property of Cavalletti ».

The result thus obtained was clearly against the supposition that the site of the oratory lay under the central area of the garden of the S. Prisca Convent. As far as the convent-garden was concerned, it only remained that the advice, given by Comm. Boni, should be carried out, to proceed at the fitting time to dig two trenches towards each end of the garden. If no trace of 4th century walls with frescoes should be found, in that case it could be considered to be perfectly demonstrated that the ruins sought for were not under the garden. As the summer of 1904 approached, nothing could be done to carry that last test into effect. It was agreed meantime to fill in the excavations already described and defer the opening of the two trenches till the following winter. (I visited the spot in November 1904, with the view of arranging for fr

excavations, a very simple question put by one of the « Sisters » in charge of the convent, turned our thoughts in a new direction. Disturbed somewhat, as was natural, with the prospect of having their garden turned up again at two distinct places, though compensation had been given and more was assured, they asked if it were definitely known that the site in question was there. Neither the engineer nor I, of course, could give any such assurance, but the thought flashed through my mind that it would be well at once to look up the evidence on which De Rossi had founded his opinion, that the 4th century oratory, discovered in 1776, was somewhere under the garden. We left the spot, after deciding that, until that evidence was in our hands, nothing more should be done in the way of fresh excavations. I communicated with a friend in Paris, specially interested in all that relates to the early history of Christianity in Rome, with the view of procuring a copy of the leaf found in the Latin codex 9697 in the National Library there. After diligent search, and not without repeated efforts to find it, a copy of the leaf was procured for me. The description of the discovery of the oratory of 1776 is contained in a letter addressed by one Carrara to the treasurer (of Pius VI), found among the papers of the famous Ennius Quirinus Visconti, and would seem to have been accompanied with a drawing of the wall frescoes referred to in it, but of which no trace has been found. The suggestion is made that the description, which is given in Roman letters, should be attached to the accompanying drawing in the way in which it would be most suitable. It is given thus:

PICTURAE QUAE SUPERSUNT INTEGRAE COETERIS TEMPORUM
INIURIA CONSUMPTIS IN VETERI ORATORIO NUPER DETECTO
PROPE TITULUM S. PRISCAE AETATEM SAECULI IV
ET SS. APOSTOLORUM IMAGINES FORTE REFERENTES.

and there is added the request that the artist (pittore) should preserve the natural sense of the inscription and in a connected form. Manifestly this description of the discovery is later than the discovery itself (nuper detecto), in or soon after the year 1776. The importance of it lies in the fact that it sets before us all that De Rossi himself had before him in judging of its sense, as we gather from his full and valuable article in the Bulletin of 1867.

That was not all that the celebrated archaeologist had in writing his article. He had seen and handled the bronze « placca », preserved in the Vatican Library under the title of « tabula aenea effossa in hortis Aven-
tinis ad S. Priscæ anno 1776 ». The inscription on it is given in full in the Bollettino and is to the effect that it was a diploma given to Gaius

Marcus Pudens Cornelianus by a Spanish city in the year 222 A. D. As these diplomas were usually affixed to the wall of the atrium of the person, to whom they were presented, the strong probability is that it indicates the house of the senator of that name, who, as a direct lineal descendant of the Pudens of St. Paul's time, mentioned in the second letter to Timothy, might well have had an oratory in connection with his house on the Aventine. As De Rossi held that the discovery of the oratory of the 4th century was made at the same time and in connection with the same excavations, he drew from that the conclusion that evidence had thus been found of a distinct relationship between the two families of Pudens and Aquila with his wife Priscilla. Later discoveries in the Catacomb of Priscilla have confirmed that relationship. But the important fact, in connection with our present line of inquiry, is that we possess evidence in a small volume that was published in the year after the finding of the bronze diploma, 1777. As the indications there given clearly connected it with S. Prisca, and the oratory was supposed to have come to light at the same time and in the same place with the « placca », the inference seemed perfectly justifiable that this oratory was no other than that of Priscilla and Aquila, and the garden to the south of the Church was supposed to cover the actual site.

On getting into my possession the copy of the leaf found in the codex of the National Library in Paris, my first aim was carefully to ascertain the meaning of the proposed inscription that was to accompany the drawing of the frescoes found in the oratory. I was almost at once struck with the wording of the inscription, « in an old oratory recently discovered ». There was no positive assertion that it was the oratory of Aquila and Priscilla. It might, so far as the words go, be another. The phrase that follows approximately gives its site, as « near (prope) the Church (titulum) of S. Prisca », and also precisely marks its age, as that of the 4th century. The more I studied the inscription, the more was I convinced that the inscription of the leaf conveyed no more than that.

My next step was to place the copy of this leaf, accompanied with my own impression with regard to it, in the hands of Prof. Lanciani. Several days thereafter I visited him by appointment and had given to me notes, which he had taken and carefully preserved from the small volume, to which I have referred, entitled « Declaration of an Important Discovery on the Aventine in Rome » bearing the year 1777, by G. Spaletti. A full description is given, after the manner of the times, of the bronze plate with the actual inscription on it as may be seen in the original in the Vatican Library. The introductory words bearing on the site of this discovery, presumed also to be near the site of the oratory unearthed at the

same time, were given to me as copied out of the volume of Spaletti by the learned Professor and are to this effect. « There was recently found in the Aventine over against (dirimpetto) S. Prisca and precisely in the gardens, formerly of Massimi, distant from the said Church a stone's throw, towards the south, where on the ruins of an ancient edifice there rose a small wood of laurels ». Four unmistakeable indications were thus given as to the spot where the plate was found and they are connected with an ancient ruin then covered by a clump of laurels. These directions at once gave a new turn to our thoughts. Over against the Church, not in the garden alongside of it, but in the field within the vineyard right opposite, at the distance of a stone's throw and in a southerly direction the bronze medal had been found. If De Rossi were right as to the site of the discovery of the oratory of the 4th century, and the medal had not been moved, manifestly the oratory in question might have been one connected with the house of Cornelius Pudens and was not necessarily that of Aquila and Priscilla. An appointment was made to visit the spot and, with a view to the verification of the details, I consulted Spaletti's volume in the Victor Emanuel Library and had the extracts given me by Prof. Lanciani fully confirmed. We took these details with us to S. Prisca on the Aventine and proceeded to verify each one of them. The conclusion was come to that the bronze medal had been found on the other side of the road from the Church, within the high wall opposite. Standing within that wall and measuring mentally a stone's throw from the Church, we could see where it must have been discovered. There to the south of the Church there is seen to-day the gardener's house, raised on an ancient building of the early period, which may be found to be the remains of the house of Cornelius Pudens. Excavations must be made there before we can consider that the proof is complete. A bronze plate is a very movable object and of itself cannot give decisive evidence as to its original site. If we can expose these ruins some day and find that they belong to a house of the first quarter of the 3rd century with some further proof by inscription or otherwise that it belonged to a Pudens of this name, we might safely infer that the atrium, where the plate had once been affixed, was there. The further discovery might be made that there also are the remains of the 4th century oratory, which in that case might turn out to be the oratory in connection with the house of Cornelius Pudens. The site, where the bronze medal was found, was certainly too far off from the Church of S. Prisca to admit of its answering to the first century oratory of Aquila and Priscilla. For unless there is very strong proof to the contrary, it may be laid down as a general axiom that the present-day memorials of early and well-known Christian sites stand in or very near to the actual sites of the first century. In the

present search we have two other memorable places to guide us, with regard to which this axiom is also perfectly applicable. The Church of S. Pudenziana is built over and alongside of the house of Pudens, the senator. The right aisle of the Church is believed in so far to represent the first floor of his house. Outside of that right aisle, the brick walls of a first century house can be seen. The level of the ground floor can be reached and the vaulted rooms, lying under the nave of the Church itself, can be visited, with their first and second mosaic pavements and early frescoes in the niches on the vault. In the notices of the excavations, Comm. G. Gatti writes, « Four long spacious galleries, parallel the one to the other and communicating by a series of arches, have been found to occupy the entire space covered by the upper Church, with several square rooms towards the front. It has not been determined, however, whether these are the porticoes of the Baths of Novatus or the Church of the 2nd century, or that Church rebuilt in 398. The old level was found seven metres under the floor of the present Church, and bits of an ancient pavement as well as of an old Roman street were found. The exact relation of these various buildings to the first century house has nowhere been defined, save that it best accords with the idea of its having been behind or near to the apse of the original Church ». The very same relation between the original house and the memorial of it is found in the case of S. Clemente. Right under and beyond the apse of the first basilica of the 4th century are the rooms of Clement's house. Before the water stood in them, it was possible to visit them. De Rossi has given us an exact sketch of the plan of the house in relation to the lower basilica, and it proves that the one is over the other. It was most natural that so it should be. And the reasonable inference is, that, as in the case of S. Pudenziana and S. Clemente, so it will be with S. Prisca.

I was glad to find Professor Lanciani so thoroughly corroborating this reasoning, as we stood together on the spot on the occasion referred to. His judgment was decidedly in favour of abandoning further search for the 4th century oratory, brought to light in 1776, in the garden of the convent close to the Church. And the Professor frankly confessed that, if he had to write the paragraph on this subject over again, which appears in his « Rome, Pagan and Christian », he would word it differently, thus showing the spirit of the true scientist, being more anxious that facts should be acknowledged than that he himself should be proved to have been right. I have no doubt, that the great master, at whose feet he sat, Comm. Giov. De Rossi, would have taken the very same attitude on a fresh consideration of the evidence in our possession.

After this visit to S. Prisca the search under the garden was com

pletely abandoned and attention was given to the substructure of the Church itself. A preliminary examination was made, ere we left, of the walls and vaults on which the Church rests. Even then it was easy to see that there lay under the Church a somewhat imposing structure with large rooms in the vaults of which we stood. These rooms manifestly ran in transverse lines to those of the Church, from north to south, as compared with the line of the nave from west to east. Rough measurements were taken and here and there distinct evidence was found of brick-work of the 3rd and possibly of the 2nd century. What could this earlier building have been, was the question that naturally presented itself? Was it the earlier Church, as in the case of *S. Clemente*, but with the orientation of the later one changed from some cause or another? Or was it a large building of a public character more of the style of baths, conforming in that case to the Baths of Novatus in connection with remains under the Church of *S. Pudenziana*? Professor Lanciani very kindly offered to return another day with an assistant and to bring the materials with him for a more careful examination of the substructure. In the meantime this made it more important to re-examine the evidence as to the Church of *S. Prisca* being the veritable memorial of the 1st century oratory of *Aquila* and *Priscilla*. The summary of that evidence I now present to you, as gathered chiefly from an article of De Rossi in the *Archaeological Bulletin* of 1867. It is not without importance that there is no other memorial Church that has been put in competition with that of *S. Prisca* in relation to the 1st century oratory. We have not therefore to decide between two rival sites but only to explain how the shorter title of *S. Prisca* came to designate the actual site. Something can be made of the fact that *St. Paul* more than once in his writings mentions *Priscilla* before *Aquila* and gives also the shorter form of her name *Prisca*. Very probably she was in many respects the more remarkable character of the two. I prefer this explanation to the other which would account for this precedence by saying that she was of a family of position. It is hardly likely that a Roman lady would have married a Jewish tent-maker and still less that she would have occupied herself travelling to and fro as she did, in the interest of her husband's trade. The most recent conception of her as a freedwoman of some great Roman house, enabling her to find her last resting-place along with her husband in the *Priscilla* catacomb, beside the *Pudenses* and the *Glabriones* of the latter half of that 1st century, is much more likely to be true. In course of time the second name would easily drop out of the description of the celebrated oratory and her name was the one that remained. The story of the young martyr of the same name, *Prisca*, came to be identified with

that very site and gave additional ground for using the shorter title. And yet it is remarkable that as far back as 499 A. D. on the occasion of the second Roman Council, held by Symmachus, the title of the Church is given as that of Aquila and Prisca. The marble inscriptions in the hypogeum of the church, of the 13th century, present both names. The architrave of the door continues, in the 15th century, the twofold title in the words « *Haec domus est Aquilae seu Priscæ* ». De Rossi's conclusion, as given in the Bulletin referred to, must therefore be held to rest on sure evidence, « The site on the Aventine, which in the documents of the 4th, 5th and 6th centuries, was called laconically the « *titulus Priscæ* » or « *S. Priscæ* », was found, at least from the 8th century, with the fuller form, that of Aquila and Prisca », and was believed to be the site where in Rome the church in the house of these first converts to the Gospel had had its seat and its assemblies and was honoured also by the presence of St. Peter and St. Paul. » Even that single instance from the minutes of the Council of the end of the 5th century is sufficient to prove that, when the shorter title was used, the longer one had its place in a document of importance. We may take it therefore as fully established that the Aventine Church of S. Prisca, as now commonly known, is really over the site occupied by the first Christian oratory in Rome in the house of Aquila and Priscilla.

The one question that now remains to be solved is how and where, under the Church of S. Prisca, can we put our hands on the remains of a 1st century house such as Aquila and Priscilla might have owned or leased. The search among those massive walls and vaults which have been partially examined seems likely to yield little result, even if it could be done without risk to the modern church. These walls, in the opinion of Professor Lanciani are altogether too massive to form part of a house belonging to or occupied by tentmakers. Manifestly they form part of an important public building, whose character and size have yet to be ascertained. The very limited dimensions of a tradesman's house constitute, it may be found, our chief difficulty in being able to trace it. The remains of the houses both of Pudens and of Clement were bound to be of a far more durable character than those of Aquila. In the changes that have passed over that southern slope of the Aventine, the probability is that very little of that more humble house remains. The search for it is thus made more problematical than it was in either of the other cases. If we are to follow the lines given to us by the house of St. Clement we should seek for it near the apse of the church. The one expedient, left meantime, is to have a trench or shaft dug, as by Professor Lanciani's advice, in the slope leading up to the entrance. Application was made

more than two weeks ago to the mayor of Rome, as President of the Communal Archaeological Commission, to have permission for the sinking of such a shaft. As it is on ground belonging to the Municipality and the test can be made without impeding access to the church, it is believed there will be no difficulty in securing this permission. The old level can then soon be reached and one of the important questions that will find solution relates to the road that crossed the Aventine in front of the memorial church. When that is discovered we shall then know just at what level the oratory must have stood. With that definitely ascertained, we shall be in a position to exhaust the inquiry after one or more steps have been taken.

What we can claim therefore to have accomplished thus far is to have brought back the line of search from the convent garden to the sub-structure of the church itself. There, I believe, the traces of the oratory must henceforth be sought. And if we are to follow the experience that we have gained from the houses of Pudens and Clement in relation to the basilica over them, we may expect to discover the remains of the House of Aquila and Priscilla nearer the apse than the modern crypt. The shaft, which it is proposed should be sunk on the slope leading up to the maindoor, will furnish evidence of the level of the 1st century and probably also of the original road. Access from the crypt at that level, from the one side or the other of the church, towards the apse, might then exhaust the search and, let us hope, reveal what is yet traceable of the 1st Christian oratory.

Another interesting line of excavation has been suggested by our researches, bearing on the ruins covered by the gardener's house in the vineyard over against S. Prisca and at a distance of a stone's throw. There in all probability, are to be found the remains of the house of Cornelius Pudens, a direct lineal descendant of that Pudens, who opened his house to the Apostles. The 4th century oratory with its frescoes of Apostles, referred to in the declaration of Carrara of 1776, may turn out to be no other than that of this later Pudens. These very frescoes may again be recovered, which were sketched in 1776 and the tracings of which have been lost. The close relationship between two Christian families, the one of senatorial, the other of plebeian rank, would then have additional confirmation given to it. Their common faith might easily have had something to do with the settling of a Pudens on the democratic Aventine, so near a famous early Christian site, such as that of the house of Aquila and Priscilla. Not yet, however, can we allow ourselves to be turned aside from our search for the house of Aquila in the more or less certain hope of discovering a 3rd century house belonging to a descendant of Pudens. Happily, the money given for these

excavations by a generous American, is only half spent. There remains as much, I trust, as will carry these researches to a definite conclusion, so far at least as the house of Aquila and Priscilla is concerned. Should this end be gained, I have no doubt that the same hand will be ready to supply what is needful to bring to light the 3rd century house of Caius Cornelius Pudens.

Tuesday, February 20th.

VI.

FRANKISH SOCIETY IN GREECE

BY

WILLIAM MILLER, M. A.

We saw four weeks ago, how at the beginning of the thirteenth century a small body of Franks conquered nearly the whole of Greece, and how, as the result of their conquests, a group of Latin states sprang into existence in that country — the Duchies of Athens and of the Archipelago, the principality of Achaia, the County Palatine of Cephalonia, the three baronies of Euboea, and the Venetian colony of Crete, while at two points alone — in the mountains of Epiros and on the isolated rock of Monemvasia, so well-known to our ancestors as the place whence they obtained their Malmsey wine — the Greek flag still waved. In the present lecture, I would give some account of Frankish organisation, political and ecclesiastical, of Frankish society, and of Frankish literature.

The usual tendency of the desperately logical Latin intellect, when brought face to face with a new set of political conditions, is to frame a paper constitution, absolutely perfect in theory, and absolutely unworkable in practice. But the French noblemen whom an extraordinary accident had converted into Spartan and Athenian law-givers, resisted this temptation, nor did they seek inspiration from the laws of Solon and Lycurgus. They fortunately possessed a model, the « Assises of Jerusalem » which had been drawn up a century before for that Kingdom, and which, under the name of the « Book of the Customs of the Empire of Romania » — a work still preserved in a Venetian version of 1452 drawn up for the island of Euboea — was applied to all the Frankish states in Greece. This feudal Constitution, barbarous as it may seem to our modern ideas, seems to have worked well; at any rate, it was tried by the best test, that of experience, and lasted, with one small amendment, for 250 years. In Achaia, about which we have most information, a commission was appointed, consisting of two Latin bishops, two bannerets, and five leading Greeks,

under the presidency of Geoffroy de Villehardouin, for the purpose of dividing the Morea into fiefs and of assigning these to the members of the conquering force according to their wealth and the numbers of their followers, and the book, or « register » as the Chronicler calls it, containing the report of this commission was then laid before a Parliament, held at Andravida, or Andreville, in Elis, now a small village which the traveller passes in the train between Patras and Olympia, but then the capital of the principality of Achaia.

According to this Achaian Domesday-book, twelve baronies, whose number recalls the twelve peers of Charlemagne, were created, their holders, with the other lieges, forming a High Court, which not only advised the Prince in political matters but acted as a judicial tribunal for the decision of feudal questions. In the creation of these twelve baronies due regard was paid to the fact that the Franks were a military colony in the midst of an alien, and possibly hostile, population, spread over a country possessing remarkable strategic positions. Later on, after the distribution of the baronies, strong castles were erected in each upon some natural coign of vantage, from which the baron could overawe the surrounding country (1). The main object of this system may be seen from the name of the famous Arcadian fortress of Matagrifon (« Kill-Greek, » the Greeks being usually called *Grifon* by the French chroniclers), built near the modern Demetsana by the baron of Akova, Gautier de Rozières, to protect the rich valley of the Alpheios. The splendid remains of the castle of Karytaina, the Greek Toledo, which dominates the gorge of that classic river, which the Franks called *Charbon*, still mark the spot where Hugues de Bruyères and his son Geoffroy built a stronghold out of the ruins of the Hellenic Brenthe to terrify the Slavs of Skortá, the ancient Gortys and the home of the late Greek Prime Minister, M. Delyánnēs. The special importance of these two baronies was demonstrated by the bestowal of 24 knights'fees upon the former and of 22 upon the latter. The castle-crowned hill of Passavá, so called, not, as Fallmerayer imagined from a Slavonic Passau, but from the French war-cry *Fasse Avant*, still reminds us how Jean de Neuilly, hereditary marshal of Achaia and holder of four fiefs, once watched the restless men of Maina; and, if earthquakes have left no mediaeval buildings at Vostitza, the classic Aigion, where Hugues de Lille de Charpigny received eight knights'fees, his family name still survives in the village of Kerpiné, now a station on the funicular railway between Diakophtó and Kalavryta. At Kalavryta itself Othon de

(1) I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Mills for the map illustrative of Frankish geography.

Tournay, and at Chalandritza to the South of Patras Audebert de la Trémouille, scion of a family famous in the history of France, were established, with 12 and four fiefs respectively. Veligosti near Megalopolis with four fell to the share of the Belgian Matthieu de Valaincourt de Mons, and Nikli near Tegea with six to that of Guillaume de Morlay. Guy de Nivelet kept the Tzakones of Leonidi in check and watched the plain of Laconia from his barony of Geraki with its six fiefs — a castle about to be surveyed by the British School at Athens: — and Gritzena, entrusted to a baron named Luke with four fiefs depending on it guarded the ravines of the mountainous region round Kalamata. Patras became the barony of Guillaume Aleman, a member of a Provençal family still existing at Corfu, and the bold baron did not scruple to build his castle out of the house and church of the Latin Archbishop. Finally, the dozen was completed by the fiefs of Kalamata and Kyparissia (or Arkadia, as it was called in the Middle Ages, when what we call Arcadia was known as Mesarea) which became the barony of Geoffroy de Villehardouin. In addition to these twelve temporal peers there were seven ecclesiastical barons, whose sees were carved out on the lines of the existing Greek organisation, and of whom Antelme of Clugny, Latin Archbishop of Patras and Primate of Achaia was the chief. The Archbishop received eight knights' fees, the bishops four a piece, and the same number was assigned to each of the three great Military Orders of the Teutonic Knights, the Knights of St. John, and the Templars. When, a century later, the Templars were dissolved, their possessions went to the Knights of St. John. In Elis was the domain of the Prince, and his usual residence, when he was not at Andravida, was at Lacedæmonia, or La Crémonie, as the Franks called it.

After the distribution of the baronies came the assignment of military service. All the vassals were liable to render four months' service in the field, and to spend four months in garrison (from which the prelates and the three Military Orders were alone exempted), and even during the remaining four months, which they could pass at home, they were expected to hold themselves ready to obey the summons of the Prince. After the age of 60, personal service was no longer required; but the vassal must send his son, or, if he had no son, some one else in his stead. Thus, the Franks were on a constant war footing; their whole organisation was military — a fact which explains the ease with which they held down the unwarlike Greeks, so many times their superiors in numbers. This military organisation had, however, as the eminent modern Greek historian Paparregópoulos has pointed out, the effect of making the Greeks, too, imbibe in course of time something of the spirit of their conquerors. It is thus that we may explain the extraordinary contrast between the tame-

ness with which the Greeks accepted the Frankish domination, and their frequent rebellions against that of the Turks. All over the Levant and even in Italy the Frankish chivalry of Achaia became famous. They fought against the luckless Conradin at Tagliacozzo, and the ruse, which won that battle and which Dante has ascribed to Erard de Valéry, is attributed by the « Chronicle of the Morea » to Prince William of Achaia. Round the Prince there grew up a hierarchy of great officials with high-sounding titles, to which the Greeks had no difficulty in fitting Byzantine equivalents. The Prince himself bore a sceptre, as the symbol of his office, when he presided over the sessions of the High Court.

We learn from the « Book of the Customs of the Empire of Romania » something about the way in which the feudal system worked in the principality of Achaia. Society was there composed of six main elements — the Prince, the holders of the 12 great baronies, the greater and lesser vassals (among whom were some Greeks), the freemen, and the serfs. The Prince and his 12 peers alone had the power of inflicting capital punishment; but even the Prince could not punish any of the barons without the consent of the greater vassals. If he were taken prisoner in battle, he could call upon his vassals to become hostages in his place, until he had raised the amount of his ransom. No one, except the 12 peers, was allowed to build a castle in Achaia without his permission, and without it any vassal, who left the country and stayed abroad, was liable to lose his fief. Leave of absence was, however, never refused if the vassal wished to claim the succession to a fief abroad, to contract a marriage, or to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre, or to the Churches of St. Peter and St. Paul in Rome or to that of St. James at Compostella. But in such cases the vassals must return within two years and two days. The vassals were of two classes, the greater (or *ligii*) and the lesser (or *homines plani homagii*), who took no part in the Council of the Prince. A liege could not sell his fief without the Prince's consent; but if the liege were a widow — for the Salic Law did not obtain in Frankish Greece, and ladies often held important fiefs — she might marry whom she pleased, except only an enemy of the Prince. When a fief fell vacant, the successor must needs appear to advance his claim within a year and a day if he were in Achaia, within two years and two days if he were abroad. It was the strict application of this rule which led to the succession of Geoffroy de Villehardouin to the throne of Achaia. Champlitte had been summoned away to claim a fief in France, and had requested his trusted comrade in arms to act as his viceroy till he had sent a relative to take his place. When the news reached the Morea that a young cousin of Champlitte was on his way, Geoffroy resolved to use artifice in order to prevent his arrival in time. He accordingly

begged the Doge to assist him, and the latter, who had excellent reasons for remaining on good terms with him, managed to entertain his passing guest at Venice for more than two months. When, at last, young Robert de Champlitte put to sea, the ship's captain received orders to leave him ashore at Corfu, and it was with difficulty that he managed to obtain a passage from there to the Morea. When he landed there he had, however, a few days still in hand; but the crafty Villehardouin managed by marching rapidly from one place to another to avoid meeting him till the full term prescribed by the feudal law had expired. He was then informed that he had forfeited the principality, which thus fell to Villehardouin by a legal quibble. The pious did not, however, forget to point out later on, that the crime of the founder of the dynasty was visited upon his family to the third and fourth generation, as we shall see in the sequel.

There was a great difference between feudal society in Achaia and in the Duchy of Athens. While in the principality the Prince was merely *primus inter pares*, at Athens the « Great Lord » had at the most one exalted noble, the head of the great house of St. Omer, near his throne. It is obvious from the silence of all the authorities, that the Burgundians who settled with Otho de la Roche in his Greek dominions were men of inferior social position to himself — a fact further demonstrated by the comparative lack in Attica and Boeotia of those baronial castles, so common in the Morea. Indeed, it is probable that, in one respect, the Court of Athens under the De la Roche resembled the present Court of King George, namely, that there was no one, except the members of his own family, with whom the ruler could associate on equal terms. But in Frankish, as in modern Athens, the family of the sovereign was soon numerous enough to form a coterie of its own. The news of their relative's astounding fortune attracted to Attica several members of his clan from their home in Burgundy; they doubtless received their share of the good things, which had fallen to Otho; one nephew divided with his uncle the lordship of Thebes, another more distant kinsman became commander of the castle of Athens. Other Burgundians will doubtless have followed in their wake, for in the thirteenth century Greece, or « New France », as Pope Honorius III. called it, was to the younger sons of French noble houses what the British colonies were fifty years ago to impecunious but energetic Englishmen. The elder Sanudo, who derived his information from his relatives, the Dukes of Naxos, specially tells us that this was the case at the Achaian Court. He says of Geoffroy II. of Achaia, that « he possessed a broad domain and great riches; he was wont to send his most confidential advisers from time to time to the Courts of his vassals, to see how they lived, and how they treated their subjects. At his own Court he constantly maintained 80 knights with

golden spurs, to whom he gave their pay and all that they required; so knights came from France, from Burgundy, and above all from Champagne. Some came to amuse themselves, others to pay their debts; others because of crimes which they had committed at home ».

There was another marked distinction between Attica and the Morea. Nikéas mentions no great local magnates as settled at Athens or Thebes in the last days of the Byzantine domination, nor do we hear of such during the whole century of Burgundian rule. Thus, whereas Crete, Negroponte, and the Morea still retained old native families, which in Crete headed insurrections, in Negroponte showed a tendency to emigrate, and in the Morea held fiefs and even occasionally, as in the case of the Sgouromallatoi, intermarried with the Franks, who usually, as Muntaner tells us, took their wives from France and despised marriages with Greeks even of high degree, Athens contained no such native aristocracy. It is only towards the close of the fourteenth century that we hear of any Greeks prominent there, and then they are not nobles, but notaries. Only in the last two generations of Latin rule, is there a national party at Athens, in which the famous family of Chalkokondyles, which produced the last Athenian historian, was prominent. The Greeks of Attica were, therefore, mostly peasants, whose lot was much the same as it was all over the feudal world, namely that of serfdom. We have examples, too, of actual slavery at Athens, even in the last decades of the Latin domination.

Otho's dominions were large, if measured by the small standard of classical Greece. Burgundian Athens embraced Attica, Bœotia, the Megarid, the ancient Opuntian Lokris, and the fortresses of Nauplia and Argos, which the « Great Lord » had received as a fief from the principality of Achaia in return for his services at the time of their capture. Thus situated, the Athenian state had a considerable coast-line and at least four ports — the Piræus, Nauplia, the harbour of Atalante opposite Eubœa, and Livadostro, or Rive d'Ostre, as the Franks called it, on the Gulf of Corinth — the usual port of embarkation for the West. Yet the Burgundian rulers of Athens made little attempt to create a navy, confining themselves to a little amateur piracy. Venice was most jealous of any other Latin state, which showed any desire to rival her as a maritime Power in the Levant, and in a treaty concluded in 1319 between the Republic and the Catalans, who then held the Duchy of Athens, it was expressly provided that they should launch no new ships in « the sea of Athens » and should dismantle those already afloat and place their tackle in the Akropolis.

We are not told where the first Frankish ruler of Athens resided, but there can be no doubt that, like his immediate successors, he fixed his

capital at Thebes — for it was not till the time of the Florentine Dukes in the fifteenth century that the Propylaea at Athens became the ducal palace. The old Bœotian city continued, under the Burgundian dynasty, to be the most important place in the Athenian Duchy. The silk manufacture still continued there; for it is specially mentioned in the commercial treaty which Guy I. of Athens concluded with the Genoese in 1240, and we hear of a gift of 20 silken garments from Guy II. to Pope Boniface VIII. The town contained both a Genoese and a Jewish colony, and it was a nest of Hebrew poets, whose verses, if we may believe a rival bard, were one mass of barbarisms. But the great feature of Thebes was the castle, built by Nicholas II. de St. Omer out of the vast fortune of his wife, Princess Marie of Antioch. This huge building is described as « the finest baronial mansion in all the realm of Romania »; it contained sufficient rooms for an Emperor and his court, and the walls were covered with frescoes illustrating the conquest of the Holy Land, in which the ancestors of the Great Theban baron had played a prominent part. Unhappily, the great castle of Thebes was destroyed by the Catalans in the fourteenth century, and one stumpy tower alone remains to preserve, like the Santameri mountains in the Morea, the name and fame of the great Frankish family of St. Omer.

I have spoken of the political organisation of the two chief Frankish states of Greece; I would next say something of their ecclesiastical arrangements. The policy of the Franks towards the Greek Church was more than anything else the determining factor of their success or failure in Greece, for in all ages the Greeks have regarded their Church as inseparably identified with their nationality, and even today the terms « Christian » and « Greek » are often used as identical terms. Now, as that fair-minded modern Greek historian, Paparregópoulos, has pointed out, the Franks were confronted at the outset with an ecclesiastical dilemma, from which there was no escape. Either they must persecute the Orthodox Church, in which case they would make bitter enemies of the persecuted clergy and of the Nicene and Byzantine Emperors; or they must tolerate it, in which case their Greek subjects would find natural leaders in the Orthodox bishops, who would sooner or later conspire against their foreign rulers. This was exactly what happened as soon as the Franks abandoned the policy of persecution for that of toleration. At first, they simply annexed the existing Greek ecclesiastical organisation, which had subsisted, with one or two small changes, ever since the days of the Emperor Leo the Philosopher, ousted the Orthodox hierarchy from their sees, and installed in their places Catholic ecclesiastics from the West.

Thus, at Athens, a Frenchman, named Bérard, became the first Catholic Archbishop of Athens, and thus began that long series which lasted without a break till the time of the Turkish conquest and was subsequently renewed in 1875. Later on, however, when the Florentine Despot of Athens, at the end of the fourteenth century, permitted the Greek Metropolitan to reside in his see, he at once entered into negotiations with the Turks, and the same phenomenon meets us at Salona and other places. As Voltaire has said, the Greek clergy « preferred the turban of a Turkish priest to the red hat of a Roman Cardinal », and this strange preference contributed in great measure to the downfall of Latin rule in the Levant. For, throughout the long period of the Frankish domination, the Catholic Church made hardly any headway among the Greeks. The elder Sanudo, who knew the Levant better than most of his contemporaries, wrote to Pope John XXII, that the Western Powers might destroy the Byzantine Empire but could not retain their conquests, for the examples of Cyprus, Crete, the principality of Achaia, and the Duchy of Athens showed that only the foreign conquerors and not the natives belonged to the Roman faith. Even to-day, the Catholics of Greece come mostly from those Italian families, whose ancestors emigrated to the Levant in the Frankish period, and are mostly to be found just where we should expect to find them — in the Ionian Islands and the Cyclades, that is to say, in the two places where Latin rule lasted longest. Moreover, the Catholic Church did not receive the consideration which it might have reasonably expected from the Frankish rulers themselves. The correspondence of Innocent III., who sat on the Chair of St. Peter at the time of the conquest, is full of complaints against the hostile attitude of the Franks towards the Roman clergy. The Archbishop of Patras was not safe even in his own palace, for the sacrilegious baron Aleman, who, as we saw, had received that town as a fief, considered the Archiepiscopal plan of fortifying the place against pirates as amateurish, carried the Primate off to prison, cut off his representative's nose, and converted the palace and the adjacent church of St. Theodore into the present castle. Geoffroy I. de Villehardouin neither paid tithes himself, nor compelled his subjects to pay them; he forced the clergy to plead before the secular tribunals, and exempted the Greek priests and monks from the jurisdiction of the Catholic Archbishop. His son and successor, Geoffroy II., went even farther in this secular policy. When the Latin clergy refused to perform military service, on the ground that they owed obedience to the Pope alone, he confiscated their fiefs and devoted the funds which he thus obtained to building the great castle of Chlomoûtsi, or Clermont, near Glarentza in

the West of Elis, the ruins of which still remain a striking monument of the relations between Church and State in Frankish Greece. This castle took three years to construct; and, as soon as it was finished, Geoffroy laid the whole matter before Pope Honorius III. He pointed out that if the Latin priests would not help him to fight the Greeks, they would only have themselves to blame if the principality, and with it their Church, fell under the sway of those Schismatics. The Pope saw the force of this argument; the Prince ceased to appropriate the revenues of the clergy; and peace reigned between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. It is interesting to note, that, under the next Prince, the castle of Chlomoútsi became the mint of the principality, whence coins known as *tournois*, or *tornesi*, because they bore on them a representation of the Church of St. Martin of Tours, were issued for more than a century. Many thousands of these coins have been found in Greece, specimens may be seen in the Doge's Palace and in the Museo Correr at Venice, and from this Achaian currency the castle received its Italian name of Castel Tornese. The town and harbour of Glarentza near it rose to be the chief port of the principality. Boccaccio mentions Genoese merchantmen there in one of the novels of the *Decamerone*, in which a « Prince of the Morea » is one of the characters; the famous Florentine banking house of the Peruzzi had a branch there, and Pegalotti describes to us the weights, measures, and customs duties of this flourishing commercial place.

When we come to consider the social life of Frankish Greece, we are struck by the prominent part which women played in it, and in political life as well. The Salic law did not obtain in the Latin states of the Levant (1), and, without expressing any opinion upon the thorny question of female suffrage, I do not think that it can be denied that the participation of the weaker sex in the government of a purely military community had disastrous effects. It happened on two occasions that almost the entire baronage of Frankish Greece was annihilated on the field of battle, and after the former of these disasters — the battle of Pelagonia in 1259, in which Prince William of Achaia was taken prisoner by the troops of the Greek Emperor of Nice — the fate of the principality was decided by the votes of its ladies. The Emperor Michael VIII. was resolved to make the best use of the advantage which the rashness of the Prince had placed within his power, and demanded, as the price of his captives' freedom, the cession of the three great fortresses of Monemvasia, Mistra, and Maina, the first of which had only recently been surrendered by the Greeks to the Franks,

(1) Except at Naxos under the Crispi.

while the other two had been erected by Prince William himself. The question was submitted by Duke Guy I. of Athens, who was then acting as Regent of Achaia, to a Parliament, convened at Nikli in 1262. At this « Ladies' Parliament » there were only two other men present — for all the men of mark were either in prison or had been slain at Pelagonia — and their wives or widows had to take their place at the Council. Naturally, an assembly so composed was guided by sentiment rather than by reasons of high policy. In vain the statesmanlike Duke of Athens argued in scriptural language, that « it were better that one man should die for the people rather than the other Franks of the Morea should lose the fruits of their fathers' labours »; in vain, to show his disinterestedness, he offered to take the Prince's place in prison or to pledge his own Duchy to provide a ransom. The conjugal feelings of the ladies prevailed, the three castles were surrendered, and from that day dates the gradual recovery of the Morea by the Greeks. Two noble dames were sent, in strict accordance with feudal law, as hostages for their lord to Constantinople, and it is interesting to note the ingratitude with which one of them was treated by him in the sequel. While she was still in prison on his account, the great barony of Matagrifon, to which she was entitled as next of kin, fell vacant. But the Prince, who wished to bestow it upon one of his daughters, declined to invest her with it, on the technical ground that she had permitted the period of time allowed by the feudal code to elapse without appearing to claim the fief. Unable to obtain justice, she resorted to matrimony with one of the powerful barons of St. Omer as the only means of compelling the Prince to give her what was hers. In this she was partially successful; but the incident throws a lurid light on the chivalry of the brave warrior, whom the author of the « Chronicle of the Morea » has made his hero.

It would be interesting to present a few portraits of the leading women of Frankish Greece. There were the two daughters of Prince William, of whom the elder, Princess Isabelle, succeeded him and whose hand was eagerly sought in marriage by three husbands; her younger sister, Marguérite, died in the grim castle of Chlomoûtsi, the prisoner of the turbulent Moreote barons, who never forgave her for having married her daughter without their approval. There was Isabelle's daughter, Matilda, who had already been twice a widow when she was only 23, and who was left all alone to govern the principality, where every proud feudal lord claimed to do what was right in his own eyes. Compelled by King Robert « the Wise » of Naples to go through the form of marriage with his brother, John of Gravina, a man whom she loathed, she was imprisoned for her contumacity in the Castel dell'Uovo of Naples. There were the three Duchesses of Athens — Helene Angela, widow of Duke William, Regent for her son, and

the first Greek who had governed Athens for 80 years; Maria Melissené, widow of Duke Antonio I., who tried to betray the Duchy to her countrymen the Greeks; and most tragic of all, Chiara Giorgio, a veritable villain of melodrama, widow of Nerio II., who fell in love with a young Venetian noble, induced him by the offer of her hand and land to poison the wife whom he had left behind in his palace at Venice, and expiated her crime before the altar of the Virgin at Megara at the hands of the last Frankish Duke of Athens, thus causing the Turkish conquest. Of like mould was the Dowager Countess of Salona, whose evil Government drove her subjects to call in the Turks, and whose beautiful daughter, the last Countess of that historic castle, ended her days in the Sultan's harem. Another of these masculine dames was Francesca Acciajuoli, wife of Carlo Tocco, the Palatine Count of Cephalaria, the ablest and most masterful woman of the Latin Orient, who used to sign her letters in cinnabar ink « Empress of the Romans ». In her castles at Sta. Mavra and at Cephalaria she presided over a bevy of fair ladies, and Froissart has quaintly described the splendid hospitality, with which she received the French nobles, whom the Turks had taken prisoners at the battle of Nikopolis on the Danube. « The ladies », writes the old French chronicler, « were exceeding glad to have such noble society, for Venetian and Genoese merchants were, as a rule, the only strangers who came to their delightful island ». He tells us, that Cephalaria was ruled by women, who scorned not, however, to make silken coverings so fine, that there was none like them. Fairies and nymphs inhabited this ancient realm of Odysseus, where a mediaeval Penelope held sway in the absence of her lord! Yet another fair dame of the Frankish world, the Duchess Fiorenza Sanudo of Naxos, occupied for years the astute diplomatists of Venice, who were resolved that so eligible a young widow should marry none but a Venetian, and who at last, when suitors of other nationalities became pressing, had the Duchess kidnapped and conveyed to Crete, where she was plainly told that, if she ever wished to see her beloved Naxos again, she must marry the candidate of the Most Serene Republic. And finally, we have the portrait of a more feminine woman than most of these ladies, Marulla of Verona, a noble damsel of Negroponte, whom old Ramon Muntaner describes from personal acquaintance as « one of the fairest Christians in the world, the best woman and the wisest that ever was in that land ».

Social life must have been far more brilliant in the hey-day of the Frankish rule than anything that Greece had witnessed for centuries. The « Chronicle of the Morea » tells us, that the Achaian nobles in their castles « lived the fairest life that a man can », and has preserved the account of the great tournament on the Isthmus of Corinth — a mediaeval

of the Frankish princes — which Philip of Savoy, at that time
 Prince of Achaia, organized in 1306. From all parts of the Frankish
 dominions in Greece he summoned the knights of the Prince. There were
 Duke Guy II. of Athens with a brave body of knights, the Marquess of
 Bithynia and the most barons of Euboea, the Duke of the Archipelago
 and the Palatine Count of Cephalonia, the Marshal of Achaia, Nicholas de
 Sancerre with a following of Theban vassals, and many another lesser
 name. Messengers had been sent throughout the highlands and islands of
 the Land of Greece proclaiming to all and sundry, how seven champions had
 come from beyond the seas and did challenge the chivalry of Romania
 to fight with them. Never had the fair land of Hellas seen a braver sight
 than was presented by the lists at Corinth in the lovely month of May,
 when the sky and the two seas were at their fairest. More than 1000
 knights and barons took part in the tournament, which lasted for 20 days,
 when all the fair ladies of Achaia and Athens «rained influence» on the
 combatants. There were the seven champions, clad in their armour of
 green taffetas covered with scales of gold; there was the Prince of Achaia,
 who acquired himself fight only in the lists, as a son of Savoy should,
 with all his household. Most impetuous of all was the Duke of Athens,
 eager to match his skill in horsemanship and with the lance against Master
 William Bouchart, accounted one of the best joustiers of the West. The
 valorous Bouchart would fain have spared his less experienced antagonist;
 but the Duke, who had cunningly padded himself beneath his plate armour,
 was determined to meet him front to front; their horses collided with such
 force that the iron spine of Bouchart's charger pierced Guy's steed
 between the shoulders, so that horse and rider rolled in the dust. St. Omer
 would fain have met the Count John of Cephalonia in the lists; but the
 Palatine, fearing the Marshal's doughty arm, pretended that his horse
 could not bear him into the ring, nor could he be shamed into the combat,
 when Bouchart rode round and round the lists on the animal, crying
 aloud, «This is the horse which would not go to the jousts!» So they kept
 high revel on the Isthmus; alas! it was the last great display of the
 chivalry of «New France»; six years later, many a knight who had ridden
 proudly past the dames of the Morea, lay a mangled corpse on the swampy
 plain of Boeotia, the victim of the knife of Aragon. Besides tournaments,
 hunting was one of the great attractions of life in mediaeval Greece; we
 hear, too, of an archery match in Crete, at which the archers represented
 different nations; we are told of great balls held in Negroponte, which the
 gay Lombard society of that island attended; and mention is made of the
 jongleurs who were attached to the brilliant Court of Thebes. Muntaner,
 who knew Duke Guy II. and had visited his capital, has given us a

charming account of the ceremony in the Theban Minster, when the last De la Roche came of age and received the order of knighthood — « a duty which the King of France on the Emperor himself would have thought it an honour to perform, for the Duke was one of the noblest men in all Romania who was not a King, and eke one of the richest ». The episode gives us some idea of the wealth and splendour and open-handed generosity of the Burgundian Dukes of Athens.

In conclusion, I should like to say something about Frankish influence on the language and literature of Greece. We are specially told that the Franks of Achaia spoke most excellent French; but, at the same time, there is direct evidence, that in the second generation, at any rate, they also spoke Greek. The « Chronicle of the Morea » describes how Prince William of Achaia after the battle of Pelagonia addressed his captor in that language, and Duke John of Athens, according to Sanudo, once used a Greek phrase, which is a quotation from Herodotus. Later on, the Florentine Dukes of Athens drew up many of their documents in Greek, just as Mohammed II. employed that language in his diplomatic communications. The Venetian Governors of Euboea, however, who held office for only two years, had to employ an interpreter, who is specially mentioned in one of the Venetian documents. While a number of French feudal and Italian terms crept into the Greek language, as may be seen in the Cyclades at the present day, and especially in the Venetian island of Tenos, the Franks covered the map of Greece with a strange and weird nomenclature. Thus, Lacedaemonia became « La Crémonie », the first syllable being mistaken for the definite article; Athens was known as « Satines », or « Sethines », Thebes as « Estives », Naupaktos as « Lepanto », Zeitounion, the modern Lamia, as « Gipton », Kalavryta as « La Grite », Salona as « La Sole », Lemnos as « Stalimene », and the island of Samothrace as « Sanctus Mandrachi ». Most wonderful transformation of all, Cape Sunium becomes in one Venetian document « Pellestello » (πολλοὶ στῦλοι), from the « Many columns » of the temple, which gave its usual Italian name of « Cape Colonna ».

The Franks have too often been accused of being barbarians, whereas there is evidence that they were not indifferent to literature. Among the conquerors were not a few poets. Conon de Béthune was a writer of poems as well as an orator; Geoffroy I. of Achaia composed some verses which have been preserved; Rambaud de Vaqueiras, the troubadour of Boniface of Montferrat, was rewarded for his songs by lands in Greece. Count John II. Orsini of Epiros ordered Constantine Hermoniakós to make a paraphrase of Homer in octosyllabic verse. We may say of this production, as Bentley said of Pope's translation of the « Iliad », « it is a pretty poem, but you must

not call it Homer » ; still it is interesting to find a Latin ruler patronising Greek literature. The courtly poet was so delighted that he tells us that his master was « a hero and a scholar », and that the Lady Anna of Epiros « excelled all women that ever lived in beauty, wisdom, and learning ». Historical accuracy compels me to add that the « heroic and scholarly » Count had gained his throne by the murder of his brother, while the « beautiful, wise and learned » Anna assassinated her husband! Throughout a great part of the Frankish period, too, people were engaged in transcribing Greek manuscripts. Several Athenians copied medical treatises, William of Meerbeke, the Latin Archbishop of Corinth in 1280 translated Hippocrates, Galen, Aristotle, and Proklus, and one of the Tocchi — the Italian family which followed the Orsini as Counts of Cephalonia — employed a monk to copy for him manuscripts of Origen and Chrysostom. Yet, in 1309, a Theban canon had to go to the West to continue his studies; and, a century later, the Archbishop of Patras obtained leave to study at the University of Bologna.

But the chief literary monument of Frankish Greece is the « Chronicle of the Morea » — the very curious work which exists in four versions, Greek, French, Italian, and Spanish. The Italian version need not detain us, for it contains no new facts and is merely an abbreviated translation of the Greek, chiefly remarkable for the extraordinary, but characteristic, mutilation of the proper names. The Spanish version, made in 1393 by order of Heredia, the romantic Grand-Master of the Knights of St. John, and the French version, found in the castle of St. Omer — another proof of Frankish culture — are of great historic interest. But by far the most remarkable of all the four versions is the Greek — a poem of some 9000 lines in the usual jog trot « political » metre of most mediaeval and modern Greek poetry, composed, in my opinion, by a half-caste lawyer, who obviously had the most enthusiastic admiration for the Franks, to whom he doubtless owed his place and salary. With the exception of a few French feudal terms, this most remarkable poem may be read without the slightest difficulty by any modern Greek scholar, — a striking proof that the vulgar Greek spoken to-day is almost exactly the same as that in common use in the first half of the fourteenth century, when the « Chronicle » was composed. As regards its literary merits, opinions differ. As a rule, it is merely prose in the form of verse; but here and there, the author rises to a much higher level, and his work is a store-house of social, and especially legal information, even where his chronology and history have been shown by documentary evidence to be inaccurate.

The bright and chivalrous Frankish society has long passed away; but a few Italian and Catalan families still linger in the Cyclades, there are still

Venetian names and titles in the Ionian Islands; the Tocchi are still represented at Naples and the Zorzi at Venice; the towers of Thebes and Paros, the Norman arch of Andravida, the noble castles of Karytaina and Chlomoùtsi, and the carvings and frescoes of Geraki still remind us of the romance of feudal Greece, when every coign of vantage had its lord, and from every donjon floated the banner of a baron.

Tuesday, February 27th.

VII.

AUGUSTUS AND THE MONUMENTUM ANCYRANUM

BY

JOHN D. PAUL

The lecturer suggests that the paper is too long for publication in extenso, and he sends the following extracts.

The death of the Dictator was followed by thirteen years of demoralising civil war and it was not till Augustus was thirty two years old that he entered upon a more peaceful time which was to last till the end of his days. He was never a strong man and he had more than one serious illness, so that it was not to be wondered at that when he had passed the three score years and ten, his life-long anxieties and work began to tell on his strength and nerves. With his characteristic prudence he began to set his house in order. He made his will and wrote out, partly with his own hand, an account of the revenue and expenditure and of the military forces of the Empire. On another parchment he set out his parting advice to the Senate and to his successors as to the policy they should follow in the management of the Empire. To these parchments he added others of the greatest interest which are the subject of this paper.

The longing for an honourable epitaph was a Roman characteristic. So strong and so widespread was this feeling that it led to the use of a series of abbreviations - a sort of shorthand - by which a list of the offices and honours of the deceased and the largest possible number of the particulars of his career might be inscribed in the limited space of his tombstone. But no epitaph could contain what Augustus wished to record and to hand down to posterity. If he had lived at the present day he would have left behind him his Memoirs or his Autobiography in two volumes. As it was he wrote, without any literary setting, a rambling catalogue of his deeds and directed that it should be engraved on two bronze columns to be set up in front of his mausoleum in the Campus Martius. The columns have long ago disappeared but fortunately elsewhere imperfect copies of the inscription have come down to us.

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Augustus paid more than one visit to Ancyra (the modern Angora), the metropolis of the Roman province of Galatia Prima. The city lay upon the great military high way leading to the East and received several marks of favour from Augustus. It was probably on one of these visits that the citizens obtained his permission not only to call the city after his name, but also to erect a temple for the worship of Rome and Augustus. The wealth and the gratitude of the citizens is shown by the remains of the splendid white marble temple with its portico and six columns, which still exists in a partially ruined condition.

We can well believe that on the death of Augustus, to whom the provinces were so much indebted, that there would be amongst the citizens a genuine feeling of regret and a sincere desire to preserve the memory of their benefactor. Nothing would have been more appropriate and more consonant to public feeling than that the Roman governor, the legate of Augustus, should order that a copy of the Latin inscription in the Campus Martius should be cut upon the inner walls of the portico of the temple, and as Greek was the language of the country that a translation in Greek should be engraved on the outer wall. The temple was afterwards used as a Christian church and subsequently as a Turkish mosque, and it is to this use that is owing the preservation of the inscription though in a sadly dilapidated condition.

The inscription at Ancyra begins with a descriptive heading, probably added by the Roman governor. « A copy of the inscriptions on two bronze columns set up at Rome, which record the deeds of the Divine Augustus, by which he subjected the world to the Empire of the Roman People, and the sums he gave to the Republic and to the Roman People ».

The inscription written by Augustus then begins with two paragraphs, rather apologetic in tone.

« When I was nineteen I raised an army of my own motion, and at my own expense, by the aid of which I restored liberty to the Republic which had been enslaved by a faction, for which services, during the Consulate of Hirtius and Pansa the Senate elected me by an honourable decree a member of their order and gave me the Imperium and at the same time precedence in addressing their house. They ordered me also, as Propraetor to see that the Republic received no harm. In the same year when both Consuls had been killed, the people made me Consul and also Triumvir for revising the constitution of the Republic ».

No exception can be taken to his statement that he raised an army at his own expense and without the shadow of any proper authority, but the rest of the paragraph is remarkable more for what it does not say, than for what it says. When Augustus looked back on his career he found many incidents that it was not desirable to recall. He omits to state that he began his political life by placing the legions he had raised at the service of the party who approved of the assassination of his father — that he owed his first step in political life to the unstinted pledges for his loyalty to the Senate, given by Cicero, whom he deceived, and a few months afterwards sacrificed to the revenge of his co-triumvir — that he carried his election as consul at the point of the sword, by overawing the city with his soldiers — and that when the Senate sought to deprive him of his position and when his legions showed their reluctance to fight any longer in support of the Senate and the conspirators he changed sides and came to an arrangement with Antonius by which they made themselves practically dictators.

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With the death of Antonius and the effacement of Lepidus, Augustus became the sole surviving triumvir with all the powers of a Dictator concentrated in his hands. He was quite aware of the danger of such a position. The Plebs might like the rule of one man elected by themselves, but the Senate would never endure such a government.

The fate of his father was always before his eyes. When after the battle of Actium he returned to Rome with the wealth of the Ptolemies in his possession, he was confronted with the problem of finding some form of effective government which would work behind the screen of the existing institutions consisting of the corrupt incapable Comitia, a Senate destitute of public spirit, and an enormously expensive standing army. In 27 B. C. the problem was solved. Augustus laid down his power as Triumvir and nominally divided the provinces with the Senate, but he really controlled them all. He received the tribunitian and afterwards the pro-consular powers. The army was placed under his control. To save appearances these powers were conferred only for a limited time, but as the historian Dion Cassius puts it, « in reality Augustus set out at once with a full and perpetual authority with power over the treasury and the army. »

The account of the transaction in the inscription gives no hint that the Republic had been superseded by the Empire. « I transferred the public business out of my power to the judgement of the Senate and the

Roman People. After that time I took precedence, but I had no more power than my brother-magistrates *. That can scarcely be considered as an adequate account of a change which was really the foundation of the Empire.

The rest of the inscription is an exultant record of his gifts in money, in food and in shows to the Roman People, of the gifts to the army, of his successful campaigns, of the high estimation in which the Roman People was held, of the honours he received and specially of those he declined. The following condensed extracts will give some idea of the contents of the inscriptions.

« To not less than 52,200 of the Roman plebs I gave 1,500 sesterces each in four distributions at different times. To 320,000 of the urban plebs I gave 60 sesterces a piece. I gave 12 distributions of corn. To each of 120,000 soldiers living in colonies I gave 1,000 sesterces a head from the booty.

I paid for farms on which were settled the veterans on their discharge, 860 million sesterces. I gave good service allowances to soldiers to the amount of 400 million sesterces.

To the state treasury I gave 150 million sesterces and to the military treasury to pay the bounties due to Veterans on their discharge, I gave 170 million sesterces.

Eight times I gave a show of gladiators, in which about 10,000 men contended.

Several times I paid into the treasury the arrears of taxes of over 100,000 persons. »

One hundred sesterces may be roughly reckoned as equal to a pound sterling.

His gifts in money or its equivalent to the people and the army, exclusive of the immense sums he spent in building and repairing temples, theatres, fora, and colonnades, and the cost of the shows and games, exceeded seventeen millions sterling.

« Twice I gave shows of athletes collected from all parts of the world. I gave the Secular games and the games of Mars.

I gave the people wild beast hunts twenty six times, in which about 3,500 animals were killed.

I gave the people the spectacle of a naval battle on the other side of the Tiber, in a lake specially excavated, 600 yards long by 400 yards wide, in which thirty beaked ships, triremes or biremes, besides smaller vessels, contended. Besides the rowers 3,000 men fought on board these vessels.

Twice I celebrated an ovation, three times curule triumphs and twenty

one times I was greeted as Imperator. Though the Senate afterwards voted me several triumphs I declined them all. The Dictatorship offered to me by the Senate and People I also declined.

I extended the frontiers of the provinces of the Roman People. The provinces of the Gauls, and Spain and Germany, bounded by the Ocean, from Gades to the mouth of the Elbe, I reduced to a peaceful state. My fleet sailed through the Ocean from the mouth of the Rhine towards the rising sun, up to the territories of the Cimbri, to which no Roman had before penetrated either by land or sea. I added Egypt to the dominions of the Roman People.

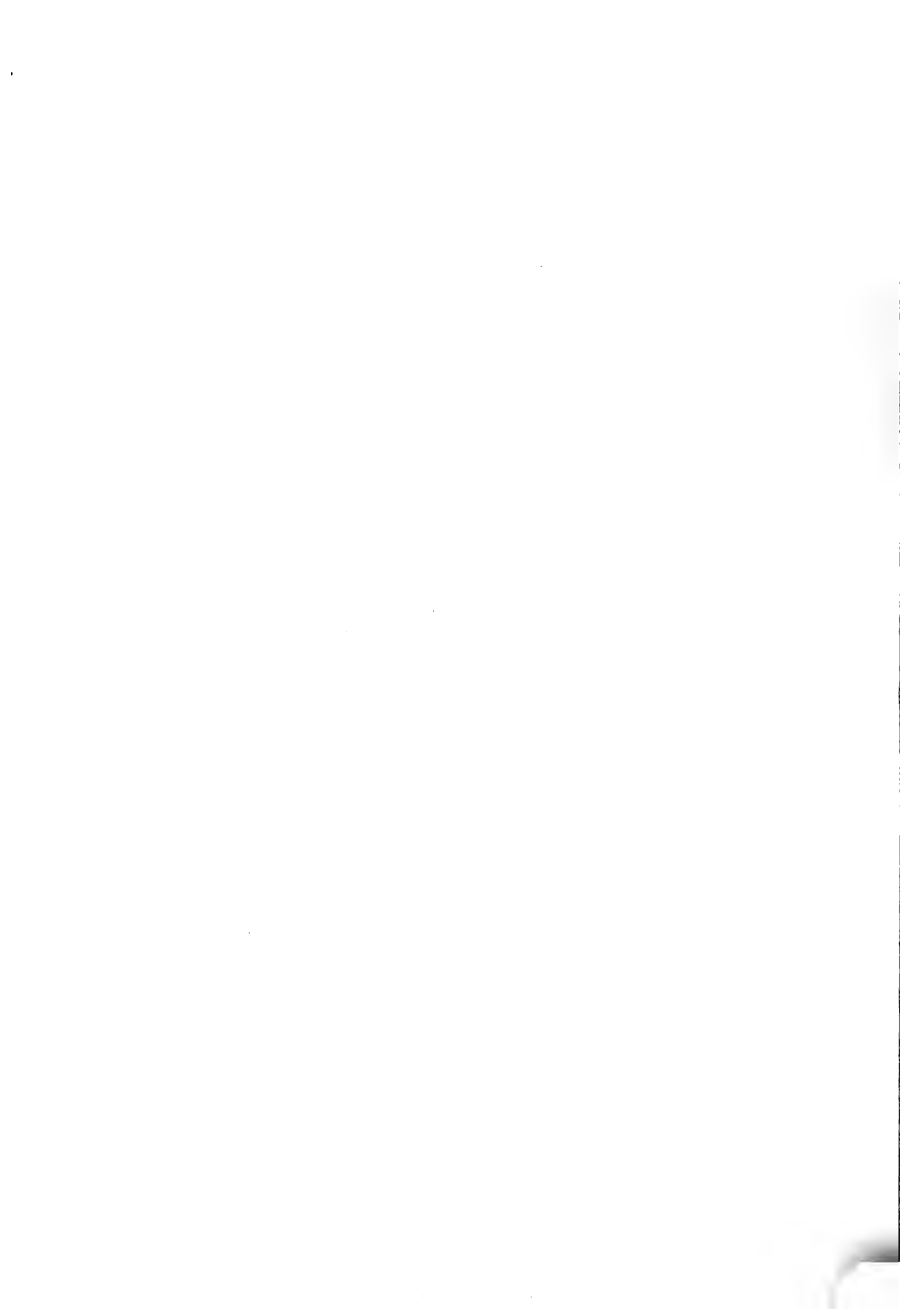
Kings often sent me ambassadors from India. Kings fled to me for refuge, among them the Briton Dumnobellaunus. »

When we get clear of the first two paragraphs there is no note of apology in the rest of the inscription, much less of allusion to any compensation for the liberty he had taken away from the people. Augustus was never a democrat. His ideal government seems to have been a good administration with peace, and plenty with honours. Read between the lines he seems to say to the Roman People in the inscription — « I have served you well. I have been rich but I have shared my riches with you. Many honours have been offered to me, some I have accepted, but I have declined more and I have throughout refused to accept power which would make me independent of your approbation and suffrages. If I have received honours for myself I have also made your name honourable throughout the world. »

When at his own expense he saved Rome from semi-starvation, he records it without a suspicion of charity, simply as a public duty discharged.

« When there was the greatest scarcity I did not refuse to undertake the control of the gratuitous distribution of public corn, which I so managed that in a few days, at my own expense, I freed the whole people from fear and danger ». Our idea of charity did not exist in the mind of Augustus.

We search in vain for any reference to his immense obligation to Agrippa or Maecenas. His allusion to Gaius and Lucius Caesar, « my sons whom fortune snatched from me in their early manhood » refers to a genuine sorrow and is the solitary touch of nature in the whole inscription. The tone of the inscription corresponds with his request to the friends who were admitted to his room in his last hours. « If you think I have played any part well on the stage of life, as I quit the scene, give me a round of applause ».





N° 1



N° 2



N° 3



N° 4

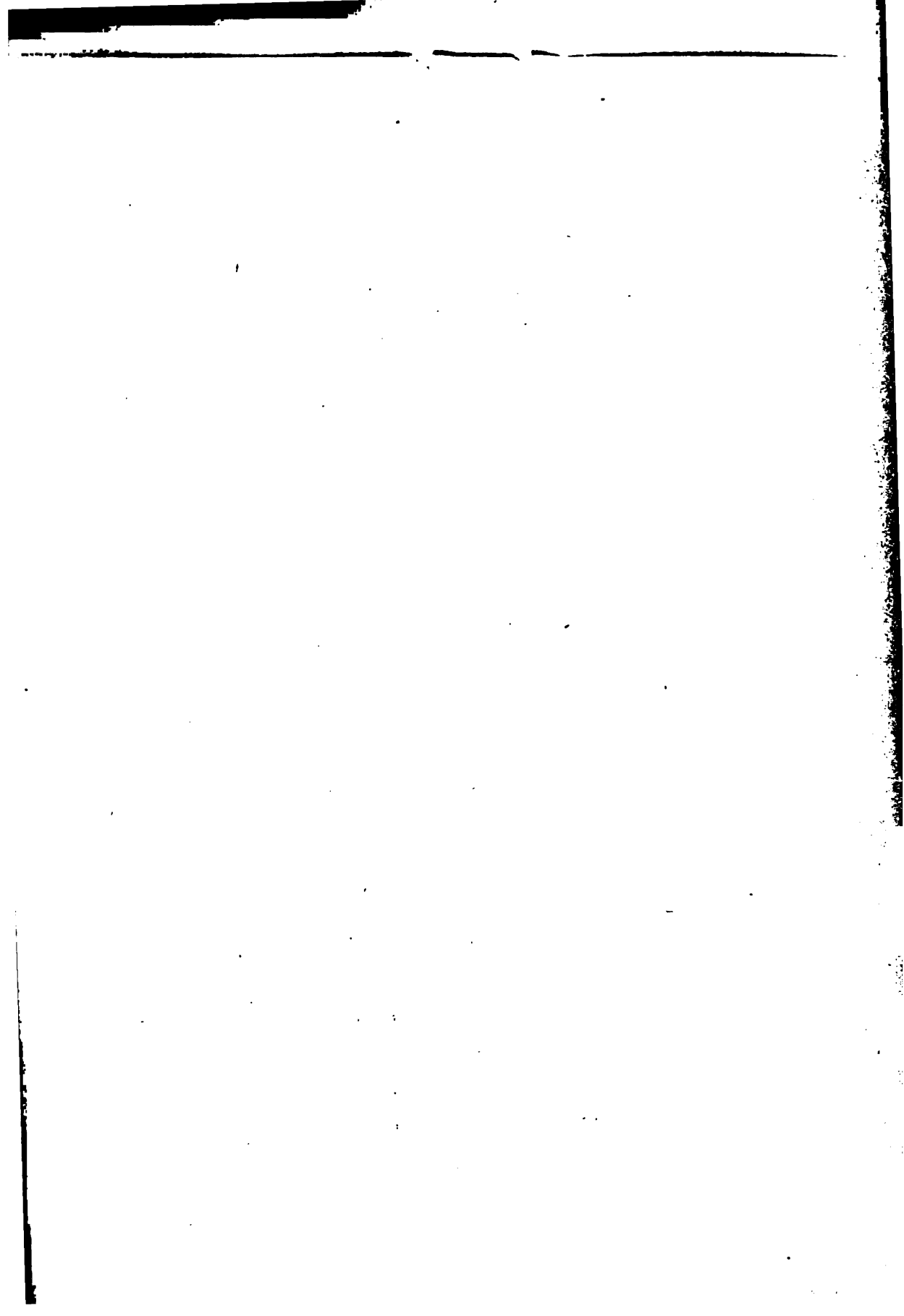


N° 5



N° 6

ROMAN ART IN PORTRAITURE





Tuesday, March 6th.

VIII.

THE EVOLUTION OF ART IN ROMAN PORTRAITURE ⁽¹⁾

BY

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Roman portrait busts have been long neglected. Those that bear no names are passed by with silent contempt; those that have been baptized, usually quite wrongly, with the names of Emperors or other famous men are regarded merely as sentimental curiosities, and not as works of art. The object of the present paper is to attempt to point out the artistic qualities of Roman portrait busts and to trace the evolution of art in them. This would be a comparatively easy task, if we could be more or less certain of the chronological order of any considerable number of portraits. Fortunately this is possible. From the heads of the emperors on their coins ⁽²⁾ especially the gold *aurei* and the large brass, we can identify busts of most of the Emperors of the first and second centuries, and some of those of the third century. We have thus a foundation for determining the style of any particular period. In this we derive great assistance from the conclusions of Bienkowski on the development of the shape of busts ⁽³⁾. He shows that the bust is small in the republican period and gradually grows larger during the empire. Accordingly we may divide the development of the bust into the following periods.

(1). Republican, Augustan and Julio-Claudian: the bust just includes the collar bone and the parts around it. Naturally in the later period the bust grows slightly larger. Example, Capitol, *Sala del Gladiatore*, 16.

(1) The student of Roman Art will perceive how deeply indebted I am to RIEGL *Spätromische Kunstindustrie*, Chap. II), and WICKHOFF (*Roman Art*). I have borrowed their ideas, and blended and developed them with my own theories. To Mr. STUART JONES I also owe much; it is impossible to estimate how far I have benefited by his criticism and encouragement.

(2) Cf. IMHOOF-BLUMER, *Porträt-Köpfe auf röm. Münzen*; BERNOULLI, *Röm. Ikonographie*

(3) *Anzeiger der Akad. d. Wissenschaften in Krakau*, 1894 (résumé of the original paper written in Polish); cf. *Rev. Arch.* 1895, II, p. 293.

(2). Neronian, and Flavian: the bust includes the edges of the shoulders and of the breast. Example, Capitol, *Sala delle Colombe*, 108.

(3). Trajanic: the bust includes the armpits. Example, Capitol, *Sala dei Filosofi*, 66.

(4). Hadrianic: the bust includes the whole shoulder with a small part of the upper arm. Example, Capitol, *Sala degli Imperatori*, 32.

(5). Antonine and Aurelian: the bust includes most of the upper arm. Example, Capitol, *Sala degli Imperatori*, 38.

(6). Third century: all shapes are in use, but the most characteristic shapes are the large busts with the right arm, or half-figures. Examples, Capitol, *Galleria I*, *Sala degli Imperatori*, 57.

This classification of the bust-shapes coupled with the study of style founded on Imperial portraits is of the highest importance in enabling us to arrange chronologically nameless private portraits.

Next, as regards female portraits, the coins of the Empresses enable us to see clearly in what order the different fashions of hairdressing succeeded one another. Two additional points should be observed. The eyes up to the Hadrianic period are usually quite plain. Occasionally they are rendered plastically by a simple, incised semicircle (1), or rarely by a dot within a diamond (2). From the time of Hadrian — occasionally in his time the eyes are plain — the eye is always represented plastically by two drill holes within a semicircle. Lastly, as regards male busts, we may note how the fashion of wearing a beard changed, though it must always be remembered that members of the lower and middle classes were probably always bearded, and at least never strictly followed the court fashion. From the Republican times to the Trajanic period it was the fashion to be clean-shaven; from Hadrian to Diocletian with the sole exception of Valerian the emperors are bearded; then Constantine again started the fashion of being clean-shaven.

Republican Period till 30 B. C.

It is well known that in the Republican period it was the custom for Romans to keep in their houses portraits in wax of famous ancestors, which were paraded at funerals (3). The possession of such portraits indicated noble descent, and the *ius imaginum* or right to own them, was jealously guarded. These waxen portraits were doubtless painted to increase their likeness to the deceased. These are of course the predecessors of

(1) E. g. Vatican, *Braccio Nuovo*, 97^a; *Sala dei Busti*, 350, 360; cf. STUART JONES, *I pers B. S. R.* III, p. 245.

(2) E. g. Capitol, *Sala delle Colombe*, 44.

(3) Cf. GREENIDGE, *Roman Public Life*, p. 129; GUHL-KONER, *Leben d. Gr. u. Röme* pp. 714, 858, 859.

the marble busts, which we intend to discuss in this paper. It is only natural to assume that, when the Romans first began to make portraits in marble, they should imitate the waxen technique. Consequently we can clearly distinguish a waxen style in the earlier republican portraits. In such heads every line, every detail of the face is rendered in a smooth, even manner, which suggests a cast taken direct from the living model, as no doubt wax busts were usually made (1). In this waxen style we can trace one distinct development. The artist in working in marble in his anxiety to render faithfully every detail of the face makes all the lines hard. The hair, which in the earlier busts is merely a slightly raised and roughened surface to be completed by paint (2), is in the later scratched in with firm chisel strokes. The resulting style is stern, unyielding and wooden: an exact facial likeness has been obtained, but by the sacrifice of all naturalism and all feeling for texture (3). Just at the end of the Republican period, as far as we can judge, this style ripens into a very good school of portraiture. These busts are noted for excellent characterization, faithfulness in detail and a fine sense in rendering fleshy surfaces. An air of marked distinction is recognisable, and the bust ceases to be a mere block of marble and begins to live. One of the finest examples of this style is a bust in the Vatican (4) (Plate I N.° 1) which is a faithful and a natural likeness. In character it is humorous and genial, tempered with a certain severity. Also of this period is the group in the Vatican nicknamed Cato and Portia (5). The male figure is from stylistic reasons undoubtedly of this time, and thus we can decide the character of a female portrait of the time, and, what is more important, the fashion of doing the hair. We see that this lady parted her hair carefully in the centre and drew it straightly along the sides above the ears to a knob at the back of the neck. Having thus once obtained a date for this fashion of doing the hair, we can place in the same period other busts and so enlarge our knowledge of female portraiture of the republican period. Such busts as we can thus add (6), shew the style already described, but are not good examples of it: and speaking generally one finds throughout that Roman female portraits are less well executed than the male busts.

(1) E. g. Capitol, *Sala delle Colombe*, 62, 88; Museo delle Terme, 207, MARIANI-VAGLIERI, *Guida*, p. 15.

(2) Cf. the heads of the Olympia pediments and metopes.

(3) E. g. Capitol, *Sala delle Colombe*, 62; *Sala dei Filosofi*, 52; *Sala degli Imperatori*, 1.

(4) Braccio Nuoro, 60; other examples Capitol, *Sala dei Filosofi*, 75. (The so-called Cicero and its replicas), *Sala delle Colombe*, 26.

(5) *Sala dei Busti*, 388, WICKHOFF, *Roman Art*, p. 191, fig. B.

(6) E. g. Vatican, *Sala dei Busti*, 294; Capitol, *Sala delle Colombe*, 90; Museo delle Terme 644, MARIANI-VAGLIERI, *Guida*, p. 102.

Augustan Period. 30 B. C. — 14 A. D.

We have seen that art in Roman portraiture had just begun to live. It is at once killed by the cold, Hellenic classicism of the Augustan age. Augustus wished to revive Rome by Greek civilization. Thus Greek art and literature were forced on the Western world. Augustus, as the apostle of Hellenism, is the Alexander of the West. The effect of this is at once apparent in the portraits of Augustus (1) (Plate I N.º 2). Cold idealism replaces warm naturalism, the fresh handling of the flesh gives way to classical severity. The eyes stare vacantly, the hair lacks all character, and the academic treatment of the features robs them of all individuality. These characteristics are present also in the private portraits of the period (2): and we recognise them again in female busts which from the similarity of their hairdress to coins of members of the Julian house must be of this period (3). This fashion is evolved from the preceding one. The hair is parted in the centre, drawn with slight waves to the back of the neck where it is fastened in a twisted loop.

Julio-Claudian Period. 14-54 A. D.

The spirit of Greek classicism was too dead and academic to exert any prolonged influence on Roman art. We see in the portraits of Tiberius (Plate I N.º 3) and members of his family (4) that the Roman feeling for naturalism is working under the veneer of Greek art. In such busts as a rule the hair and eyes remain Greek in character, while the mouth and chin from the closeness of the modelling betray the Roman spirit. Eventually, after a period of transition in which both styles appear together in the same portrait as described, the Roman spirit emerges triumphant. Thus in the portraits of the time of Claudius the Roman desire for an accurate rendering of every feature, for precision in modelling, for truth in detail is dominant. Portraits of this period (Plate I N.º 4) (5) are remarkable for the uncompromising faithfulness with which the artist reproduces all, even unpleasant features. Such portraits seem like accurate maps, plotted out with unremitting care and with all the contouring properly indicated. The technical skill of the artist enables him to give distinction to such heads, but he has no inspiration, and they lack life.

(1) E. g. Vatican, *Sala dei Busti*, 273; Capitol, *Sala degli Imperatori*, 2, 2-A; *Galleria*, 26.

(2) E. g. Capitol, *Sala degli Imperatori*, 58; *Sala delle Colombe*, 56, 66.

(3) E. g. Capitol, *Sala delle Colombe*, 21, 89; Vatican, *Museo Chiaramonti*, 221, 653.

(4) E. g. Capitol, *Sala degli Imperatori*, 4, 5; *Galleria*, 24, 33.

(5) Capitol, *Sala del Gladiatore*, 16; cf. in *Sala delle Colombe*, 57, 58, 59, 63, 64, 65.

Much the same style is to be observed in the female portraits (1) of the period, though the female face from its softness lends itself less readily to such treatment. In the dressing of the hair we note an advance. The general scheme is the same, but over the forehead a few curls make their appearance in the front hair. Occasionally the long curls hang down behind the ears.

Neronian Period. 54-63 A. D.

In this brief time of transition the same style of portraiture is followed, but a sense of spirit or of life is begun to be imparted to the bust. This is finely illustrated by one of the few authentic portraits of Nero, a head in the Museo delle Terme (2), and by the portraits of Corbulo (3). The features are still accurately plotted out, but are less mechanical, and begin to shew life. In the female busts (4) we note the same tendency, which paves the way for the triumph of portraiture under the Flavian dynasty. In the coiffure the same fashion is followed, but the curls over the forehead increase in number, and are rather heaped up. A curious fashion of this period is shown in some heads (5), in which the hair is arranged in rows of ribbon-like little curls over the forehead.

Flavian Period. 69-96 A. D.

Under the Flavian emperors art in Roman portraiture reaches its highest point. The style of the Neronian period ripens, and the result is exceedingly living and natural. This is well illustrated by a fine Vespasian (6) in the Museo delle Terme, and by a private portrait of the period in the Vatican (7) (Plate I N.º 5). Here we see the style is simple and unpretentious; there is great technical skill, but no *bravura* or artistic trickery. All details are present, but rendered smoothly and naturally. And above all these busts actually live. The artist in his inspiration has known how to endow his work with life. His inspired eye caught a momentary expression that entirely characterized his subject, and his marvellous skill has rendered it in marble that seems to live. We are

(1) E. g. Capitol, *Sala degli Imperatori*, 10; *Sala delle Colombe*, 44; cf. the bust of Minattia Polla, Museo delle Terme 6, MARIANI-VAGLIERI, *Guida* 3, p. 62.

(2) No. 583, MARIANI-VAGLIERI, *op. cit.*, p. 83; cf. Capitol, *Sala degli Imperatori*, 24.

(3) E. g. Capitol, *Sala dei Filosofi*, 48; Florence, Uffizi, *Sala delle Iscrizioni*, 377; Louvre, 923, 925.

(4) E. g. Capitol, *Sala degli Imperatori*, 13.

(5) E. g. Capitol, *Sala degli Imperatori*, 12; *Sala delle Colombe*, 16.

(6) No. 206, MARIANI-VAGLIERI, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

(7) *Braccio Nuovo*, 97 A; cf. Capitol, *Sala delle Colombe*, 5, 108; v. WACE, *Papers British School Rome*, III, p. 290; CROWFOOT, *J. H. S.*, 1900, p. 31.

told that Greek art is Poetry, and that Roman art is Prose. If that be true, this Flavian art is the very finest Prose that man could ever make and far more deserving of study and admiration than much of that Poetic Greek art.

Female portraits of this period do not shew quite the same high standard as the male portraits. Still there are two very excellent examples, one in the Capitol (1) the other at Florence (2). In them the same perfect living style is at once distinguished. As regards the hair, a new fashion has come into use. The curls over the forehead are built up into a *toupet*, and the back hair is braided into many plaits, which either hang in loops on the back, or are coiled in a knob at the back of the crown. This is the court fashion, but amongst other classes another fashion prevailed, the hair in front instead of being in a *toupet*, was smoothly parted in the centre and carried away to the sides with grooved undulations, having obviously been crimped up with tongs (3).

Trajanic period. 96-117 A. D.

In this period art instead of advancing still further is at a standstill and in some respects declines. If we examine the portraits of Trajan (4) (Plate I N.° 6) we observe the same brilliant execution as in the Flavian busts, but a life-like, natural rendering is lacking. We remark a hard, serious style such as perhaps befits this military age, but there is no spirit, no life. There is none of the map-like accuracy of the Julio-Claudian period: all is well and naturally modelled, although a trifle hard in line. The style lacks what we might call atmosphere, and the portrait remains cold, frozen and spiritless. The female portraits of the period are similar in style, and all possess a cold, forbidding appearance, which in some cases does not suit the sentimental pose of the head (5). The coiffure is a development of the Flavian. The back hair is plaited as before; the *toupet* in front remains a mass of curls or becomes two or more rows of carefully arranged curls rising one above the other. Probably a frame work of some kind, or combs were used in making these erections.

(1) *Sala degli Imperatori*, 25.

(2) Uffizi, 79, AMELUNG, *Führer*, 57 (the bust is modern).

(3) E. g. Lateran, 675, HELBIG, Ist 694, BENNDORF-SCHOENE, 343; Capitol, *Sala delle Colombe*, 84, 95; cf. the Chatsworth group, J. H. S. 1901, pl. xv.

(4) Vatican, *Camera del Meleagro*; cf. Capitol, *Galleria*, 30; *Sala dei Filosofi*, 66; Vatican, *Museo Chiaramonti*, 561, AMELUNG, *Cat. Vat. Mus.* pl. 73; the difference between the Flavian and Trajanic style is well seen in the Capitol in two heads in the *Sala degli Imperatori*, 80 (Trajanic), 81 (Flavian), wrongly called Diocletian and Constantius Chlorus.

(5) E. g. Capitol, *Sala degli Imperatori*, 28 (Plotina), 29 (Matidia?), 30 (private portrait).

Hadrianic and Antonine Periods. 117-161 A. D.

Hadrian was the first Emperor to wear a beard and thus of course started a fashion. Also he was a dilettante in art (1) without apparently having any real taste for it. This, as natural, influenced the art of portraiture in his times. When we study his portraits (Plate II N.º 1) (2), we at once remark a certain Greek feeling. There is a distinct attempt to purify the individual type without generalizing it, and to show the man as he should be and not as he is. It is a peculiar spirit of idealism, which we find best illustrated in the heads of Antinous (3). In these a sulky, spoilt expression is evident and in spite of all divine idealism the individual character is still obvious. The same character is seen in private portraits (4) of the period, of which some are signed by Greek artists.

The portraits which if conjecture is right, represent Sabina (5), Hadrian's wife, show the same idealistic treatment. The heads suggest a rather weak attempt at representing a goddess. They may possibly be meant to shew Sabina as deified after death. Sabina, to judge from the coins, first used the Trajanic fashion of hairdressing, and then adopted the rather Greek style shewn by the heads mentioned. The hair is parted in the centre, waved down the sides to the back, where it is twisted in a knob. Faustina, the wife of Antoninus Pius, started a rather different fashion. She also abandoned the Trajanic *toupet*, and instead parted her hair in the centre, waved it to the sides, and at the back made it into a large plait which was coiled on the top of her head. Her busts and other female portraits (6) of the time shew the same tendency as the male portraits (7). In the reign of Antoninus the Greek influence was still felt, but weakly. The artist retained his technical skill, and set himself a new problem to work out. He modelled the face well, but without any life: the result is accurate, but dull; it lacks inspiration. Instead an attempt is made, by rendering the hair more loosely and using the drill to work it, to emphasize the difference in texture between hair and skin. Consequently the face is polished to some extent.

(1) Oberbeck, *Scriptquellen*, 2309.

(2) Vatican, *Rotonda*, 543, HELBIG, I^o 305: cf. Capitol, *Sala degli Imperatori*, 31, 32.

(3) E. g. Capitol, *Galleria*, 43.

(4) E. g. Capitol, *Sala degli Imperatori*, 49; *Galleria*, 7.

(5) E. g. *Museo delle Terme*, 589, MARIANI-VAGLIERI, *op. cit.*, p. 62 (note the remains of colouring); Capitol, *Sala delle Colombe*, 94

(6) E. g. Capitol, *Sala degli Imperatori*, 36 (Faustina), 59; *Galleria*, 55.

(7) E. g. Capitol, *Sala degli Imperatori*, 35 (Antoninus), 55; *Sala del Fauno*, 22.

Aurelian Period, and reign of Septimius Severus. 161-193, 193-211, A. D.

Under Marcus Aurelius and Commodus the style, whose beginning is seen in the Antonine age, continues and develops. From being as at first, a mere attempt to indicate the difference in texture between hair and skin, it becomes a serious effort to realize in sculpture the pictorial effects of light and shadow obtainable in painting. Its aim is « colouristic ». The face is smooth, though well modelled, and carefully polished. The curling masses of hair are honeycombed by the drill. Thus the face remains white, or of a pale flesh tint, while the drill-holes in the hair create shadow and thus produce a distinct effect of colour, while still emphasizing the different texture. This is well seen in the portraits of Marcus Aurelius (Plate II N.° 2) (1) and is best realized in the splendid Commodus (2) in the Palazzo dei Conservatori. Under Septimius Severus (3) the « Colouristic » principle is still followed. The face is more carefully rendered, and rather less natural, while the hair with its innumerable drill holes, though effective at a distance, is intolerable when looked at closely.

The female portraits of this period shew another change in the fashion of hair-dressing. Faustina the younger, her daughter Lucilla, and Crispina all adopted the same fashion, which is found also in many private busts (4). The hair was parted in the centre, waved away to the sides with grooved undulations, and at the back fastened in a knob. This is a slight development of the Antonine fashion.

Under Septimius Severus the hair in front was still done in the same manner (5). It was however carried further down the neck behind, sometimes covering the ears, then twisted into a roll each side; and of these rolls a kind of nest was made. Naturally from the way the hair is dressed it is almost impossible to work it on the « colouristic » principle. Consequently we find a new method adopted with apparently the same purpose. The hair is rendered by frequent fine lines which cause slight shadow and give some slight colour effect. But this is not very successful from its smooth, even appearance. One point noticeable in the female busts of the time of Septimius Severus is that since the fashion changed

(1) Capitol, *Sala degli Imperatori*, 38; cf. *ibid.*, 3, 37, 41 (Lucius Verus), 45, 79; *Sala del Fauno*, 17.

(2) HELBIG, II^o 1574; cf. Capitol, *Sala degli Imperatori*, 34, 43 (both Commodus).

(3) E. g. Capitol, *Sala degli Imperatori*, 50 (Clodius Albinus), 51 (Septimius Severus), 46 (private portrait); *Galleria*, 62 (Clodius Albinus).

(4) E. g. Capitol, *Sala degli Imperatori*, 39 (Crispina), 44 (Private portrait), *Sala delle Colombe*, 8; *Galleria*, 11, 53 (Lucilla).

(5) E. g. Capitol, *Sala degli Imperatori*, 47 (Julia Mamaea), 52 (hair modern, Julia Domna), *Galleria* 27; Museo delle Terme, 645, 647, MARIANI-VAGLIERI, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

frequently, the hair is removable (1) so that as the fashion changed, a fresh top to the head could be made and set on, in order that the lady should always be in the fashion.

Early Third Century. 211-253 A. D.

In this period the « colouristic » principle is still the artist's chief idea, but he adopts different methods to attain his end. Instead of drilling the hair deeply, he represents it and the beard as being very short (2), and either blocks them out roughly, as a mass of small, tight curls, or scratches them in with pick-strokes of his chisel over a roughened surface. This method is equally effective; the fine, frequent strokes arrest light and create shadow, so producing the desired colour effect which is heightened by the smooth, polished treatment of the face. This style first appears in male portraits in the young heads of Caracalla (3); thus we have to consider the time of Septimius Severus as the real period of transition. We find both methods of obtaining this colour effect used in portraits of Pupienus (4) (238 A. D.), who wore a long beard and short hair. It is to be noticed that at first the hair is longer and more curly, as in busts of Caracalla (5) (Plate II N.° 3). Later it becomes shorter and less rough, the pick-strokes are carefully arranged so as to give the appearance of carefully brushed hair. This is noticeable in two heads of Maximinus and his son Maximus in the Capitol (6). All through this style the face is carefully modelled, and accurately rendered, often with great distinction and spirit. Eventually this style of portraiture reaches its highest point in a superb bust of Philippus Arabus in the Vatican (7), and in one almost equally good of his son in the Capitol (8). Here we find vivid characterization, and sympathetic rendering coupled with the practice of the « colouristic » effect. The effect is marvellous, and would be perfect, but for the unnatural rendering of the hair, not as hair, but as a rough, coloured surface. A private portrait of the period in the Magazzino Archeologico (9) (Plate II N.° 4) shews us how effective is this style even for commonplace subjects. A further example is supplied by a head of Trajan

(1) Cf. Capitol, *Sala degli Imperatori*, 42, 52, 77; Museo delle Terme, 646, MARIANI-VAGLIERI, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

(2) It was probably the fashion to clip the hair and beard close.

(3) E. g. Capitol, *Sala degli Imperatori*, 54.

(4) Capitol, *Sala degli Imperatori*, 66; Vatican, *Braccio Nuovo*, 54, AMELUNG, *op. cit.*, pl. 8.

(5) Capitol, *Sala degli Imperatori*, 53, cf. *Galleria*, 31.

(6) *Sala degli Imperatori*, 62, 63.

(7) *Braccio Nuovo*, 124, AMELUNG, *op. cit.*, pl., 20.

(8) *Sala degli Imperatori*, 69.

(9) In the fourth room, no number.

Decius (1) in the Capitol, which is treated somewhat heroically, and thus produces a rather bad effect.

In female portraits the same style is remarked; it is of course a direct continuation of that of the Aurelian period.

Some splendid, most realistic portraits (2) remain to shew us that the female busts reached the same height as the male. In hair-dressing the fashion of the time of Septimius Severus was at first followed, with occasional variations, such as loose curls hanging behind the ears (3). Later a new fashion was adopted, apparently by Tranquilina, wife of Gordian III (238-243 A. D.). The hair in front is treated in exactly the same manner as before; but behind, the twisted rolls are plaited together and carried forward up the head over the crown in a broad, flat band (4). This fashion lasted till the time of Gallienus, and after that period we have no further trustworthy evidence as to the fashions of hair dressing.

Gallienic Period. 253-268 A. D.

In this period it seems to have been the fashion for men to wear their hair longer. This when copied in a portrait makes the head look more natural, and this additional touch with the impressionistic effect of the « colouristic » style succeed in producing a remarkable series of portraits. To adopt the language of painting, we can say that in the previous period the hair has been rendered by « touches »; in this period we find it treated in a broad, sweeping manner. The result of this style is to produce a fine impressionistic portrait broadly handled, and in its best productions it almost succeeded in giving them a living spirit; and there is no straining of naturalism.

The transition from the previous style to this is shown by a very good bust in the Capitol (5). The true Gallienic impressionism is to be remarked in portraits of Gallienus and the many excellent private busts of his time (6). The good example here illustrated (Plate II N.º 5) is in the fourth room of the *Magazzino Archeologico*. Female portraits of this period are rare; one, which is possibly Salvina, the wife of Gallienus (7),

(1) *Sala degli Imperatori*, 70; for other private portraits of this period cf. Capitol, *Sala degli Imperatori*, 64, 65; *Galleria*, 1; *Sala delle Colombe*, 4, 24, 61; *Sala del Fauno*, 2, 7, 13.

(2) E. g. Capitol, *Sala delle Colombe*, 52; *Sala degli Imperatori*, 61.

(3) E. g. Capitol, *Sala degli Imperatori*, 58; *Sala delle Colombe*, 46.

(4) E. g. Capitol, *Sala degli Imperatori*, 61; *Sala delle Colombe*, 93.

(5) *Sala degli Imperatori*, 74.

(6) E. g. Capitol, *Sala degli Imperatori*, 75, 76 (Gallienus); *Sala delle Colombe*, 27 (Gallienus), 55, 92, 97.

(7) Capitol, *Sala delle Colombe*, 15.

is a good example of the impressionism already described, its coiffure it of course similar to that of the latest examples of the last period.

Late Third Century and Constantinian Period 268-305, 305-337 A. D.

Portraits of these periods are not common. In Rome there are only two certain examples of the pre-Constantinian period, a head in the Capitol (1), and the statue of Caelius Saturninus in the Lateran (2). A brief examination at once shews us that portraiture has gone back to the pre-Gallienic style. There is the short beard and hair worked on the « colouristic » principle: and in general these heads shew the rough and ready impressionism common in the second-rate portraits of the pre-Gallienic period. But there is yet a further quality in these portraits. The head is set squarely on the shoulders, and turns but little to right or left; and the face looks solidly before it in a monumental manner. This we may call the principle of « frontality », which in the ensuing period of decadence dominates and preserves art.

This principle of « frontality » becomes more marked in the Constantinian age. The head is set perfectly rigid: it is not turned even the smallest degree to right or left. Of this the portraits of Constantine are good examples (3), and we illustrate a private portrait in the *Magazzino Archeologico* as a specimen (Plate II N.º 6). This « frontality » gives to the head a very solid character. The firm, unbroken lines enable the eye to travel all round, from whatever point it is viewed. To adopt Riegl's phraseology the head possesses « cubical individuality ». Up to this period for all the idea of solidity it conveys, any portrait in marble differs but little from a painting on a flat surface. The head presents only one side at a time to the spectator, and that side always seems flat. However good the modelling, there is no sufficient conception of distance between, for example, the nose and ears. The portrait hitherto has been a painting in the round; the Constantinian portrait first shows the true solidity, the perfect roundness that sculpture should aim at. Fine examples of this are the two statues of consuls in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (4), and a portrait in the Museo delle Terme (5).

It is not to be imagined that the artist had this subtle principle before him. His aim was to produce sculpture, and owing to the fact

(1) *Salone*, 66.

(2) Room XIII, no. 846, BENNDORF-SCHOENE 453; a head on the Scala of the Palazzo Lazzaroni is also probably of this period.

(3) E. g. the colossal head in the cortile of the Palazzo dei Conservatori, HELBIG, I² 551; cf. RIEGL, *Strena Helbigiana*, p. 250.

(4) HELBIG, I² 583, 584; AMELUNG-HOLTZINGER, *Museums and Ruins of Rome*, I, p. 209.

(5) No. 137, MARIANI-VAGLIERI, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

that mastery over his material had partly left him, he unconsciously made this discovery. And it is a discovery that has been left unnoticed; no subsequent art has made any use of it. Beauty is of course to some extent lacking in this style: we may say it is monumental, or to again adopt Riegl's phraseology, « crystalline ».

A fine portrait a little later in date than the Constantian age is at Florence (1). Another excellent portrait of the time of Valentinian (364-375 A. D.) is in the Capitol (2). Here in this colossal head we see how well this style suits monumental sculpture. Also in spite of the crystalline beauty we can discern indications of good modelling in the face; all combines to characterize the subject for us as a proud, self-confident youth.

Henceforward there is no Roman portraiture for us to follow; Roman art is merged in Byzantine. We can trace the principle of « cubical » style and « crystalline » beauty in Byzantine art. It is dominant in the mosaics of Justinian and Theodora at Ravenna (4); it is to be traced in many mosaics in Roman churches (3), and survives in the ninth century in mosaics like those of Santa Maria della Navicella. From Byzantine art in turn we can trace the beginning of Italian painting, and thus obtain an idea of the continuity of art. Art is by its nature continuous in its evolution. It has good periods and decadent periods. But the former should not be studied for their relative beauty, nor the latter condemned for their inferiority. The true art-critic must study both for the history of art, and never lose sight of the whole field even when confining his attentions to the best part. Thus we are enabled to see how from age to age, from style to style was the torch of art handed on, though often burning dimly, that finally we might in our turn hold it, worship it, and hand it on.

(1) Uffizi, 240, AMELUNG, *Führer*, 102.

(2) *Sala degli Imperatori*, 83; cf. a head in the Museo delle Terme, 202; MARIANI-VAGLIERI, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

(3) LOWRIE, *Christian Art and Archaeology*, pp. 316, 318, figs. 134, 135.

(4) E. g. Santa Costanza, Santa Maria Maggiore, Santa Prassede, and Santa Maria in Trastevere; this series shows the length of time this style lasted. One can compare also Christian Sarcophagi (LOWRIE, *op. cit.*, figs. 93-104), consular diptychs (VENTURI, *Arte Italiana*, I, figs. 304-350), and the mosaics of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna (LOWRIE, *op. cit.*, figs. 138, 139).

Tuesday, March 13th.

IX.

THE SITE OF THE CRUCIFIXION OF S.^T PETER

BY

Prof. MARUCCHI

The lecture was delivered in the Church of Santa Maria della Pietà adjoining the Cimitero dei Tedeschi in the Vatican.

The question of the place of the Crucifixion and burial of St. Peter has been lately revived; the supporters of the opinion that the Janiculum was the scene of his martyrdom have written and spoken in defence of their view, and eager discussions have taken place both in Italian and foreign publications. Our Society of Christian Archaeology adopts the old tradition, according to which the place both of the death and burial of the great apostle was in the immediate vicinity of the Vatican.

Before entering on the subject of these two theories we must for the present assume that the fact of St. Peter's death and burial in Rome has been satisfactorily proved. Much has been written on both sides of this question, and time would not permit of our entering upon it now. Tradition has never indicated any place except the Vatican or Janiculum as the possible scene, therefore to these two we must confine our attention.

Doctors of divinity, archaeologists and critics have argued, some for one, some for the other theory. If we had neither memorial nor tradition to guide us, it would certainly be more natural to decide in favour of the Vatican, for undoubtedly the first martyrs suffered here in the reign of Nero, when they were falsely accused of having set the city on fire. The historian Tacitus, in the 13th book of his « Annals », relates that not only on this charge, but also as enemies of the human race, the Christians were here subjected to horrible tortures, being wrapped in the skins of wild animals so that they might be torn by dogs, and being burnt or crucified (*Crucibus adfixi*) in the gardens of Nero lent by him for the purpose. Tacitus says that the cruel Emperor drove in his chariot, or joined the crowd of spectators that he might enjoy the sight of the sufferings of the Christians.

The first martyrs after the burning of Rome were put to death in the years 64 and 65 A. D., either in the gardens of Nero, or during the games in the adjoining Circus of Caius Caesar, i. e. Caligula.

It must be borne in mind that the Vatican was at that time outside the city, as was also this Circus, the position of which may be determined by a square flat stone now in the pavement not far from the Cimitero dei Tedeschi, which marks the position of the obelisk in the centre of the spina. This stone bears the date 1586, the year in which the obelisk was removed by Sixtus V to its present position in the Piazza San Pietro.

The dedication to Augustus and Tiberius may still be seen on two sides of the obelisk. The rounded end of the circus lay toward the Piazza, the Carceres towards Santa Marta. It is thus described by Grimaldi, and in the « Numismata Vaticani templi » by Bonanni there is a plan of its walls as they were when the basilica was built by Constantine. Along the wall of the circus ran the Via Cornelia, afterwards included in the basilica, which rested partly on the old foundations of the circus. It seems most probable that St. Peter was put to death during the persecution under Nero in the year 65 A. D., and that he was one of the martyrs of whom Tacitus says that they were « *Adfixi crucibus* ».

In the 3rd century, Eusebius said that he could show memorials of St. Peter at the Vatican and of St. Paul on the Via Ostiensis. If the apostle had suffered on the Janiculum he would not have been buried at the Vatican, but would probably have been interred near the Via Aurelia where it crossed the Janiculum, and where it is said that nine hundred other martyrs suffered. In that case his tomb in the Vatican basilica would be an unexplained mystery.

But executions could not have taken place on Janiculum, the Arx Janiculensis, the fortress of the Ancient City, and as such regarded with a certain reverence. There is no existing document or inscription to record the apostle's burial, but the antiquity of the traditions relating to it is proved beyond doubt. The « Atti Apocrifi », dating from the 4th century and recently published, say that St. Peter was buried at the Vatican in the Naumachia. In this neighbourhood a Naumachia certainly existed, and the now disused church near the Porta Angelica bore the name of San Pellegrino in Naumachia. Another passage of the « Atti Apocrifi » says that St. Peter was led by the apparitores to the Mons Vaticanus near the place called the Naumachia where the obelisk of Nero stands, for there the cross was erected. It may be questioned whether the word « Mons » can be correctly used with regard to the Vatican, but there is no doubt that it was thus called in the early days of Christianity. Prudentius, the poet of the martyrs in the 4th century, wrote a beautiful hymn for the 29th June, the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul. He says that the Christians went to venerate the

tomb at the Mons Vaticanus, and an inscription in the crypt of the basilica uses the same expression. An edition of the *Liber Pontificalis* of the 6th century, says that according to tradition St. Peter was buried in the Via Aurelia in the Vatican by the temple of Apollo near the Palatium Neronis, and not far from the spot where he was crucified.

There never was a temple of Apollo in this locality, but a circular Church dedicated to Santa Petronilla was incorrectly so called. The words Palatium Neronis refer to the circus, which bore this name in the 6th century. It was generally believed in the 4th century that the death of St. Peter was separated by a year from that of St. Paul, and that both were martyred on the same day of the year, June 29th. Prudentius in the above mentioned hymn says that St. Peter was beheaded and St. Paul crucified where the marshes of the Tiber (*palus Tiberina*) are laved by the current. This description might apply equally to the Via Ostiensis and to the vicinity of the Vatican, but could not by any possibility apply to the summit of the Janiculum. This hymn of Prudentius may be taken as a positive testimony to the opinions generally held at a time when the events he described were known to all the city, being of comparatively recent date.

Another important witness is Ennodius, bishop of Pavia in the 5th century. He was a man of great learning, and author of several important works. He frequently visited Rome which he knew well, and he writes of the Vatican Basilica and its baptistery. In a letter to one of his friends, also a bishop, who had come to Rome but had not visited St. Peter's, he says « You have done wrong. It is true that prayer may be acceptably offered in any place, still prayers offered actually at the tomb of the apostle have a great advantage over all others ». In speaking of the place of St. Peter's martyrdom. Ennodius uses the expression « *natale solum* » i. e. native soil. The festival of a martyr always takes place on the anniversary of his death, that is the anniversary of his birth into a new and better life, therefore in this case the « *natale solum* » is the spot whence he ascended to heaven. Thus the « *natale solum* » of St. Peter was, according to Ennodius, the vicinity of the Vatican. In the 5th century, it had not yet occurred to any one to consider the Janiculum as the place of St. Peter's martyrdom, but the supporters of this theory say that in the 8th century the memory of the apostle was especially venerated there. The *Itinerary of Einsiedeln*, in enumerating the wonders of Rome, conducts the pilgrim from the Porta Aurelia on the Janiculum to the Forum and « the fountain of St. Peter, where there was a prison », then to the arch of Septimius Severus. There is a tradition, perhaps only legendary, that St. Peter when confined in the Mamertine prison baptised his jailors from a fountain within its walls. The *Itinerary* must refer to this

fountain, and the words « Fons ubi est carcer » were probably transposed by the amanuensis. The author of the Itinerary speaks of the martyrdoms of San Sisto and San Lorenzo, so he never could have forgotten St. Peter. If therefore his allusions to a fountain and a prison could by any possibility be referred to the Janiculum it would merely prove that in his day no one had yet thought of that hill as the scene of the apostle's martyrdom.

In the 9th century, it was said that on the spot where San Pietro in Montorio now stands there had been an ancient monastery, bearing the name of the saint, but this is no proof that his martyrdom took place on that spot. Agnello, author of the *Liber Pontificalis* of Ravenna, relates that when St. Apollinaris was going to his see of Ravenna, St. Peter accompanied him, and that when they had gone thirty miles from Rome along the via Flaminia they reached the monastery of the Beato Pietro. Agnello could certainly never have meant that this monastery stood on the Janiculum. An ancient codex in the Vatican speaks of a monastery called « Genuculum », because when St. Peter knelt there to pray he left the print of his knees on the stone floor, and therefore the monastery received its name from the Latin genu, the knee, afterwards corrupted into Janiculum.

In the « Mirabilia », that guide of tourists some centuries ago, there is a reference to « a certain Church » (*ecclesia quaedam*) dedicated to St. Peter on the Janiculum, but this expression could not allude to any Church of great importance. Throughout the middle ages no doubt was entertained as to the crucifixion of St. Peter having taken place at the Vatican, though the exact spot seemed uncertain, for the words « juxta obeliscum » used to indicate it might mean any distance from ten to one hundred metres.

In the 12th and 13th centuries many places were indicated as the probable site; the *Mirabilia* says that the event took place in the Piazza San Pietro, and a very ancient tradition that it was « inter duas metas ».

Near the Church of S. Maria Traspontina there was until the 15th century, a pyramid called the Meta Romuli, which resembled that of Caius Cestius, then called the Meta Remi. According to the *Mirabilia*, St. Peter was crucified near the Meta Romuli, and so the same spot of earth would commemorate the departure from this life of the founders respectively of pagan and Christian Rome.

Magliabecchi, a canon of St. Peter's, wrote in the 15th century that the apostle was crucified near the Castle of Sant'Angelo, but it was not till the period of the Renaissance that the legend of the Janiculum was extensively received. Maffeo Veggio, a learned historian and archaeologist, could not bring himself to believe that the event had taken place near

Sant'Angelo, and remembering that the early traditions spoke of a hill (mons) in connection with the martyrdom and dwelling on the words « inter duas metas », he declared that the Janiculum was the only hill to which these words could apply, for the Vatican was not a hill at all.

On the bronze doors of the Vatican basilica, executed under Pope Eugenius IV, there is a representation of the martyrdom of St. Peter according to the view of Maffeo, on the Janiculum, with the two metae visible in the background. The same idea is reproduced in a white marble relief of the time of Sixtus IV, in the crypt.

A little deserted Church on the Janiculum, dedicated to St. Peter, was given by this Pope to some pious Franciscan monks who built a convent adjoining it. One of their number, the Beato Amedeo, a religious man, but not endowed with learning, adopted the views of Maffeo Veggio, and through his efforts a new church was built by order of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain with the Tempietto of Bramante, a jewel of architecture, in the monastery court, to indicate the supposed spot where the cross had been fixed. Against this propagation of error archaeologists have always protested, but unfortunately they have not been listened to. Among these may be mentioned Onofrio Panvinio, Antonio Bosio, the explorer of the catacombs, Severano, Bianchini editor of the *Liber Pontificalis*, Cardinal Borgia, Dionysius, and in our own day de Rossi, Duchésne and Lanciani, who in his « Pagan and Christian Rome » proves that the only tenable theory is that St. Peter was crucified and buried at the Vatican, and that until the 15th century no other theory existed. Finally I wrote a special dissertation on this subject in the « *Nuovo Bullettino di Archeologia cristiana* » A. 1905 (N. 1-4).

It may now be considered certain that the tradition of the martyrdom on the Janiculum was invented by Maffeo Veggio, and that the church of San Pietro in Montorio is not a true historical record. Here, where we now are, and in no other place was there a circus divided by a road from an Imperial villa. This little church of S. M. della Pietà is an oratory of the 8th century, and should it ever come into possession of the Society of Christian Archaeology it might ultimately be transformed into a chapel, which should be a fitting memorial of the martyrdom of the great apostle. The words inscribed on the base of the obelisk that was the witness of that martyrdom may appropriately conclude this lecture:

Christus vincit.

Christus regnat.

Christus imperat.

Christus ab omni malo plebem suam defendat.

Tuesday, March 20th.

X.

THE SITE OF GABII

BY

T. ASHBY, D. Litt.

The site of Gabii, though indicated with sufficient clearness by ancient authorities as lying halfway between Rome and Praeneste, has been sometimes misplaced; but the question was practically settled in 1792 by Gavin Hamilton's discovery of the Forum with its inscriptions and statues, most of which are now in the Louvre. The remains have been covered up again: but not far off on the S. bank of the (now drained) lake still stand the walls and the cella of a temple, generally, but without sufficient ground, attributed to Juno. The temple lies close to the Via Praenestina, which originally bore the name Via Gabina, and the buildings of the town may still be traced along both sides of the road: some way to the E. is the church of S. Primitivo.

All these remains belong, however, to the Gabii of the Imperial period, a small roadside town which owed its importance, such as it was, to its being a halfway house to Praeneste. The ancient city lay on the E. side of the lake of Gabii, and its acropolis was no doubt at the point where the conspicuous tower of Castiglione now stands. Scanty remains of the city walls are still traceable.

I have dealt with the subject fully in *Papers of the British School*, I, 180-197: an article by Pinza has since appeared in the *Bullettino Comunale*, 1903, 321-364 which supplements my account in some points.

Monday, March 26th.

XI.

SOME REMARKS ON ANCIENT SCULPTURE

BY

Prof. LOEWY

The lecture was delivered at the Museo dei Gessi, Testaccio.

The lecturer began by saying that instead of making a comprehensive and necessarily hurried survey of the Museum, it was his intention to illustrate a few objects, the study of which would show the result of recent investigations.

I shall first call your attention to the Auriga of Delphi discovered ten years ago in the French Excavations in the great sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi. This temple contained numerous works of art dedicated by Greeks from various places.

The bronze original of many statues now existing in marble have long since disappeared, but the Auriga is an original work in bronze, and thus an exceptional case. In ancient times bronze was more frequently used for statues of this kind than marble, but owing to its liability to be melted most works of art in bronze have been destroyed.

The greater number of the bronze statues we possess come from Pompeii and Herculaneum. Some few bronze originals have come down to us after lying for centuries under the sea, as at Cerigotto, where excavations have recently been made in the sea. This Auriga is imperfect, one arm having been lost. It was originally made in six pieces, head, bust, arms and feet having been separate from the trunk. The interior of bronze statues was usually filled with some kind of brick, to be taken out after the cooling, but in this case it was allowed to remain, and into it the head, bust, arms and feet were fixed. From other fragments that have been found we may form a conclusion as to the subject of which this statue formed a part; it was a votive quadriga, as may be inferred from the reins in the hand, portions of horses, and of the pole of a chariot. An arm not belonging to the charioteer, but of a

more delicate type, having evidently belonged to a statue of a woman or a boy, was also found. On the pedestal was a Greek inscription showing that the quadriga was dedicated to Apollo. In it occurs the name Polyzalos, who may have been one of four brothers from Syracuse, two of whom were the tyrants Gelon and Hieron of Syracuse, distinguished for victories won at the Olympic and Pythian Games in the first quarter of the fifth century B. C.

At the time of the discovery it was observed that the name of Polyzalos had been substituted for a name which had been erased. Washburn, an American archaeologist, succeeded in deciphering the last syllables of the name « ilas », and thus confirmed the conjecture of a Greek writer, Svoronos, who identified the quadriga with the one dedicated by King Archesilas IV. of Cyrene, whose victory at the Pythian games (462 B. C.) was sung by Pindar.

We know from a description that there stood by the horses the figure of Cyrene, to which no doubt belonged the arm found with the group. The artist was Amphion of Knossos, and the quadriga must have been made immediately after 462, for shortly afterwards Archesilas lost his throne; this would explain the substitution of his name by that of Polyzalos, perhaps the leader of the revolutionary party.

The figure of the Auriga may perhaps be intended for Battus himself; its calm dignity and repose of expression befitting a King. He is in early manhood and wears the long gown of a charioteer. The style is still somewhat archaic, as may be observed in the details of the face and hair which are expressed merely by the use of the chisel, and in the great development of the lower jaw, which is always found to recede as art advances.

The anatomy of the arms and feet is so perfect that it has been suggested that they were moulded from a living model, but this is not probable. The delicacy of all the details, hair, face, the folds produced by the braces to fasten the gown etc. is worthy of notice, also the self-restraint of the figure.

As many of the antique statues now in existence were copies made for the decoration of houses, gardens, villas, or public places, it was natural that of many of them should be replicas; as, for instance, the Doryphorus of Polyclethus, and the Faun of Praxiteles. A mental reconstruction of lost originals was formerly all that was possible, but it is now usual to make direct and material reconstructions, by casts from different portions of the copies of one original.

The female figure for example to which we next turn is from an original of 475 B. C. The head is that of a Roman matron, but the original

head was a different one. There is at Berlin a very fine copy of this statue, with another head; a cast of the Berlin head, joined to the figure we are considering, gives a very good idea of the grace and elegance of the original, although the head is of much more delicate workmanship than the figure. Another example is the Discobolus of Myron, an artist a little earlier than Phidias. It represents an athlete, the winner in the Pentathlon, in the act of throwing the discus. The complicated movement is wonderfully expressed, every part of the body being brought into action. The weight rests on the right leg, the toes being curved as if to grasp the earth, the left foot sliding lightly over the ground. The upraised right hand holds the discus, and the sculptor has clearly indicated that the arm, having been moved like a pendulum to acquire additional force, is now in the act of throwing; indeed the instantaneous movement may almost be seen. No perfect original of this statue exists; the replica in the Vatican is deficient in power as regards the head, which is erroneously restored and thrown forward. One copy, the best of all, exists in Rome, the property of Prince Lancellotti, but since a long time it is no longer accessible to the public. Two or three years ago, Furtwaengler, a German Archaeologist, when in Paris, saw a model in plaster of the head, and recognised it as belonging to the work in the possession of Prince Lancellotti. The cast of head was adapted to the rest of the body of the statue in the Vatican in order to construct the model you see here. The statue in the Vatican has a tree trunk to support the weight of the body, lest the legs might be too widely apart to form a firm base, but this destroyed the idea of rapid movement and lightness, and was accordingly removed by Furtwaengler in his reconstructed cast. One more improvement is still to be desired, viz: the left arm, which appears to have been badly restored.

I will now point out some instances of originals which, apparently perfect, still need a special kind of restoration.

In ancient times marble statues and reliefs were generally coloured over the whole surface; as sculpture developed, this polychrome treatment was gradually diminished, but never fully abandoned. In the frieze of the Parthenon small holes may be observed at intervals, which served to fix pieces of bronze used as adjuncts to colour. In the relief from Eleusis representing the myth of Triptolemus, who was sent by Demeter (Ceres) to bestow the gift of grain on the inhabitants of the world, he stands between Demeter and Persephone, and the latter lays a hand on his head. There is no doubt that in the hand of Demeter were ears of corn which have now disappeared, because only painted in, while over the head of Triptolemus may be seen some small holes, evidently for the purpose of affixing a bronze wreath, placed on his head by Persephone.

Next to this relief stands a funeral vase, which seems to have belonged to the tomb of a family. It bears a relief representing two youthful warriors holding each other by the hand in a last farewell. One holds a lance, of which only half is expressed in relief, the other half having been painted in. A third brother sits on horseback near them; the horse's bridle has quite disappeared, because only indicated by painting. Its tail is shortened to leave room for two graceful female figures, one seated, the other leaning over her shoulder, perhaps the mother and sister or two sisters of the deceased. These two figures are only slightly sketched, and incised, not in relief like those of the warriors; they appear to have been added later, after the three other figures had been executed in relief.

Let us now turn to the examples of reconstructed statues. The group of Eirene (Peace) and Plutus (Wealth) is a copy of a work of Kephisodotus, now in the Glyptothek at Munich. The bronze original was probably, I think, dedicated by the Athenians as a thank-offering on the termination of the first period of the Peloponnesian War. Previous to that war Athens was in her most flourishing condition, and the statue was intended to express a hope that with peace wealth would return to the city.

In our cast it may be seen that the child belongs to a different style of art from the woman; in fact the Greek artists did not succeed in the natural representation of children till after the time of Lysippus, about 300 B. C. For the child of the partly restored group at Munich is here substituted the cast of another copy of the same child, (from the Piræus), which gives us with greater, but still not with absolute fidelity, the character of the original. I must confess that to my eye the conjunction in one group of two portions of copies of the same original, but of varying degrees of artistic fidelity, has something inharmonious. The beautiful figure of the woman, the maternal affection with which she contemplates the child, and her serious dignity make the group an attractive example of the art of the next generation after Phidias.

Respecting the Athena standing near there has been much discussion. There are two copies in Dresden, one of which has the head of another statue, and of the other only a fragment remains. Fifteen years ago it was recognised that the style of this statue was like that of the works of Phidias, and that the figure itself resembled the chryselephantine statue of Athena twelve metres in height, made by him for the Parthenon. The head of the Athena now before us is in Bologna, and gave rise to much discussion, being believed by some to belong to an Amazon, by others to a young man. Furtwaengler observed that the fragment of the head in Dresden was a portion of a counterpart of the head in Bologna, and that it belonged to this statue, the Athena Lemnia dedicated by the people of the island of Lemnos.

As to this, the last word has perhaps not yet been spoken; the head is rather small for the figure, but its beauty and grace, with a certain firmness in the expression, toned down by the soft masses of hair make it worthy of the great master.

Let me now, in conclusion, draw your attention to the statue of Demosthenes. After the death of the great orator a statue in bronze the work of Polyeuctos was erected in Athens in his honour, representing him standing with hands clasped together, to express his grief for the lost freedom of his country. It is related that a soldier about to set out for a war in a distant land was in a difficulty as to where he should put his little savings for safety, when it occurred to him on passing the statue to leave them in its joined hands. He did so, and there he found all his money safe on his return; hence this was called the "honest," statue.

The copy in the Vatican, from which our cast is taken, has a casket at the side and a scroll in the hands. We know that the scroll, together with the fore-arm, are restorations; but as the same scroll occurs in a copy at Knole, and was pronounced authentic, it was supposed, either that the statues of Demosthenes which we possess were not derived from an original of Polyeuctos, or that, more probably, the composition had in the later copies undergone a modification, for the concept of the patriot Demosthenes being substituted the orator, as benign more familiar at a later period. But, in the course of some excavations in the garden of the Palazzo Barberini, there were found two clasped hands; the archaeologist Hartwig, who was present, was struck by the resemblance to the hands of Demosthenes; a cast showed the identity of the hands, and further excavations produced a right foot with a portion of the plinth, corresponding with the statue in the Vatican. These fragments belonged therefore to a third copy of the statue, and one which had preserved the original concept of Polyeuctos; and it is certain that all three copies had the same original. A closer examination of the copy at Knole showed the scroll to be modern, so that we now know that no one of the ancient copyists had altered the original concept. And in considering this figure with the clasped hands, (these are rather roughly worked, and there is a slight difference in their dimensions), we realize how the composition gains by this restitution, the whole expression of the figure being now concentrated in the head, while formerly the eye of the observer was first attracted by the object held in the hands.

Mr. Mills expressed the thanks of the audience for a most interesting lecture, and Contessa Gautier said that not only for the lecture, but even for the existence of the museum thanks were due to Prof. Loewy.

Tuesday, April 3rd.

XII.

PORTO AND ISOLA SACRA

BY

Prof. G. TOMASSETTI

A farm of 2000 hectares belonging to Prince Torlonia, with a few modern buildings and fewer ancient remains covered with soil and vegetation is all that is left to us of the great port of Rome, covering a space of 700,000 square metres, with an interior basin of 400,000.

Prior to the time of Claudius (A. D. 41) the lands around the mouth of the Tiber was known as the *Campi Salini*. The harbour of Ostia, owing to the alluvium constantly deposited by the Tiber, had already in Republican times become so obstructed as to be almost useless. The plan of a new harbour was formed by Julius Caesar, but not executed until the reign of Claudius, A. D. 46, who built a harbour two miles north of the old one, formed by two piers with a mole protecting the entrance, the foundation of the mole being the cradle or shell in which the obelisk which adorned the circus of Nero, now in front of St. Peter's had been brought to Rome from Heliopolis. (JUVENAL, *Sat.* XII, 75.) (VALE-RIUS FLACCUS, *Argon.* VII, 83). The port of Claudius becoming too small for the increasing trade, a new harbour was begun by Trajan, and completed in A. D. 103; this communicated with the *Portus Claudii*, and with the Tiber by the *Fossa Trajani*, a canal which is now the only navigable branch of the river. The *Portus Trajani*, hexagonal in form, had a circumference of 2400 yards: around it grew up a large and flourishing city, which gave a name to one of the Gates of Rome, *Porta Portuensis*. Septimius Severus surrounded it with walls, and a second enclosure by Constantine was called *Civitas Constantiniana*; the city had in the time of Diocletian a population of 40,000. The harbour of Ostia, being still available for coasting vessels and ships of small burden, retained a certain importance, and Cassiodorus observes that in the 6th century the lights of the two cities, Ostia and Porto, seen from the sea,

defined the delta of the Tiber. Ostia was regarded as belonging to the Greeks and their commerce, the left bank of the Tiber having been always associated with the Greeks; the Church of S.^{ta} Maria in Cosmedin, on the left bank of the port of the Tiber in Rome was founded by Greek merchants, and the adjacent Via della Greca still bears witness to the existence in this district of an important Greek colony. The right bank of the Tiber, from the Isola Tiberina downwards, was the home of the Orientals: Jews, Persians, Syrians, Christians, Eastern races of all countries subject to Rome inhabited Trastevere; the Catacombs of S. Pontianus, dedicated by martyred Ss. Abdon and Sennen, two noble Persians (1), are among many interesting evidences of the Oriental character of that quarter of the city, and the Oriental element was predominant in the harbour-city on the right bank of the river, Portus Trajani (Portus Urbis, Portus Ostiensis, Portus).

The Greek city of Ostia was the Christian city; paganism naturally prevailed among the mixed oriental population of Portus. Shapeless heaps of masonry now represent the dwellings, shops, warehouses, inns of Portus; of the famous Xenodochium of Pammachius mentioned by S. Jerome (*Dæ Rossi, Bullett. d'Arch. Crist.*, 1866, p. 50), not a trace is left. The round temple of Portumnus, god of harbours, stands in a conspicuous position at the end of the principal street, and from it diverge the two lines of the wall of Constantine, which enclosed the city and the port; at this temple were recorded and fulfilled the vows of the departing and arriving mariners. The festival of Portumnus, the Portunalia or Tiberinalia was celebrated on the 17th August, in Rome at the Pons Emilius, in Portus at the temple; Portumnus, or more correctly Portunus was identified by Mommsen with Tiberinus, the son of Janus, which may explain his quality of « deus portarum »; there was a shrine of Tiberinus on the Isola Tiberina. The temple, probably dating from the Antonines, was restored by Septimius Severus; there remains but little to show its ancient importance, and that little is fast disappearing; ancient buildings on pasture lands soon disappear, the herdsman removing such portions of them as make the ground unsuitable for cattle. Another highly picturesque fragment is the Arco di Nostra Donna, one of the three ancient gates of Portus; the image of the Virgin, which gives the name to the gate, probably replaces an ancient figure of a deity invoked by those entering. The Imperial Palace at Portus has

(1) This catacomb was known as *ad insalatos*; this designation, long a puzzle to archaeologists, is probably a clerical error for *ad infalatos*, which signifies those wearing the Persian *mitra*, or *infula*.

entirely disappeared from the surface; from its subterranean, known as the Cento Colonne, Prince Torlonia, the present owner of the territory, excavated many valuable works of art preserved in the Prince's collections in Trastevere.

The inscription placed near the Arco di Nostra Donna was found near the spot; it records the cutting by Claudius of two new channels for the waters of the Tiber, to protect Rome from inundations; an English archæologist, however, considers that the words « Tiber operis — caussa » refer to the supplying of the Portus Claudii with water. The mediæval castle, between the Portus Trajani and the Fossa Trajani, is now the Palace of the Bishop of Porto, who is *ex officio* Sub-Deacon of the College of Cardinals; at the entrance of the court are two cipollino columns from the Porticus Placidianus. The commerce of Portus, extremely important as representing the Oriental trade of Rome, was under the administration of the Prefect of the *Annona*. Portus possessed a very large Pharos, resembling the famous one of Alexandria; it was still standing in the pontificate of Sixtus V. (1471). Although sacked by the Vandals and the Saracens, Portus had an existence as the port of Rome until the XV. century. Charles of Anjou landed there in 1265, Gregory XI. in 1377, when the Popes returned from Avignon; it is recorded of Pius II. (Æneas Silvius Piccolomini) that in 1463 he partook of an enormous dolphin, caught in the harbour; but the decay of Portus had already begun, for this Pope speaks in his Commentaries (XI. 302) of the silting-up of the harbour, which less than a century later made navigation impossible. The 40,000 inhabitants of Imperial times had in 1701 dwindled to 91; the harbour of Imperial Rome is now peopled only by the few farm-servants of the Villa Pallavicini-Torlonia.

The Isola Sacra was the result of the Fossa Trajani, by which the main stream of the Tiber was diverted into a new channel, the N. Arm of the river, known as Fiumicino. Between the Fossa Trajani and the old channel, Fiumara Grande, an island of alluvial deposit was gradually formed. The island in ancient times was known as *Assis*. There is no mention of the Isola Sacra under its present name earlier than the time of Constantine (1) who granted the territory to the church of Ss. Peter and Paul at Ostia.

(1) Constantine's donation indicates the territory as limited by the *digitum solis*. It is probable that Portus had, in common with other Roman ports, a large *solarium* or sun-dial, the platform of which was adorned by two statues, facing E. and W. the one with raised, the other with lowered index-finger. The sun-dial of Augustus in the Campus Martius at Rome was adorned in this manner with statues representing

The Isola Sacra was anciently covered with woods, beautiful and fertile; a classic writer (ATTICUS, A. D. 401) praises it as " Libanus almæ Veneris ,," Dante makes the Isola Sacra the place of assembling of the souls awaiting admission into Purgatory:

" sempre quivi si raccoglie
 " Qual verso d'Acheronte non si cala „

A conspicuous landmark, seen far across the sandy flats of Isola Sacra, is the Campanile of St. Ippolito, occupying the presumed site of the renowned temple of Castor and Pollux; St. Ippolito was one of the first bishops of the see of Porto, A. D. 240; a fine statue in the Christian Museum of the Lateran represents this saint. The coincidence of the dedication to the Great Twin Horsemen, and to Hippolytus, (ἵππος), is a curious one. The square mediæval tower at the Fiumicino end of the Isola Sacra was a military watch-tower, belonging to the Stefaneschi, and served also as a light-house; from this tower the approach of pirates or other invaders was signalled to Ostia; it probably occupies the site of a much older tower, and commemorated the defeat of the Saracen invaders by the Romans at this spot.

A potent factor in the decline of Portus was the power of feudalism, as exercised by the great family of Stefaneschi. To the great benefit of Rome, Cola di Rienzo had the boldest marauder of the family Martino di Porto hanged, otherwise the Stefaneschi would have become as dangerous to Rome as were the Conti, the Orsini and the Colonna; as it was, they kept their great wealth, if not their power, for the Holy See had conferred upon them the right of exacting the famous *gabella di St. Ippolito*, the privilege of levying a tribute of one barrel of wine from every cargo of wine that came into the port; for this privilege the Stefaneschi paid an annual fee to the Pope of twenty florins in gold, so that their gains from this source were enormous.

the rising and the setting sun; the one with finger pointing to the earth was still standing in the time of Sylvester II. (A. D. 999) and was thought to indicate a buried treasure. The Pope caused excavations to be made and discovered the precious mosaics and marbles of the sun-dial itself; some of these still remain beneath the modern houses on the Campus Martius, but the statue has disappeared; the obelisk now in Piazza Monte Citorio, brought from Heliopolis by Augustus, formed part of the great *solarium*.

Tuesday, April 10th.

XIII.

A LECTURE AT VEII

BY

Contessa GAUTIER

This excursion seems a fitting sequel to the two last. Under the pleasant and learned guidance of Prof. Tomassetti we have visited at Porto, the ancient harbours of Claude and of Trajan: a few weeks ago Dr. Ashby led us over the desolate fields where once stood the ancient town of Gabii, and now we are on the site of a far more important city, that Veii whose ten years' siege is almost as famous, and more historical than that of Troy. It is difficult to realise that over these barren hill sides, and flower spangled thickets there once stood « A city great and gay, Where a multitude of men breathed joy and woe, Long ago, Where the domed and daring palace Shot its spires Up like fires — And now such plenty and perfection see of grass Never was — Such a carpet as oerspreads And embeds Every vestige of the city, guessed alone Stock or stone ». Yet here was Veii one of the principal of the twelve great cities of the Etruscan Confederation. The others are supposed to have been Tarquinia (Corneto), Caere (Corvetri), Falerii (Civita Castellana), Clusium (Chiusi), Arretium (Arezzo), Perugia (Perugia), Volaterræ (Volterra), Cortona, Volsinii (Bolsena), Vulci near Montalto and Vetulonia near Orbetello. Several of these Etruscan towns fell into ruin in very early times like the towns of Latium, for Pliny speaks of 53 cities of which no traces remained in his time, and Prof. Tomassetti says that a hundred sumptuous cities and 30 municipalities have utterly vanished with 1,500,000 inhabitants from the Roman Campagna, from the beginning of the Empire when Rome gradually attracted and submerged them in herself.

But before speaking further of Veii and its history, it may perhaps interest you to consider a little the road by which we have just come and by which we shall return to Rome. We followed, as everyone knows, the Via Flaminia, which was named from Caius Flaminius Nepos who was Censor

in 220 B. C. and who constructed not only this great high road from Rome to Rimini (Arriminium) but also the Circus Flaminius on his property in the Campus Martius at the foot of the Capitoline hill, where the Via delle Botteghe Oscure and the Church of Santa Caterina dei Funari now stand. After a glorious career this Caius Flaminius came to a tragic end in the fatal battle of Lake Trasymenus in 217 B. C. The Via Flaminia started from the Porta Ratumena in the walls of Servius Tullius on the slope of the Capitoline hill where the monument to Victor Emanuel is now being built, the ancient tomb of Poplicius Bibulus, and that called of the Claudii being of course without the gate. This Porta Ratumena plays a singular part in the history of Veii, which I may as well relate here, and which is recounted by Plutarch in his Life of Publicola. The Etruscans, as we know, were past masters in the potters craft (vide their vases, the fictile ornaments of temples, etc), and when Tarquinius Superbus was building the great temple of the Capitoline Jove, he gave an order to the artists of Veii to make a terracotta chariot to be placed on its summit. Before the temple was finished Tarquin had lost his throne, but the Veii potters having moulded the chariot placed it in the furnace, when instead of shrinking as was usually the case in baking the clay, it extended to such an extent, and became so large and hard that it was with difficulty they could extract it from the oven. The augurs announced that this betokened power and success to the possessors of the chariot, in consequence the Veientes refused to give it up, and when the Romans demanded it, answered that it belonged to Tarquin, not to them. A few days after this, there were chariot races at Veii when the conqueror's horses suddenly seized the bit between their teeth and spite of all he could do dashed off at a gallop all the way to Rome flinging out the driver at the Porta Ratumena at the foot of the Capitol. The Veientes appalled at this circumstance gave up the chariot to Rome. The historian Festus says that the name Veii is derived from Veja the Etruscan for plaustrum or chariot. The Via Flaminia ran pretty much on the lines of the present Corso, and as Rome increased and the circuit of its walls was enlarged and rebuilt by the Emperor Aurelian, the road started from the Gate known as Porta Flaminia, a little to the side of the actual Porta del Popolo. In later times this was known as the Porta San Valentino from the catacomb and basilica of that saint which exist at the foot of the Monte Parioli.

The Via Flaminia crossed the Tiber at the Pons Milvius, which was built or restored by Emilius Scaurus in 109 B. C.: some part of the actual bridge is ancient, but it has been frequently altered and restored. After passing the river the Via Flaminia turns to the right, and another road went and goes straight up the hill; this road is the Via Cassia, and

was probably made by the Censor Lucius Cassius in 45 B. C.; in the Itinerary of Antoninus and the Peutingerian Tables it is called Claudia or Clodia, perhaps because it was repaired by one of that family. Close by the river just where these two great highways separated was the estate of the poet Ovid, who exactly describes its position in the homesick epistles he wrote from his exile in distant Pontus, and a little farther along the Via Flaminia in the cliffs known as Saxa Rubra are still to be seen the Grottos which were the tombs of his family, the Nasoni. Some of the beautiful frescoes found there are now in the British Museum.

The Via Cassia after descending the other side of the hill passes through the Val Traversa which with its little stream winding through the wooded glens has always been a favorite resort of artists, and is sometimes called le Val du Poussin, as the valley of the Tiber by Castel Giubileo is known as that of Claude. The ancient road ran 25 ft. to the east of the actual one, and when the field to the right was drained in 1899 traces of it were found, and also of some monuments with interesting bas reliefs, one of these tombs was that of the little daughter of Cornelius Gætulius, Cornelia Januaria aged 1 year 2 months and 23 days. From the Val Traversa the road ascends the hill and at the 5th (modern) milestone is the curious monument vulgarly called the Sepolcro di Nerone. Of course it has nothing whatever to do with that Emperor, and is really the tomb of Publius Vibius Marianus; the inscription relates his titles and the offices he filled, and says that the tomb is erected by his daughter Vibia Maria Maxima to him and to her dearest mother Regina Maxima; the style of the tomb points to the late second or third century. The old road ran to the left of this monument. A little beyond was the station Ad Sextum, and here a road — no longer practicable — branched off to the right, and went direct across the hills and valleys to Veii. Along the Via Cassia we see the ruins of villas, reservoirs, tombs, and of Trajan's aqueduct, and after the 7th mile, near the mediæval tower known as Torre delle Cornacchie, the Via Triumphalis which issued from Rome near the Mausoleum of Hadrian, and followed the ridge of Monte Mario joins the Cassia. Rather more than 9 miles from Rome is the miserable little village of La Storta, so called from the twist in the road there. Here the road divides again: that to the left which leads to Bracciano is the Clodia, while the Cassia went on leading eventually to Monterosi, Sutri and Viterbo.

The country road which branches off it is modern and leads merely to Isola, which is mentioned in a document of the 11th century as « Castellum insulae », Pope John XVII confirming its possession to the Abbot of S. S. Cosma and Damiano in 1003, and the same confirmation was repeated

by Pope Gregory IX in 1238. At this time no less than 6 Churches are mentioned as existing in the Isola. It is spoken of in 1312 as « *Castrum de insula* » in the chronicle by Nicolas de Butrout, where he relates that at this point the Emperor Henry 7th was met by the messengers sent by Giovanni di Calabria to oppose his coronation. About 1346 it seems to have become the property of the Orsini, and in consequence, it naturally suffered from the enmity of the Colonna. Pope Eugenius IV also appears to have had possession of it: within its castle took place in 1456 the famous supper between the cardinals Ascanio Sforza, and Roderigo Borgia, afterwards Alexander 6th; in 1497 the Orsini sold part of the territory to the Rucellai of Florence and finally Paul III about 1540 raised it into a fief together with Castro and Ronciglione in favour of his own family, and from this dates its present name of Isola Farnese. What remains of the actual walls appear to belong to the 16th century, and their perimeter indicates the extent of the castle. What exactly this rocky eminence represented with regard to the ancient city, we do not know. Nibby and Tomassetti think that the mediaeval castle succeeded to the citadel as was so often the case in these sites, but Gell placed the citadel or *Arx* at the Piazza d'Armi, and Dennis, and most modern archeologists follow him in this opinion. It is possible that the Isola was an out-post of the city, and if, as is probable, the caves and niches in its sides were tombs, it must have been without the walls, which were 7 miles in circumference, equal to those of Athens, but according to Professor Lanciani, they « enclosed an area ten times as large as that required by the number of inhabitants, because they shared it with their flocks, and each hut had its own orchard and sheepfold. The highest and strongest point within the walls was occupied by the citadel, containing the temple, the curia, the treasury, and the reservoir ». Of course this description refers to the original city of Veii, for we know it was already proud and populous like other Etruscan towns when Rome was yet but a hamlet of shepherds, and indeed its proximity kept the infant State in a condition of continual apprehension. The dove-cots of the Palatine were always being fluttered by raids from Antemnae and Fidenae, those little towns (allies of Veii) standing atop of the two green hills which we see to the right and left as we drive along the Via Salaria. These restless freebooters were always attacking the Romans, always applying, and not in vain to the Veientes for aid and alliance, and by this petty warfare, they continually harassed the Romans, already hampered on the other side by the Latins. This struggle went on for more than three centuries.

The first mention of Veii is in Livy, 1st Book, XV chapter, where it is related that Romulus, irritated by the predatory habits of the Fidenates, attacked and took Fidenae, stationing 300 of his soldiers on part of their

territory. The Veientes were naturally alarmed at the Roman outposts being pushed so far in their direction, for the valley of the Cremera (the brook we crossed near the Isola Farnese) runs down to the shore of the Tiber, nearly opposite the site of Fidenæ and afforded an easy approach to the city of Veii. They therefore summoned Romulus to withdraw his troops, and on his refusing, they crossed the Tiber with a considerable army and attacked the Romans. They were defeated, apparently without much loss, but in re-crossing the Tiber a considerable number were drowned. Not discouraged, they returned again to the attack, but this time were thoroughly defeated, lost their baggage, and had to sue for peace. This was granted them for 100 years on condition of their ceding to the Romans all their possessions on the right bank of the Tiber, that is, the chain of hills which we now know as the Vatican including Monte Mario and the Gianiculum, this district Livy designates as the « Sette Pagi », probably because seven villages lay scattered over it. The Veientes were also bound over not to use the *Salines*, salt pits, at the mouth of the river, and the mention of these proves of what remote antiquity was the commerce which still gives its name to the Via and Porta Salaria. This peace, instead of 100 years, lasted only for 88, and was broken again by the action of the Fidenates, who revolted, and called the Veientes to their aid. This time the Romans met and defeated the allied forces in the fields which lie between Fidenæ and the river Anio, that is just beyond the Ponte Salaria.

Again under Ancus Martius the Veientes sustained a crushing defeat at the « Salines » resulting in the loss of all their possessions between the « Sette Pagi » and the sea, showing us what a wide tract of land must have belonged to them at one time.

In this battle the first of the Tarquins especially distinguished himself, and later, as king, he led the war against the Veientes with such success, that he obliged them to retire within their walls, and witness thence the devastation of their territory.

After this, comes the famous episode of the combat between Etruscans and Romans on the very banks of the Tiber itself, when « Horatius kept the bridge so well », and then there seems to have been a cessation of hostilities under the wise and moderate rule of « Lars Porsenna of Clusium », but after his death the monotonous chronicle of petty warfare begins again, with varying fortunes, and under various commanders.

It would be too tedious to enter into all these details, especially as the object of this compilation is merely to give an aperçu of the history of Veii.

The Veientes continued to ravage the « Agro Romano », carrying fire and sword to the very gates of Rome till in B.C. 475, the Senate grate-

fully accepted the patriotic offer of the Fabian Family, who volunteered to keep the restless foe in check.

The consul Cossinius Fabius at the head of 306 of his tribe, and escorted by a crowd of enthusiastic friends, marched out of the right hand opening (ever after called *arcus Fabianus*) of the *Porta Carmentale*, (the gate which stood between the rock of the Capitol and the Tiber, and was named from the neighbouring temple of the goddess *Carmenta*), and following the *Via Flaminia*, finally encamped on an eminence just where the valley of the *Cremera* opens on to the *Flaminian Way*, and the Tiber.

The exact spot may still be seen at the 6th mile from Roma, before arriving at *Prima Porta* and *Livia's Villa*, which *Suetonius* describes as her "*Villa Vejentana*," or on *Veian* territory.

For two years the Fabians managed to maintain themselves on this point of vantage, and to keep the *Veientes* within their borders, till they committed the fatal mistake, of becoming careless, and making too little of their enemies, and they extended their sorties farther and farther from their encampment, till on one unlucky day, the 14th February 473 B.C. they were drawn into an ambush by the crafty *Veientes*, and slaughtered to a man. One boy only (*puer impubes*) survived of all the gallant race, and lived to become the ancestor of the *Fabius* who fought in the battle of *Lentini*, (*Sassoferrato* in *Umbria*) B.C. 295, and also of that other *Fabius* who distinguished himself during the war with *Hannibal* (about 211 B.C.), and to whom *Ovid* alludes when in the 3rd chapter of the 2nd Book of the *Fasti*, he gives a brief account of the exploits of the Fabians on the *Cremera*.

The tedious war chronicle now begins again, and a king of *Veii*, *Lars Tolumnius* is now mentioned for the first time.

The Romans, however, finally scored a permanent success by capturing *Fidenæ*, and establishing there a Roman colony, after a battle fought again on the peninsula where the streams of the Tiber and the *Anio* meet. In this battle the *Fidenates* tried to strike terror into the hearts of the Romans by the sudden appearance of beings disguised as *Furies*, who rushed forth with streaming locks, uplifted torches, and horrid cries, probably resembling the masks half horrible, half grotesque, with long tusks, and writhing serpents, which we see painted and sculptured on *Etruscan* tombs. The stratagem however had no effect on the matter - of fact Romans, and after the battle the *Veientes* sued for peace, and obtained a truce of 20 years.

At the expiration of this truce, the Romans, grown stronger, and more accustomed to conquest, resolved to finish once for all with their troublesome neighbour, and commencing hostilities on a futile pretext, they began that siege of *Veii*, which was to last nearly as long, and become nearly as famous — though sung by no *Homer* — as the siege of *Troy*. King To-

lumnus was dead by this time, and the Veientes had instituted a new form of government, electing a magistrate, or king, annually. The one in power at the beginning of the siege, having neglected some important religious rites, was unpopular with the other powers of Etruria, who, in consequence afforded but little aid to the Veientes.

The latter however held their ground firmly, and made a steady defence for many years, frequently discomfiting the Romans in the sorties. These began by degrees to get weary of the prolonged struggle, for Livy tells us that this was the first time the Roman soldiers received a fixed stipend, and were obliged to pass the winters away from their homes and Rome.

They were beginning to murmur, and lose patience, when a fortuitous circumstance revived their endurance and courage. The waters of the Alban Lake having suddenly and inexplicably risen far above their usual level, messengers were despatched to Delphi to ask for an explanation of this phenomenon. The oracle replied that when the water of the Alban Lake should escape from its bed without flowing directly to the sea, then should be taken the city of Veii. This answer was soon known in the Roman camp, and one of the soldiers repeated it to an old inhabitant of Veii, for, as Livy tells us, the besieged and the besiegers had become quite familiar with each other during the lapse of years. The old man, taken by surprise, exclaimed in dismay that the same prophecy had been made ages before by an Etruscan augur, and was recorded in the Sacred Books!

Meanwhile the Romans had set to work on the shores of the Alban Lake, and in little more than a year they had accomplished the wonderful work of engineering still known as the Emissario, which is cut through peperino and lava for a distance of 7500 feet, and which has existed and been in use for more than 2000 years without ever needing restoration. This stupendous work being accomplished, the Romans returned with fresh vigour to prosecute the siege. They named Dictator Furius Camillus, who initiated his command by defeating the people of Nepi, Capena, and Faleri, allies of the Veientes.

He then drew his lines closer around the city, and secretly made a mine or « cunicolo » which penetrating under the hill, was directed upward below the temple of Juno which stood on the highest point of the Arx, or citadel. When all was ready he distracted the attention of the besieged by an attack on the walls, and leading a chosen band of valiant soldiers through the secret passage, he suddenly appeared in the temple at the moment when the king was sacrificing at the altar, and hearing the augur announce that victory should be to him who should first touch the entrails of the victim, he rushed forward, and seized them, while at the same time the triumphant shouts of the Romans both within and without the temple

filled the Veientes with dismay, and showed them that at last the city had fallen. It was sacked, the inhabitants were sold as slaves and the revered statue of Juno was transported to Rome, and installed with solemn pomp in a magnificent temple on the Aventine. The legend says that when Camillus inquired of the goddess if she would come to Rome, the statue bowed its head!

The city apparently was only abandoned, but not destroyed, for some years later, after the disastrous battle of the Allia on the 16th July 390 B. C. (ever after known as Dies Alliensis, and considered as a day of evil omen), the Romans, flying before the triumphant Gauls, took refuge within the deserted buildings of Veii, and by a strange mutation of fate, it was from thence that Camillus set out to reconquer Rome. It was he also who dissuaded the Senate from the project of abandoning Rome after the city had been sacked by the Gauls, and establishing the whole population at Veii. Many stragglers still remained there however until a *Senatus Consultus* commanded them to return to their native town, and from this time Veii remained deserted for 343 years, falling into the decay to which Propertius poetically alludes in the 11th elegy of the 4th Book.

In the years 48 B. C. Julius Caesar punished a revolt among his soldiers, by *degrading* them to the rank of citizens, dismissing them from the army, and giving to each 1000 drachmas, and a tract of land to cultivate. In this way the Veientian territory was parcelled out, and Veii became a Roman colony.

Throughout the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius the town was apparently rich and important, judging by the inscriptions, statues, and remains of temples and porticoes, which have been discovered. In many inscriptions recurs the name of Tarquitia, or Tarquittia showing that at least one family of Etruscan origin still existed there, and on various pedestals were found allusions to the appropriately named temple of Fortuna Reduce. In the early part of this century on what was presumably the site of the Forum, were found the colossal heads of Augustus and Tiberius, the fine seated statue of the latter Emperor, which we now see in the Vatican, and also the 24 columns of Luna marble which now form the portico on Piazza Colonna, while 12 others of bigio are in the chapel of the Holy Sacrament at St. Pauls outside the walls.

After the time of Constantine Veii gradually disappears from history, though in the *Pentingerian Tables* (about 390) we meet with it as *Beios* from the confusion of the B and V, not uncommon in documents of that period. In the reign of Pope Adrian I (772) it reappears as an agricultural colony under the name of *Capracorum*, and in 845 its inhabitants, like those of other similar colonies were called on by Pope Leo IV

to and in building the walls around the Vatican in defence against the Saracens. This fact is recorded in an inscription over the arch in the Via Angelica close by the colonnade of St. Peter's.

Later on it was besieged and taken by Cesare Borgia who destroyed part of the citadel. It formed part of the dowry of Queen Christina of Sardinia, and was then purchased by the Rospigliosi, and afterwards it was rented by late Empress of Brazil who caused excavations to be made in 1889 when according to Professor Lanciani « the mass of terra cottas (votive offerings) brought to the surface was such that work had to be given up after a few days because there was no more space in the farm house for the storage of the booty ». It was the habit in pagan temples to bury in trenches (*favissae*) made on purpose, and sometimes within the sacred precincts, those old *ex voto* offerings which had to make room for new comers, and of this we have lately seen an example at the excavations at Conca, (the ancient Satricum) of the temple of the Mater Matuta, but Lanciani says « at Veii because of the difficulty and danger of excavating within the citadel, and solid rock, the *ex-votos* were carted away and thrown from the edge of the cliff into the valley below ». Lanciani also tells us that excavations were also made here in the 17th century under Alexander VII (Chigi), which are thus described by Sante Bartoli.

« Not far from the Isola Farnese, a hill, (the Piazza d'Armi) rises from the valley of the Cremera, on the plateau of which cardinal Chigi has discovered a beautiful temple with fluted columns of the Ionic order. The frieze is carved with trophies and panoplies: the reliefs of the pediment represent an Emperor sacrificing a ram and a sow. There is also an altar four feet high with figures of an Etruscan type, which was removed to Palazzo Chigi (now Odescalchi). The columns and marbles of the temple were bought by Cardinal Falconieri to ornament a chapel in the Church of San Giovanni dei Fiorentini. Not far from the temple a stratum of *ex votos* has been found, so rich that the whole of Rome is now over-run with terracottas. Every part of the human body is represented — heads, hands, feet, fingers, eyes, noses, mouths, tongues, entrails, lungs, whole figures of men and women, horses, oxen, sheep, pigs ». — Of the same description as these were the *ex votos* found in 1889, and when the writer of these lines visited this spot in 1890, the ground was still strewn with the debris which the excavators had rejected, and legs, arms, hands, feet, and heads were to be picked up for the stooping!

The choicest specimens, and the beautiful mosaic pavements so belong to the heirs of the late Empress, who had formed the project of excavating both the city, and the necropolis.

This temple of Juno must have been the one erected, when her worship was restored, and the city rebuilt by Julius Cæsar, though some authorities doubt whether the temple was on exactly the same spot as the Etruscan one.

Sir William Gell was the first who made a plan of Veii, and established its identity with Isola Farnese. He considered the actual farmhouse to be the site of a sort of advanced fortress of the Etruscan town, and tells us that the path leading from it was an ancient road ascending to a Gate probably that of the Sette Pagi.

In the entire circumference of the walls nine gates could once be recognised, but the traces both of them, and of the roads, have been much destroyed since Gell made his plan, and very little is now left even of the walls, though the two bridges, that of the Formello, and the Ponte Sodo are clearly of Etruscan construction.

The Tombs of course lie beyond the city gates. The necropolis extended as far as La Vaccareccia where we see the little group of trees on the eminence dominating the Campagna, but the tumulus opened there yielded no results.

The Columbarium which we pass close to the stream of the Formello is of Roman date: it was discovered intact with the «stucchi» and frescoes perfect, but is now utterly despoiled and ruined. Beyond it we find the ancient road which probably led to Sutri, and crossing the little brook of the Formello, we come to the famous Etruscan Tomb, called the Grotta Campana from having been opened by the Marchese Campana in 1842.

As we are going to visit it I will lose no time in describing it. Suffice it to say that Mr. Dennis considers it the most ancient of all Etruscan painted tombs, possibly of an even earlier date than 700 B. C., but no inscription was found in it, and its contents are now sadly dispersed.

The skeletons of the warrior and his wife have crumbled to dust; some of the vases were stolen a short time ago, and the warrior's helmet and breast plate disappeared in 1887. Of the many tombs which have been excavated, chiefly by antiquity dealers in search of spoil, this is the only one which remains open. In February 1839 M^{rs} Hamilton Gray was present at the opening of a tomb here, and she describes it in the following words.

« When we arrived, the face of the tomb was already uncovered, and we stood upon the brink of a deep pit, looking down upon a rudely arched doorway filled up with loose stones. It was cut in the hard tufa rock which composes the hill. On each side of this arched door was a lesser arch leading into a small open chamber perfectly empty. — I entered the tomb, a single chamber, arched in the rock, apparently 10 or

12 feet square, and somewhat low; it was so dark that I was obliged to have a torch. The bottom was a sort of loose mud, both soil and wet having fallen in, through a hole which existed at top of the door . . . In this mud lay above twenty vases, large and small, of various forms, and two of them with four handles; but they were all of coarse clay, and rude drawing, chiefly in circles, or acute triangles of red and black, having fish or some simple device upon them, but no mythological subject, and they appeared to be of that style which is considered prior to all others. The tomb, which was vaulted, contained nothing else, no sarcophagus, though the place was marked where one had once stood. It had a shelf all round it, broad enough to have held cinerary urns, or vases, or offerings for the dead with here and there niches in the rock. The tomb had evidently been rifled before, but when, who shall say? The last account we hear of the rifling of tombs is in the reign of the Emperor Justinian A. D. 527; and it is also natural to believe that when the Romans conquered a town as they did Veii, that they would spoil the grandest and most splendid graves of their enemies, well knowing what treasures such depositories often contained. The vases found in this tomb were divided among our party.

Mrs Hamilton Gray's « Tour to the Sepulchres of Etruria » was published in 1840, and although her book has long been superseded by the infinitely more learned and lengthy volumes of the late Mr. Dennis, whose name is so intimately associated with Etruscan archaeology, still I think, as Anglo-Saxons, we should not forget, and as Englishwomen we should be proud to remember that it was an Englishwoman who was among the first to visit and to appreciate the site and the sepulchres of Veii.

Tuesday, April 17th.

XIV.

A LECTURE AT PALESTRINA

BY

Comm. Prof. O. MARUCCHI

The lecturer said:

I begin by giving an outline of the history of Palestrina and a sketch of its topography, before pointing out in detail the numerous objects of special interest to the archeologist.

Praeneste was one of the most famous cities of Latium at a very early period, and belonged to the Latin League of which Alba Longa was the chief town. But when Praeneste increased in power and influence it separated from the League and joined Rome. From that time till the wars of Marius and Sylla its history was a series of rebellions against Rome, followed by temporary reconciliations. During the civil wars Praeneste sided with Marius, whose son, the younger Marius shut himself up within its walls, and was there besieged by the terrible dictator Sylla.

The siege was long and close, and Marius at last, seeing no means of holding out, killed himself in one of the cuniculi or subterranean passages beneath the city. When Sylla took possession he destroyed the whole city, excepting only the temple of the Dea Fortuna, and then brought in a military colony composed chiefly of his own veterans, whom he established in a new town at the foot of the mountain. This town existed all through the Imperial period, the higher slopes being appropriated to the temple, which was restored and embellished by Sylla. Thus two centres of social life grew up; the religious, connected with the sanctuary, and the political with the city below, which extended itself as far as the Via Praenestina and Via Labicana. Praeneste was a colony till the reign of Tiberius, who gave it the privileges of a municipium, though it still retained the name of *colonia*. It was governed by a *decurio* and *duumviri* with more or less autonomy till the period of the

decadence of the Roman Empire. During all the time of its prosperity it was largely frequented by visitors from all parts of Italy; some to interrogate its famous oracle, others to spend the heat of summer in the cool mountain air.

The fame of its temple and the crowds attracted by it brought so much wealth to the city that it was only slowly and with difficulty that Christianity penetrated within its walls, but from a tradition that St. Peter preached there, its Acropolis received the name of *Castrum Sancti Petri* which it still bears in its Italian form, Castel San Pietro. The existence of a Christian Community at Praeneste in the 3rd century A. D. is proved by the history of St. Agapitus, to whom the Cathedral is dedicated. This youthful saint, who belonged to a noble family of Praeneste, suffered martyrdom in the amphitheatre of the city under Aurelian in the year 274 A. D. The Christian Church of Praeneste was organised under Constantine in the 4th century, and became one of the six sees called *suburbicaria* which were always held by Cardinals. In the 10th century the city belonged to the Count of Tusculum, and in 1042 it passed to the Colonna family by the marriage of the Countess Emilia to a De Columna. The city at first called Praeneste became Pelestrina, and finally Palestrina.

The Colonna family built a palace and fortress on the ruins of the temple, and held the city till the 17th century through various vicissitudes. At the accession of Pope Boniface VIII, they rebelled and held Palestrina for nearly two years against the Papal troops, till in 1297 they were compelled to surrender. The city was destroyed and the magnificent temple much injured. Pope Clement V, who assumed the tiara in 1305, gave permission to rebuild the city, but in 1437 it again rebelled, and Pope Eugenius IV sent an army under Cardinal Vitelleschi against it. Vitelleschi, who was rather a soldier than a churchman, burnt and sacked the city, razed it to the ground, and destroyed a great part of the existing remains of the temple. The successor of Eugenius IV. was Nicholas V., a man of peaceable disposition, and he permitted the Colonna to rebuild the city once more, and to resume their title of barons of Palestrina, but it remained a fief of the Papacy till 1630, when the Colonna, being in financial difficulties, sold their rights over it to Pope Urban VIII (Barberini), and his family still hold the honorary title of Princes of Palestrina.

In studying the topography of Palestrina, the distinction between the Imperial city at the foot of the mountain and the primitive town on the higher slopes must be borne in mind. Cicero speaks of the immense antiquity of this earlier town, and says that devotees from all parts of Italy flocked in his day to consult the oracle. The lower portion of the temple, — of which remains may still be seen in the piazza, once the forum of the

earlier Praeneste, — was the oldest. It was built in *opus quadratum*, and communicated by great flights of steps with the higher parts. In this forum, which must be carefully distinguished from that of the lower city, was the basilica or tribunal, which is now incorporated in the cathedral of St. Agapitus. In the 12th century Pope Paschal II restored the cathedral, and built the present beautiful campanile. A subterranean chamber of the temple, now entered from the piazza, is used as a storehouse for valuable fragments found among the ruins, and here an inscription is preserved, which states that this chamber, the *aerarium* or treasury of the temple, was built by Marcus Anicius and Marcus Mersieius, aediles of Praeneste. The holes still seen in the walls show where the safes were secured with iron clamps.

On a portion of an obelisk is another inscription, in imitation of hieroglyphics, stating that this obelisk was erected by Claudius. There is also a much defaced statue, perhaps of the Dea Fortuna, whose worship, brought from Egypt, was intimately connected with that of Isis.

The paved court next entered was for votive offerings and inscriptions, of which two still remain, both dedicated to Fortuna Primigenia. The court was annexed to the temple, which rose in terraces up the mountain side. Here may still be seen the remains of arcades in two stories, probably part of the restorations made in the time of Sylla.

Much of this court was built in *opus incertum*, first so called by Varro, a style of irregular masonry best seen at Palestrina. Corinthian capitals and half columns still occupy their original position. The arcades connected the sanctuary with the sacred grotto, where the responses of the oracle were given to the people.

We may hope that the newly established Archaeological Society of Palestrina, under the presidency of Captain Cicerchia, will succeed in restoring some of these venerable remains to a part of their ancient dignity, and in facilitating access to them.

In the wall of a smaller court are holes where bronze tablets, probably votive, were formerly affixed. Here a doorway gives access to a small chamber with a mosaic pavement, representing a sea cave such as might exist on the coast of Egypt.

In one corner of the mosaic is the Pharos of Alexandria, a tall column as described by Strabo, an altar where a fisherman offers a sacrifice, and a trident to represent Neptune. The other portions of the mosaic that remain represent fishes, crabs and other marine animals, all clear and bright in colour, and but little defaced by time. Among others there is an exact representation of the *oxyrinco*s, an Egyptian fish spoken of by Pliny.

Through a chamber built in *opus incertum*, now used as a wine cellar, but still showing portions of a podium, half columns and triglyphs, we enter the inner sanctuary. This is an almost unique example of *opus incertum*, but parts of its walls are purposely left rough, perhaps to give a greater appearance of antiquity.

Cicero in his *De Divinatione* having spoken of the great antiquity of this temple even in his time, relates that a certain Numerius Suffucius, a native of Præneste, was directed in a dream to make excavations in a particular place. On his obeying the command he discovered some of the letters cut out in wood, which were used by the priests in forming the answers of the oracle. The hole to contain the box in which these letters were kept is still to be seen in this sanctuary, and below it are three niches, of which the central was occupied by the statue of the Dea Fortuna holding on her knee the infant Jove, that on her right by Apollo, and on her left Jupiter Arcanus. These statues were concealed by a curtain only drawn aside on the 10th of April, the great festival when they were shown to all comers, and a calf was sacrificed in their honour.

When the oracle was to be consulted, a boy called a Camillus was appointed to draw the letters one by one from the oaken box where they were kept, and these were arranged by the priests to form sentences in answer to inquiries on all subjects, for instance the prospects of the crops, the probable result of a journey, or the future destiny of a son or relative. These responses as might be supposed were generally ambiguous. The Emperor Alexander Severus once received for answer the words of Virgil:

" Heu, miserande puer! si qua fata aspera rumpas,
Tu Marcellus eris. "

Aeneid. VI. 881.

A priest waited in the arcade above-mentioned, to receive the written answers from those within the sanctuary, and then passed along it to the sacred grotto where the inquirers stood expectant.

On one of the higher terraces of the temple was a great niche where tradition says a light was kindled at night, to serve as a beacon to ships at sea. The modern street above this now called « Colonnaro » received its name from the numerous fragments of columns found here, which formed a colonnade connecting two great towers of *opus incertum*, portions of which still remain.

The Barberini palace stands on the hemicycle which once was crowned by the circular shrine of the goddess, the Aedes Fortunæ, and is approached by a semicircular flight of steps built of stones from the ruins of the temple. The form of the hemicycle, resembling the letter C, gave rise to a tradition that this portion of the temple was built by Caesar.

The mutilated statue in the niche under the steps is one of hundreds which adorned the approaches to the shrine, but it was popularly believed to be a representation of the *Dea Fortuna*, and hence received the name of *Fantasma*.

In the shrine that rose upon the hemicycle, at the summit of the whole vast building, was a gilded bronze statue of the goddess, described by Pliny as « *fidelissima simulacra* », unlike the statue in the sanctuary below, which was in a much earlier and ruder style of art. This shrine, of which a portion of the wall may still be seen incorporated in the palace, has, though much smaller, been compared to the Pantheon at Rome. In the hall entered from the flight of steps above mentioned, is the famous mosaic, by some believed to have been made during the restorations ordered by Sylla, because Pliny speaks of work done with small stones at that time. It is however, probably of later date, because the workmanship is superior to that of the Republican period, resembling rather that of the mosaics of the early Empire now in the Vatican. It may perhaps have been made in the time of Hadrian, who had a villa near Preneste, and whose admiration for Egyptian history, art and religion is well known. He especially favoured the worship of the *Dea Fortuna* and other more peculiarly Egyptian deities, and his reproduction of Canopus is familiar to those who have seen his villa at Tivoli. These are many different opinions as to the idea intended to be expressed by the mosaic of Palestrina. The scenes depicted, the houses, trees and animals are all Egyptian in character, and are precise and exact representations, not creations of the artist's fancy. It is in fact an illustrated plan of the whole country from Libya to Alexandria.

At the top, which here represents the south, are seen the negroes of Ethiopia shooting birds with bows and arrows. Then come the cataracts of the Nile, and the temple of Isis at Philæ distinguishable by the two obelisks in front, one of which has lately been taken to England. The sacred well of Syene, which Strabo says was made to register the height of the inundations of the Nile, is to the left of the temple of Isis, and to the right is the city of Thebes with the funeral statues of the tombs of the kings. Below are processions in honour of Serapis and the dog headed Anubis, and the canal of Canopus, where Strabo says festivals were held under the Ptolemies in honour of the god Canopus. The rising of the Nile with half submerged houses, and people in boats appears in the lower part which represents Lower Egypt. These inundations, on which the fertility of the land depends, are closely connected with the worship of Isis, who in one of her aspects was the goddess of fertility, and was thus identified with the *Dea Fortuna*.

The scene in the lower part may represent the departure of the envoys deputed to carry the cult of Isis into Italy. The animals, the rhinoceros, crocodile, giraffe, lion, tiger, etc. are all indicated by their names inscribed in Greek, and these names are identical with those used by Ælianus a native of Præneste, and priest of the temple of Fortune, who in the 2nd century A. D. wrote a treatise in Greek on animals. Cicero, in his *De Divinatione*, enumerates various ancient modes of divining future events, viz, by the eating and drinking of animals, the swimming of fishes and the flight of birds. All these methods are shown in this mosaic; a man is seen leading an ox to water, a priest is feeding crocodiles, and peasants watch the flight of birds. Hence we may conclude that the mosaic was intended, 1st to give a general idea of Egypt, 2nd to show the connection of the worship of Isis with that of the Dea Fortuna, and 3rd to illustrate the arts of divination.

But the subject is by no means exhausted, though much has been written by many authors upon it, including Nibby, Pieralisi and others.

After an interval the lecture was resumed in the Cathedral.

This cathedral, originally the basilica, was adapted to the uses of a church in the 5th century. The basilica was separated from the temple by a road, but when the change was made the present apse was built over this road, and three naves and a clerestory made. In the vault below rest the remains of the martyr Agapitus. The amphitheatre where he was exposed to the lions was without the walls of the city, and scarcely a trace of it now remains. In this cathedral is preserved one of its stones bearing a portion of an inscription to the effect that Marcus Varenus, a freedman, had built part of it at his own expense. The peculiar form of the letter V is a sure proof that the inscription dates from the reign of Claudius. Another inscription records the restoration in 1016 of the cathedral by Pope Paschal II. In the apse are modern pictures, representing scenes connected with the life and death of St. Agapitus, and medallion portraits of the bishops who have ruled the see, beginning with Jucundus.

On the outer wall, which once formed that part of the basilica which faced the forum, are the remains of an ancient sun-dial of peculiar construction. A vertical line indicates the meridian, three grooves on either side each representing two hours. To each of these a gnomon was so adjusted that the shadow in the earlier half of the day fell in the grooves on the right hand, and in the later half in those on the left. In a dictionary compiled by Varro under the word *medidies*, the older form of the Latin *meridies*, he says "I have seen this word carved on the sun-dial at Praeneste",.

Near the door of the Municipio is an inscription recording restorations made by Caius Avidius Raucus, and within are others of interest, one expressing gratitude to Tiberius for having granted to Præneste the privileges of a municipium and another to Julian the Apostate, who endeavoured to restore the worship of the Dea Fortuna to its ancient splendour. His success in this direction was of short duration, for within thirty years the temple and oracle were closed by the Emperor Theodosius.

In the hall of the Municipio is a drawing by the architect Cipolla, representing the Temple of Fortune as far as possible in its original form, showing its numerous terraces from the *tabernæ* or shops nearly at the foot of the mountain where sacred objects were sold, up to the magnificent Aedes Fortunæ at the summit of the whole vast edifice.

After the lecture the members of the Society were hospitably entertained by the Municipality at the Town Hall.

Captain Cicerchia, President of the Archaeological Society of Palestrina, thanked the Professor for his most interesting lecture, and the members of the British and American Society for the interest they had shown in the antiquities of Palestrina, concluding with the hope that these would soon be better preserved and more accessible to visitors.

Cav. Alessandro Sbardella honorary Inspector of the Monuments, added some remarks to the same effect.

Prof Marucchi replied, reciprocating the wishes of the President and Cav. Sbardella, adding the hope that the words of Carneades quoted by Cicero might soon again prove true, viz. that there never was Fortune more fortunate than that of Præneste.

The Hon. Secretary having expressed the thanks of the British and American Society for the kind and hospitable reception of the Municipality of Palestrina, the proceedings terminated.

Tuesday, April 24th.

XV.

A LECTURE ON OSTIA

BY

Prof. TOMASSETTI

So much has been written on the subject of Ostia that in the present lecture I shall only note indispensable facts, and point out some of the later discoveries without attempting an exhaustive description.

The original mouth of the Tiber was where Ponte Galera now stands, and near this point the first city of Ostia was built by Ancus Martius. This city was destroyed by the Saracens in the 5th century.

On its site stands the present village, first built in 830 by Pope Gregory IV, and called Gregoriopolis.

Soon after Christianity was preached in Rome it reached Ostia, which, incorporated with Velletri became an important bishopric. Up to the present time the oldest member of the college of Cardinals has always been its bishop. The present Cathedral Church, dedicated to St. Aurea the patron saint of the town, was built by Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, afterwards Pope Julius II, on the site of a much older edifice, of which nothing now remains except a ciborium in Cosmato work.

The primitive church contained a richly decorated chapel to St. Monica, who died at Ostia, when about to sail for Carthage with her son St. Augustine.

Her body rested here till the 15th century, when it was removed by Cardinal D'Estouteville to the church of S. Agostino in Rome. Another saint connected with Ostia was Ciriacus, its first bishop, who suffered martyrdom here. A ruined belfry on the roadside about halfway between Rome and Ostia is all that remains of a church dedicated to this saint. It

identity has been ascertained from old records which describe its position as « *Ad balestraria* ».

Near the old belfry was the establishment of the cross-bow makers, or *balestrari*. For this manufacture the sinews of buffaloes, being of great strength, were much used, and as Ostia was always well supplied with these animals, which were employed in the carriage of goods to and from its port, it was on this account obliged to pay a tribute of cross-bows to Rome.

In the episcopal palace of the modern Ostia is a small collection, made by Cardinal Pacca in 1834 of fragments of sculpture and inscriptions from the ancient city, but most of the objects of greater value are now in the Lateran museum. In this palace are also preserved vestments worn by Cardinal della Rovere, embroidered with his arms and other vestments bearing the bees of the Barberini. Over the doorways of some of the rooms may still be seen carved in stone the oak tree of the Rovere, the rose of Riario who built the Cancellaria Palace, and the hand and compasses of Gesualdo who restored part of the town.

After the defeat of the Saracens at Ostia in the reign of Leo IV, the town grew in importance till in 1414 its walls were burnt down by King Ladislaus of Hungary. One tower alone escaped destruction, and it still bears a shield with the arms of D'Estouteville, who afterwards made many restorations.

Over the doorway of a small house may still be seen carved the name « *Quilelmo alias Corsetto* », recalling the former owners, a family who assumed the name Corsetti, after the Corsican settlement made here before the time of Pope Leo IV.

The now ruined city, which flourished under the emperors from Hadrian to Aurelian, stood between the second mouth of the river marked by the Torre Bovacciana and the third where stands the Torre San Michele. This third branch was opened by Claudius, who wished to make it a port, and between the two is Isola Sacra. In the days of prosperity of Ostia, the Torre Bovacciana, then close to the sea, was the lighthouse of the harbour, and was approached from the city by a long street bordering the vast docks. Near this street were great warehouses of which portions now exist incorporated with fragments of still more ancient walls. In one of these still remain large amphorae embedded in the earth and used chiefly for the storage of grain, some of them bearing on their margins numbers to indicate their capacity.

The foundations of the Torre Bovacciana are of the period of the republic. Its present name is derived from the Bobazzani family, by whom it was

restored, and whose name comes from their having supplied buffaloes for the carrying trade of Ostia.

It was in this port that the Roman fleet commanded by a consul was attacked and destroyed by corsairs, calling forth a burst of indignation from Cicero in his speech « Pro Lege Manilla ».

The most conspicuous building of the ancient city is the great temple, of which the cella is still almost perfect. It is approached by a broad flight of marble steps, and its threshold being formed of a single block of African marble sixteen feet in length. It was supposed that this temple was dedicated to Vulcan as being the deity invoked against fire, which was especially dreaded on account of the vast stores of merchandise always in the warehouses of Ostia, but the great size of the pedestal still remaining in its original place leads to the belief that it was intended for more than one statue, and that probably the temple was dedicated to Castor and Pollux who protected navigation, or perhaps to Fortuna Panthea who presided over commerce and wealth.

It was originally surrounded by a fine colonnade surmounted by a carved cornice, portions of which are now in the gallery of inscriptions in the Vatican. There were three fora in Ostia; one for the ordinary citizens, another for the powerful trade guilds thirty-five in number, and a third for the cattle market. Near the first of these lived most of the rich merchants of Ostia and their houses may be distinguished by the remains of coloured stucco and gay frescoes on their walls, much injured, however, by time and the damp of the sea-air. The second forum was the largest of the three, having on one side a colonnade still traceable, near which are several inscriptions dedicated to ship-owners and members of trade guilds. In the middle of this forum was a great temple of which little now remains, probably dedicated to Ceres, and near it was found the beautiful altar, with reliefs representing the origin of Rome, now in the National Museum.

The temple is alluded to by Publius Lucilius Gamala, one of the richest citizens of Ostia, whose house, marked by two tall columns of cipollino, was one of the most magnificent in the city, and was by some believed to be the Imperial palace.

Adjoining this forum is a theatre which according to an original inscription still to be seen over the great door, was restored by Marcus Aurelius and Antoninus.

In front of the stage are several pedestals in their original positions, bearing inscriptions in honour of *procuratores annonae*, *administratores*, etc., but the statues that once surmounted them have all disappeared. Though Ostia, being a commercial city, never was famous for

art, yet many statues now in the Vatican were discovered here during the researches made by Gavin Hamilton and others in the early part of the nineteenth century.

The road from Rome to Ostia which now runs through green fields, was, under the Empire, bordered with houses and streets; a Greek town on the left bank of the river, and an Oriental town on the right.

Hence the approaches to Ostia on that side were crowded with shrines to foreign deities. Under Hadrian the worship of Egyptian gods was largely introduced into Ostia, and many shrines to Mithras probably existed. Of these three are known, the most remarkable of which was discovered in the last century, covered up again, and re excavated in later years. In the mosaic of its pavement are represented the weapon used for killing the bull, and seven semicircles to indicate the seven grades of initiation, and on the stone benches that run along its walls are the signs of the zodiac also in mosaic. Four reliefs near the door represent the summer and winter solstices, and genii of the East and West in allusion to the duration of day. In a space under the floor near the entrance was placed the aspirant for initiation, that he might receive the preliminary baptism of blood when the bull was slain.

One of the largest and handsomest buildings in Ostia was that devoted to the vigili who were a rich and important body. In its principal hall were statues of several Emperors, and inscriptions in their honour still remain. The pavement of this hall is a mosaic representing a bullfight. In some of the smaller chambers still remain graffiti made by vigili in their idle hours; their names scratched on the plaster and patterns in circles evidently done with compasses.

In the *Thermae* of Antoninus Pius is a fine mosaic pavement in black and white representing Neptune with his trident in a chariot drawn by four horses, and surrounded by tritons and dolphins. Here still remains a hypocaust with pipes in *terra cotta* for conveying hot air.

Ostia had six gates of which only three have as yet been discovered viz. the *Porta Marina*, the *Porta Laurentina* through which the road passed to *Laurentum*, and the *Porta Romana*, approached by the *Street of Tombs*. The ancient pavement of this street still remains, and many of the tombs, all of which are however much ruined. There are few inscriptions, though none of the tombs are previous to the Empire, but one large tomb bears the name *Sextus Carminius Parthenopeus*. The castle in the modern village was built by Pope Martin V. (*Colonna*) whose arms are seen on one of the towers. It was rebuilt in its present picturesque form under Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere from the designs of Baccio Pontelli, who, as stated

in an inscription lately discovered by me over the inner doorway, was its architect and not Sangallo as was generally hitherto believed, but who in reality was only employed on some of the details.

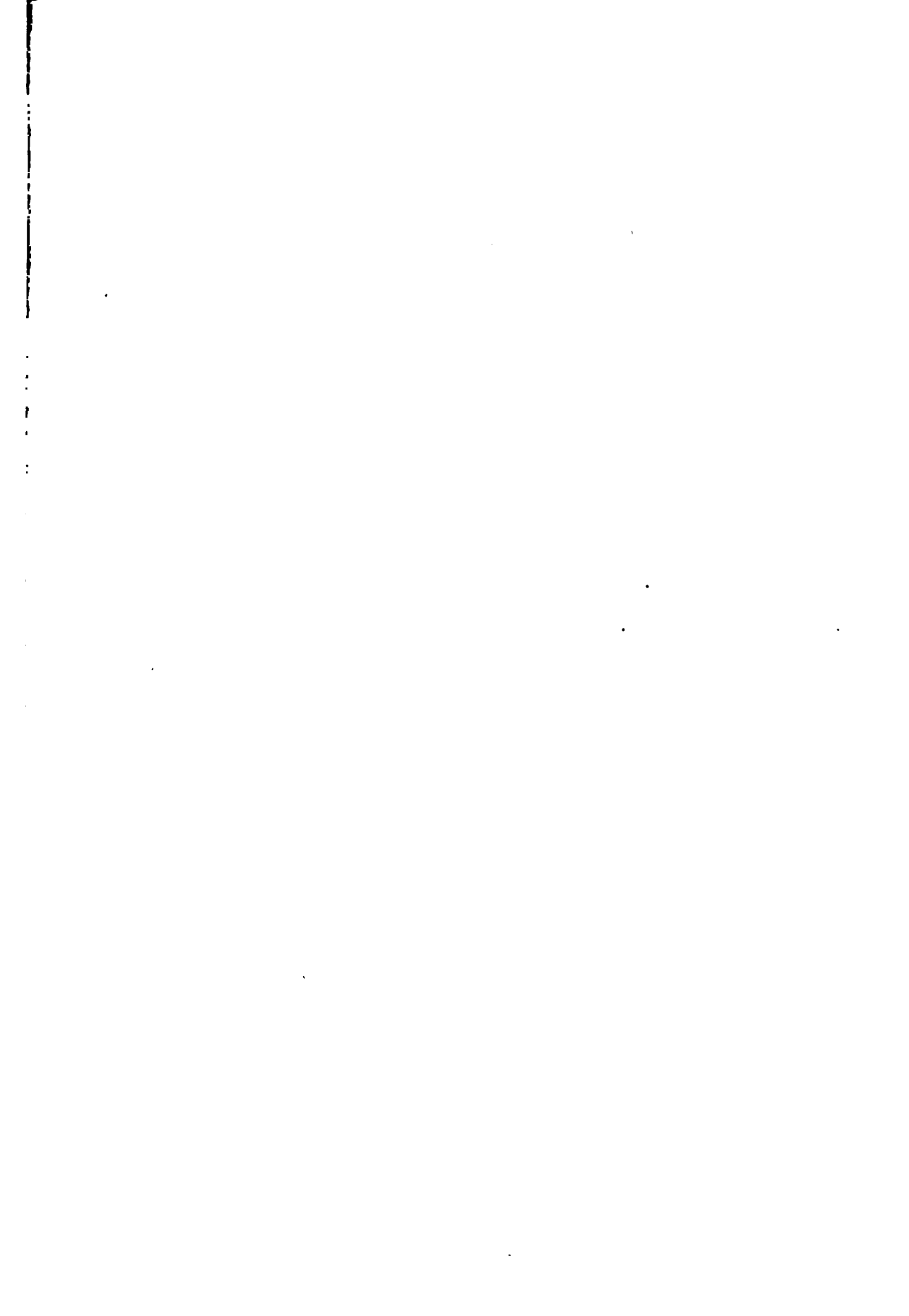
The staircase and some of the rooms above were once decorated with frescoes, now almost destroyed.

There is here a small collection of fragments of sculpture, inscriptions, terra-cottas and brick-stamps from the ancient city. The top of the tower commands a wide view over the Campagna from the Isola Sacra and the mouth of the Tiber to Rome.



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